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*Die Jovis septimo Januarii 1646.*

**I**T is Ordered by the LORDS in Parliament assembled, That WILLIAM AYLESBURY Esquire, who hath translated a Book intituled THE HISTORY OF THE CIVILL WARRES OF FRANCE, is hereby permitted to print and publish the said Book : And that no person shall print and publish the same within fourteen yeers next after the date of this Order, but by authority under his own hand, as they will answer the contrary to this House at their perils.

*John Browne Cler. Parliamentorum.*





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF  
FRANCE,

Written in Italian by H. C.  
DAVILA.

Translated out of the ORIGINAL.



LONDON,

Printed by R. Raworth, and are to be sold by W. Lee, D. Pakeman, and  
G. Bedell, in Fleet-street. M. DC. XLVII.



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## The PRINTER to the READER.

READER,



*Here was a purpose of forbearing to publish any part of this noble Authour, till all were perfectly finished; but those persons of worth and quality, who, onely to please their friends and themselves, took the pains to render him in our Language, and have since upon much solicitation undertaken at their owne charge to put it in the Presse, finde it*

*will amount to so considerable a summe, that they are unwilling to proceed further without some assurance that their good intentions may be well accepted: Therefore these first five Books being of themselves a compleat Story, are now presented to you; and if they be receivd as they deserve, the others (which are ready) shall goe on with all possible expedition, in the same Letter, Paper, and Volume. In the mean time, take this for an Essay, read it, and then I shall not need to give you further encouragement to desire the rest.*









THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The First BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**I**N this first Book is set down the Originall of the French Nation; the Election of their first King Pharamond; the institution of the Salique Law; the Rights and Prerogatives of the Princes of the Blood; the Succession of their Kings to Lewis the IX<sup>th</sup> surnamed the Saint; the Division of the Royall Family into two distinct branches, one called Valois, the other Bourbon; the Jealousies between them, and in time the suppression of the House of Bourbon: the originall and raising to greatnesse of place in the rooms of the Princes of the Blood, the Families of Guise and Momorancy; the Emulations, and occurrences between them, in which the Guises prevaile. King Henry the Second is killed by accident in a Tournament; Francis his Son, a youth of weak constitution, succeeds to the Crown; he gives the Government to his Mother Queen Caterine, and the Guises: the Princes of Bourbon are offended thereat; the King of Navar, chief of the Family, upon that occasion goes to Court, prevails little, goes from thence, and retires into Bearne: The Prince

B

of



## The History of the Civill Warres

*of Condé his Brother resolves to remove from the Government the Queen-Mother and the Guises; he is counselled to make use of the Hugonots; their beginnings and Doctrine; La Renaudie makes himself chief of a Conspiracie, and the Hugonots resolve to follow him; the Conspiracie is discovered; the King chuseth the Duke of Guise for his Lieutenant Generall, who without much difficultie, doth breake, take, and chastise the Conspirators.*



He Civill Warres, in which for the space of fortie yeers together the Kingdome of France was miserably involved, though on the one side they contain great Actions and famous Enterprizes, that may serve for excellent lessons to those that maturely consider them; yet on the other side, they are so confused and intangled in their own revolutions, that the reasons of many businesses doe not appear, the counsels of many determinations are not rightly comprehended, and an infinite number of things not at all understood through the partiality of private Interests, which under divers pretences hath obscured the truth of them. True it is, that many excellent wits have endeavoured to make of these a perfect Storie, by bringing to light such things as they have gathered together with great diligence and commendable industrie: Notwithstanding, the difficulties are so many, and the impediments prove to be of such consequence, that in a multitude of accidents (all great and considerable, but hidden and buried in the vast ruines of civill dissentions) his pains will not be lesse profitable to posterity, who labours to digest them into an orderly method, then the endeavours of others formerly have been. Wherefore, being in my infancie by Fate, that destined me to a restless life, transported into the inmost Provinces of that Kingdome, where during a long space of time which I lived there, I had the opportunitie to observe, and be an eye-witnesse of the most secret and notable circumstances of so remarkable passages; I could not chuse a more worthie matter, nor a more usefull



usefull Studie wherein to employ my present age, now come to maturitie, then to write from the very beginning, all the progresse and order of those troubles. And although the first taking up of Arms, which hapned in the year 1560, was indeed before my time, so that I could not be present at the beginning of those Civill Warres: neverthelesse I have diligently informed my self by those very persons who then governed the affairs of State; so that with the perfect and particular knowledge of all the following events, it hath not been hard for me to penetrate to the first root of the most ancient and remote causes of them.

This Storie will containe the whole course of the Civill Warres, which brake forth upon a sudden after the death of King *Henry* the second, and varying in their progresse, by strange and unthought of accidents, ended finally after the death of three Kings, in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth. But to form the body of this Narration perfectly, it will be convenient for me to look back some few periods into the Originall of the French Monarchie; for the seeds of those matters which are now to be related, taking their beginnings from times long since past, it is necessary to lay a foundation, and to explain all difficulties, that we may with more clearnesse come to the perfect knowledge of modern things. But if in the performance of this my so painfull undertaking, I be neither accompanied with eloquence of words, nor richnesse of conceit; yet being free from those affections which usually byasse the pens of many Writers, I hope I shall be able to reach the proper order and naturall unfolding of those things which (having been many yeers conversant in the Courts of Kings, and alwayes active in the first Files of Armies) I have learned of my self by experience and Action.

Whilest the Roman Empire with the terror of Arms upheld the Majesty of her Monarchie, (which with a large compasse embraced the greatest part of the known World) those few Nations, who, either defended with the generous fiercenesse of their own courage, or by nature invincibly fortified, felt not the generall yoke of slavery, being restrained within those confines which necessity prescribed them, studied rather how to preserve their own libertie in their native soil, then forcibly to invade the rights of others. So in the East, the Parthians had for a bridle to their fiercenesse the banks



of Euphrates ; so in the West, the Germans for the most part contained the force of their Arms beyond the Rhine. But afterwards, when the Dominion of the Romans, through its own unbounded greatnesse first disunited it self, or through change of ancient customes, began manifestly to decline ; the barbarous Nations (that for a long time had for their own defence only kept a Guard upon their Confines) the bridle being broken, and the bonds of fear shaken off, assaulting on all sides the Roman Provinces, gave beginning to new Principalities, and new Kingdoms. Hence it was that the fame of so many warlike people, till then wholly buried in its own obscurity, began powerfully to spread it self in the world ; and hence likewise it came to passe, that stranger people, emulously getting possession of the most fertile and best Regions of the Universe, in a short time changed them, not only in their Habits, Language and Customes, but also in their manner of Government, in their condition, and in their names : so that all parts being invaded by new Nations, and new Masters, not only Britany from the *Angli* that usurped it, took the name of England ; not only Pannonia from the Hunns, that ruled there, took the denomination of Hungaria ; but infinite other Provinces in all parts of the world had the like change ; and even within the confines of Italy it selfe, the Longbeards gave the form and name to the State of Lombardie.

But amongst all those people, who abandoning their native Countrey endeavoured to get new possessions, and usurped others rights, there is not any one, that for greatnesse of Empire, well policied Government, and unconquered Valour in Arms, and above all, for length of time and continuance, can be compared to the French Nation. For notwithstanding the famous incursions of the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Huns, the Vandals, and the Longbeards ; yet some of them vanished like a flash of lightning, which dazling the sight with a sudden and unexpected light, passes away in a moment almost unperceived ; others had so small a progresse, that in a short time they lost both their power and their greatnesse. But the Franks, after they had fought with, and vanquished the most glorious Nations, and made themselves Lords of one of the most noble and best parts of Europe, powerful in people, flourishing in riches, and renowned for great and magnanimous



gnanimous actions, and glorious with a Majestical Succession of Empire after the course of a thousand and two hundred yeers, do continue at this present uncorrupted in the same kinde of Government which at their first beginning was by a formal and natural Law established amongst them.

These people which now call themselves Frenchmen, and were formerly called Franks, whether they came long since from the most remote parts of Asia (as some among many modern Historians have thought), or else had their first beginning in the bosom of Germany (as the best Writers have reasonably held); certain it is, that when the Romane Empire first declined, they inhabited that Countrey towards the North which lies upon the Rhine between Bavaria and Saxony, and that Franconia to this time bears the name of that Nation. These people at first, through terrour of the Romanes, kept themselves together within their own Countrey where they were born, and straitned in a narrow territory, with great pains provided necessaries for life; but in progresse of time, (as commonly those which inhabite a cold Climate multiply without measure) they were encreased to such a number, that their little ill-built cottages could no longer contain them, nor so small a Countrey afford them nourishment. Wherefore (all fear of the Romanes being now ceased) invited thereunto by the example of their other neighbours, they resolved by common advice, to separate and divide themselves into two distinct People; one of which should retain the wonted care and possession of their common Countrey; the other, exposed to hazard, provide by force of Arms greater Commodities of living, and a more large and fertile habitation.

The Franco-nians a people of Germanie, not being able to subsist in their owne Country, issue out in armed multitudes, & possesse themselves of the Gallia's.

This Consultation had no interruption in the end to which it tended, and the division was made by a voluntary consent of every one. Those to whose lot it fell to leave their Country, although through generosity of courage accustomed to the toils of War, they feared not the danger of so great an enterprize; yet neverthelesse they believed it was not a designe to be remitted wholly to chance, but to be governed by mature deliberation and weighty counsels. Wherefore being all assembled in the fields neer the River Sala, to consult of those things which were necessary for such an expedition, and knowing well that a tumultuous and  
unsettled



unsettled kinde of Government could not conduce to the effecting their ends, they determined, before any thing else, to establish by universal consent the form of their future Government. And, as people accustomed for many Ages to live under the sole rule of one Prince, knowing also perhaps, that the qualities of a Monarchy are most agreeable and best proportioned to those that aspire to great achievements, & enlargement of Empire, they resolved to chuse themselves a King, upon whom should be conferred the whole authority of all. To so great a power was added this priviledge ; That the Kingdom should be hereditary in the descent of him that was to be chosen, wisely foreseeing, that if from time to time they should make a new election, it might easily breed Civil discord amongst themselves, which without all doubt would hinder the successe of any enterprise whatsoever. So (as the beginnings of things use for the most part to be directed with sincerity of minde to their proper end, the publike good) all ambition and private interests laid aside, they chose by common accord for their King, *Pharamond*, one of the sons of *Marconir*, a Prince, not onely by descent ( being of the same Blood, which that people were used for many Ages past to obey ) but in vertue also ; being singularly valiant, and most deeply wise in the government of affairs ; consenting, that to his posterity should descend the same power and the same name, until a legitimate descendent of his failing, the right should return to the people of chusing a new Lord.

*Pharamond*  
chosen first  
King of the  
French at the  
river Sala, and  
the Salique  
law esta-  
blished.

But because Authority without limitation commonly converts it self into destructive licentiousnesse, at the same time that they elected their King, they would establish certain Laws, which were to remain perpetual and immutable in all times, and in which should be comprehended in brief the general Consent, as well in the succession of the Kings, as in every other part of the future Government. These Laws proposed by their Priests which were anciently denominated *Salii*, and decreed of in the fields, which from the river Sala, take the same name, were called *Salique Laws* ; and (after the establishment of the Kingdom) originall and fundamental Constitutions. After this principal foundation, all other things resolved on that were necessary for the present Government, and advantageous to the designe in hand,

The *Salii*,  
Priests.



hand, having passed the Rhine under the Conduct of their first King *Pharamond*, they betook themselves to the conquest of the Gallia's, about the year of our Salvation Four hundred and nineteen, leaving the dominion of Franconia to the old Prince *Marcomir*. 419.

The Gallia's were as yet possessed by the Romane Emperours, but much declined from their first strength and greatnesse, partly through Civil dissentions, partly through the incursions of divers barbarous Nations, by whose fury they had been long time much wasted and spoiled; which was the cause that the Franks Army found much lesse difficulty in their conquests then the Romanes did formerly. Nevertheless they were not subdued without great resistance, and much time spent. For the Romane Legions appointed to guard that Province, being joyned, for their own defence, with the Gauls themselves, held the first King *Pharamond* at a bay, till his end drawing neer, he left the care of the whole enterprize, and of the people, to his son *Clodian*. This man, of a fierce courage, in the first flower of his age, having many times fought with the inhabitants of the Country, and having overcome and driven out the Romane forces, began to master that part of Gallia which lying neere to the Rhine, is by common consent of Writers called Belgica. To him succeeded *Merouë*, whether brother or son to *Clodian*, is not certain; but out of doubt, neere to him, and of the same race, conformable to the Salique Law. He with happy success advancing into Gallia-Celtica, propagated the Empire of the Franks as far as to the City of Paris; And now thinking he had gotten enough to maintain his people, and to form a compleat moderate Empire, stayed the course of his Conquests; and having conceived thoughts of peace, joyned both Nations under the same name; and with moderate Laws and a peaceful kinde of rule, founded and established in the Gallia's, the Kingdom of the French.

The Franks began to invade the Gallia's in the year 419, being then possessed by the Romanes.

*Clodian* the second King made himself Master of Belgia, and this was first conquered.

*Merouë* the third King continues his Conquests as far as Paris, and unites the two Nations into one.

This was the first original & foundation-stone of that Monarchy; in which, as the descent of their Kings hath ever constantly remained in the same Progenie; so in all ages the first rules of Government have been most religiously observed, neither power of Command, nor authority of Laws losing any thing, through time, of their first observation, and ancient splendor. Those Laws ordained in the beginning by the



Princes of the  
blood.

the universal consent of all the people, exclude the female sex from the Royal succession, and admit onely to the inheritance of the Crown the neereſt Males; by which means, the Empire of that Nation by a continued and uninterrupted ſucceſſion, always remaineth in the ſame Blood. From the diſpoſition of this Law, the Princes of the blood derive their name and priviledges; for being all capable through default of the next heir, in their order to ſucceed to the Crown, they have in that conſideration great intereſt in the State, and the priviledges of their families preſerved with great reverence from the people; no time nor diſtance of degrees prejudicing the conſervation of that order which Nature preſcribes them, to the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom. For which cauſe, though in the courſe of time, divers families, through ſundry accidents have changed their names; as ſome have taken the ſurname of Valois, others of Bourbon, others of Orleans, others of Angoleſme, others of Vendome, others of Alanſon, and others of Monpenſier; yet for all that they have not loſt the trace of their Royal Conſanguinity, nor the right of ſucceeding to the Crown; but the preeminencies of their Blood, and the ſame priviledges are ever from time to time preſerved to all.

The Aſſembly  
of the States  
hath the power  
of the whole  
Kingdom.

And becauſe it is evident how much they are all concerned in the cuſtodie and preſervation of ſo great an inheritance, of which they are all ſucceſſively capable, it hath therefore ever been a Cuſtom, that the next of blood ſhould be Guardian to the Pupils, and Governour of the Kingdom, during the minority or abſence of the lawful King. Reaſon willing, that the Government ſhould not be committed to ſtrangers, or thoſe altogether aliens, who might endeavour to deſtroy and diſmember the union of ſo noble a Body; but to ſuch, who born of the ſame ſtock, ought in reaſon to attend the preſervation of the Crown, as their own birth-right. Nor is this Prerogative a Cuſtom onely, but the States General of the Kingdom (which Aſſembly hath the power of the whole Nation) having often confirmed it with their conſent, and ordered it to be ſo; it is ſince become as a decreed Law, and a firm eſtabliſhed Conſtitution.

The preemi-  
nencies of the  
Royal Family:  
Inheritance,  
and Admini-  
ſtration.

The Royal Houſe then enjoys two Preeminencies: the one in matter of Inheritance; the other, of adminiſtration: that, when any King dies without male children; this, when the



the absence or minority of the Prince requires some other person for the Government and managing of the State. These two Priviledges that are always inherent in those of the Royal line, have been a cause that the Princes of the blood have ever held a great authority with the people, and had a great part in the Government of the kingdom. For they themselves have ever been very vigilant in the administration of the Empire, which they esteemed, reasonably enough, as their own ; and the people, conceiving the Government might at some time or other fall into their hands, have ever had them in great veneration ; and so much the rather, because it hath often been found by experience, that the eldest line failing, the Crown hath been devolved upon the younger family.

So the Regal Authority having an orderly succession in the race of *Merouës*, afterwards in the family of the *Carolins*, and lastly in that of the *Capetts* ; after many ages, *Lewis* the ninth of that name possessed the kingdom ; He who for innocencie of life and integrity of manners was after his death deservedly written in the Kalendar of Saints. Of him were born two sons ; *Philip* the Third, surnamed *the Hardie* ; and *Robert*, the younger, Count of Cleremont. From *Philip* came the eldest line, which enjoyed the Crown more then three hundred yeers, with the surname of *Valois* ; from *Robert* descended the house of Bourbon, so called ( as it is a Custom among the French ) from that state of which they bare the title, and enjoyed a long time as their own inheritance.

The Royal races ; The *Merouës*, *Carolins*, *Capetts*, and *Valois*, St. *Lewis* the ninth.

The Crown continued in the house of *Valois* three hundred yeers

Now whilst the House of *Valois* possessed the Crown, the House of Bourbon held by consequence the rank of *first* Prince of the blood, and enjoyed all those priviledges which we said before by Law and Custom belonged to that quality. This Family, great, not onely through nearnesse to the Crown, but also in large possessions, abundance of treasure, reputation in War, and fruitfulness of off-spring ; producing likewise frequently men of a liberal nature, and popular civility ; easily exceeded the limits of a private life ; and with the sinews of its own strength, together with the favour of the people, established it self in an excessive state of greatnesse ; which begetting jealousy, and envie in the Kings, who were displeased at so great an



eminence and authority, bred many occasions of hate and suspicion; which sometimes also brake forth into open War. For *Lewis* the Eleventh King of France made war upon *John* Duke of Bourbon, in the war intituled *For the Common-wealth*; and *Lewis* the Twelfth (though before he came to the Crown) tried the successe of Arms with *Peter* of Bourbon: and so, what by open defiance, what through secret malice, the Kings of France grew daily more and more jealous of the authority of the Princes of Bourbon.

1515

The house of Bourbon being next to the Crown, and grown to a monstrous greatnesse, was hated, kept under, and suppressed by the Kings.

At the length, *Francis* the first came to the Crown; who in the beginning of his Raign, led by the ardour and facility of youth, began with great demonstrations of affection, to confer honour upon the chief Princes of the blood; it seeming a thing futable to that magnificence he shewed towards all men, and to the greatnesse of his minde, that those Lords most neerly allied to him, should be most exalted, both for the honour of the Royal line, and for his own particular reputation; and having observed in *Charles* of Bourbon (who was the first Prince of the blood) a generous courage, and a genius fit for any employment, he promoted him to be High-Constable of France, and resolved that all the weighty affairs, and principal charges of the kingdom should passe onely thorow his own hands, and those that were neereft of relation to himself. But when he came to age more mature, the fervour of youth being past, and finding by being conversant in affairs, the reasons by which his predecessors guided their counsels; with how much greater earnestnesse he strove formerly to raise the house of Bourbon, with so much the more anxiety of minde, he laboured now to abase their excessive greatnesse.

*Francis* is the first advanceeth *Charles* of Bourbon, and afterwards suppresseth him; whereupon he rebelleth.

Nor did Fortune fail to present an occasion, wonderfully proper for the execution of his designe. For there being a Proesse at that time between *Louyse* the Kings mother, and *Charles* of Bourbon, for the same Dutchy which he then held, the King thought with himself, that if he caused judgement to be given in favour of his mother, and deprived the house of Bourbon of their fundamental revenues, the Duke would easily fall from that power and dignity which was chiefly upheld by so splendid a fortune.

But



But *Charles*, having (by the proceeding of his businesse) discovered the deceitful practices of the Chancellor *Antonio del Prato*, by the Kings instigation, against him, disdain of the injury, and fear of ruine, which was inevitably prepared, so much prevailed over him, that joyning secretly with the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth of England, he began to conspire against the Kingdom, and the very person of the King. Which being discovered, he was constrained to flee, and afterwards bare Arms against him, and continuing that course, it so fell out, that he was last of all General to *Cesar* in the Battel at *Pavia*; where after a bloodie slaughter in the French Army, the King, invironed by divers Squadrons of Foot, was at length taken prisoner. For these facts *Charles* being declared Rebel, and all his estate confiscate; and having within a short time after, at the taking of *Rome*, lost his life also; the House of *Bourbon* fell from that envied greatnesse, which had caused such jealousy in the King.

This was not sufficient to stop the persecution now begun; for although *Charles* were unhappily dead without children, and though the others of the family did in no way partake of his Counsels; Notwithstanding, the King, more swayed with revenge of the injuries past, then the force of reason; All the Lords of that House, more through hate of their name, then any delinquencie in their persons, were utterly deprived of all favour at Court, and wholly removed from the management of affairs. And although this rigour was in time somewhat lessened, and the Kings minde so far mitigated, as to forget things past, and to lay by the ill opinion he had conceived of them; notwithstanding he continued studiously to endeavour to cut off all means whereby those Princes might return to their former honour, and that power to which they were formerly with so much favour advanced.

This secret intention of the Kings was very well observed by *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme*, the chief of that house. Wherefore forcing himself with moderation of minde to overcome the suspicion and jealousies that so oppressed his family, he refused, during the Kings imprisonment, to pretend to the Regencie which of right belonged to him; and after



the King was delivered, having retired himself to the quiet of his own domestick affairs, sought not to be recalled to any part in that Government in which he knew himself so much suspected. The rest of the same House following his example, to shew how much they were strangers to the wicked Counsels of Bourbon, by being such ready Executors, though to their own diminution and prejudice, of the Kings inclinations, voluntarily withdrew themselves from all businesse that might breed any suspicion of them; and standing retired, little troubled themselves with the charges and commands at Court; among which, despising the little ones, they already perceived it was impossible for them to attain to those dignities which they knew belonged to the greatnesse of their Birth.

The house of Momorancy descends from one of those who issued out of Franconia with the first King *Pharamond*, and pretends to be the first that received Baptism.

The house of Bourbon thus suppressed, and removed from the affairs; there sprang up under *Francis* the first, two great families, which within a short time got the whole businesse of the State into their own hands; Momorancy, and Guise, neither of them any way allied to the House Royal, but both the one and the other of very eminent Nobility. That of Momorancy keeps a venerable record of the eminencie of their Ancestors; for they do not onely shew a right descent from one of those Barons that accompanied the first King *Pharamond* in the Salique Expedition; but prove also, they were the first among the French Nation, that received Baptism, and the Christian faith: Wherefore among other marks of Nobility, those of that Family give this device: *Deus primum Christianum servet*, as an undoubted testimony of the antiquity and pietie of their Predecessors. From this stock came *Anne* of Momorancy, a man of great quicknesse of wit, but of a moderate disposition; who, besides his natural dexterity and gravity, being accompanied with a singular industry, and exceeding patience in the various changes of the Court, he knew so well in what manner to gain King *Francis* his affection, that having passed thorow other great charges, he was first by him promoted to the Office of Grand Master, and a little after the death of Bourbon, to the dignity of High-Constable, and had then the Government of the Warre, and superintendencie of the affairs wholly in his owne hands.

*Anne de Momorancy*, after the death of *Bourbon*, made High-Constable.

But



But the House of Lorain, from which are descended the Lords of Guise, deriving their originall from great antiquitie, reckon in the male line of their Predecessors, *Godfrey of Bullen*: He who being Generall of the Christians at the recovery of the holy Sepulchre, attained in Asia by his pietie and Arms the Kingdome of Jerusalem, and by the mothers side, shews a long continued pedegree from a daughter of the Emperor *Charles the Great*. In this Family, flourishing in wealth, and powerfull in possessions, *Anthony Duke of Lorain* obtaining the Sovereignty over his own people; *Claudian* the younger brother, (a Prince of excellent vertue, and no lesse fortunate) going some little time after into France, to take possession of the Dutchie of Guise, gave such cleer testimony of his conduct and valour in the Warres, that after the Battell of Marignan, wherein hee commanded the Almans, being found most grievously wounded among the thickest of the dead bodies, and almost miraculously recovered, hee ever after held the first place of reputation among the French Commanders. But though both these Families had deserved so well, as it was not easie to judge which should have the preeminence; yet as Guise was superiour in birth, and large possessions; so the Constable had the advantage of the Kings favour, and chiefe management of the affairs. The truth is, as the condition of the Court is ever various and unconstant, so both of them towards the end of *Francis* his Reigne, passed thorow many accidents of great hazzard and difficulty. For the Constable, who was a chief instrument in perswading the King to credit the promises of the Emperor *Charles the Fifth*, and to give him a safe conduct when he was forced in haste to passe quite thorow the Kingdome unarmed, to suppress the Rebellion at Gaunt: afterwards the Emperors deeds not any way corresponding with his words, fell into such disgrace with the King and Court, that being noted by every one for a light faithlesse man, he was forced to absent himselfe and retire to a private life, to be secure from the persecutions of his adversaries. And the Duke of Guise having without Comission carried some Companies of souldiers within the kingdom to aid his Brother the Duke of Loraine in the Warre against the Anabaptists, so incensed the King, that he was likewise forced, by withdrawing himself, to give place to the adversity of fortune.

The House of Guise descended from that of Lorain, reckons in the male line of their Ancestors *Godfrey of Bullen*, King of Jerusalem; and shews a pedegree from a daughter of *Charles the great*.

*Anne of Memory* and the Duke of Guise fall into disgrace with King *Francis*.



The Constable and the Duke of Guise thus gone from Court, there came in their places to the government of the affaires, *Claud d' Annebaut Admirall*, and *Francis Cardinal of Tournon*; men that by long experience and industrie had acquired a great reputation of wisdom; but of such private condition for their birth and fortune, that they could never ascend to that suspected greatnesse, which the King, as dangerous, abhor'd in any subject.

Some are of opinion, that, the King a Prince of exquisite sagacity in timely discovering the natures and inclinations of men, at such time when through passed adversities, he was grown to be of a difficult and jealous nature, made it his studie to suppress and banish from Court the Constable and the Duke of Guise, whom before he so much loved, and so constantly favoured; supposing he could never reign absolutely, nor rule as he listed, whilest he had men about him of such power and reputation, who were in a manner able to balance his will. And as in the Constable, that which most offended him, was his great experience, and too much knowledge, through which he believed he could not conceal from him his most secret and hidden designs: so in the Duke of Guise, he was displeased not only with the eminency of his birth, but also the restlesnesse of his thoughts; perceiving in those of that Family a disposition and inclination ready to imbrace any seasonable opportunity; and withall, an ability not unfit to manage any whatsoever weighty or dangerous designe. They adde also, that towards his end he gave secretly this advice to his son *Henry the second*, *That he should beware of the excessive greatnesse of his Subjects, but particularly of the House of Guise; who, if they were suffered to grow too high, would without doubt molest the quiet of the Kingdom.* Which, though I dare not affirm, having no other testimonie then publick Fame, which often proceeds from malice; yet it is certain, the things which since hapned have added great credit to that report.

1547. But howsoever it were, *Francis* the first being dead, the new King *Henry the second* (inclined rather to follow the appetite of his own will, then the advertisements and so late example of his father) removed at first dash from Court, and from their places, all those that before had any part in the Government, and substituted into their rooms the same men whom



whom the deceased King had taken occasion to discharge of their trust. Presently were dismissed from all imployment the Admirall, and the Cardinall of Tournon; both of them privie to those secrets which for many yeers were negotiated by this Prince, and his Predecessors; in whose room were called to the principall charges of State *Anne de Momorancy* High-Constable, and *Francis* of Lorain, son to *Claud Duke* of Guise. These being made as it were Moderators of the Kings youth, and arbitrators in the Court of all businesses of consequence, though they had severall thoughts, and severall ends and inclinations, yet in power and authority were in a manner the same. For the Constable, a man ripe in yeers, a friend to peacefull counsels, and of a long practicall experience in the art of Governing, grew to an exceeding opinion of wisdom, and held the first place in the management of the affairs of State. But the Duke of Guise, being in the flower of his age, strong of body, of a noble presence, full of vivacity of courage, and of a ready wit for any generous notable action, had the air and favour of the Court; was admitted by the King to a familiaritie of conversation, and as it were a companion in all his pleasures and youthfull exercises: So that his affection to the Constable was rather respect, and his inclination to the Duke of Guise might rather be called acquaintance. Their wayes also were very different; for the Constable loving parsimonie and moderation, with a certain kinde of pride that usually accompanies old age, slighting the applications of strangers, oftentimes opposed with his authoritie the Kings liberalitie, and full of austerity, and severe constancy, little esteemed the popular applaude. But quite contrary, the Duke of Guise, affable of speech, and popular in his actions, with ostentation of liberalitie and pleasantnesse, laboured to win the affections of all the souldiers; and by taking into his protection those that were in necessity, sought to gain the dependencie and affections of strangers. Hence began (as it often happens) to rise an emulation betwixt them; for finding they were equally loved and credited, they both laboured with all their power to get the advantage of each other in the Kings favour, and administration of affairs. Wherein, beside their naturall inclination, they were upon all occasions animated by their neereft Allies: The Constable by *Jasper de*

*Momorancy & Guise are recalled to the management of the affairs by Henry the Second.*

*Emulation between Constable and the Duke of Guise.*



*de Coligny* Lord of Chastillon, his sisters son, who after the death of *Annebaut*, was created Admirall of France ; a man of subtile wit and esteemed valour : And the Duke of Guise, by his brother *Charles* Cardinal of Lorain ; who though he were singular in learning and gracefulnesse of speech, those excellent endowments received no little lustre from his dignity and noble presence.

Fortune was not slack in opening a large field to stir up this emulation : For the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth preparing a mighty Army to besiege Mets, a place of strength, which they pretend belongs to the Empire, but placed upon the Frontiers, serves in a manner as a Bulwark to France : and the greatness of the preparations striking a terror through all the kingdom, it appeared fit that one of the Kings Favorites should be chosen to manage the troublesom command of that War. But the Constable being now aged, being above sixty yeers old, desiring rather to continue about the Kings person, then to expose the reputation he had already gotten to new hazards, seemed silently to refuse the weight of so great a charge. On the contrary, the Duke of Guise, who saw there was no other way left to raise himself in favour & reputation above Momorancy, but by arms, being of a warlike genius, and great courage, sought openly that imployment. So the Constable, glad of the advantage, to see the life and reputation of his rival exposed to such danger, either giving consent, or not contradicting it; the defence of Mets was wholly committed to the Duke of Guise ; who with his valour and conduct having fully answered the expectation of all men, discharging himself with great honour in so doubtfull an enterprise, remained in such reputation both with the King, and all the French Nation, that afterwards, a Generall being to be sent into Italy, to recover the Kingdome of Naples, there was no doubt but that charge should be conferred upon him. And although the War of Italy was altogether without successe, or but of little advantage, not by the Dukes fault, but partly through the ordinary defect of the French souldiers, partly through the unconstancie of Confederates ; he nevertheless grew in greater authority and reputation then happily he would have done by a victory.

For *Philip* the Second, King of Spain, to whom his father *Charles* the Fifth had surrendred the government of his Kingdome,



dom, having brought an Army upon the confines of France out of Flanders, & to divert the war of Italy, invaded Picardy, the Constable, who was Governor of that Province, was forc'd to absent himself from the King, and once more against his wil to try the fortune of war; when losing the Battel of S. *Quintin*, and being taken prisoner by the Spaniards, to the evident danger and great terror of all the adjacent Provinces, the Kings Council thought it necessary to recall out of Italy the Duke of Guise to oppose the furie of the Enemy, and to provide against those dangers, and repair those losses which the overthrow given to the Constables Army had occasioned: Which expectation was so fully answered, not only by the expedition he made thither; but by the memorable sieges of Calais, Guines, and Thionville, that he was ever after without scruple thought as far superiour to the Constable, as the Victor ought to be above the vanquished.

But the Constable being in proceſſe of time freed from his imprisonment, and returned to Court, it soon appeared, that the King began to renew his former inclination towards him; for, attributing his late misfortune to the uncertain chance of warre, he received him into the same nearness as before, and again made use of his Counsell, by which he was eased (being wholly addicted to his pleasure) of the intolerable burthen of business. Whereupon the Duke of Guise, and his Brother the Cardinall of Lorain, the one in warre, the other in civill matters of great reputation and credit, doubting he would easily recover his former power, if there were not some stratagem or impediment laid in his way; they resolved to side with *Diana* Dutchesse of Valentinois; and so joyning interests & a strict league of friendship, under the protection of her favour to maintain their own greatness. This *Diana* was of a noble Family, and descended from the Counts of Poictiers, endowed in her youth with rare and singular beauty, of a courtly, lively and graceful behaviour, of a flowing sprightly wit, and indeed adorned with all those qualities that render young Ladies esteemed & favoured. She was married to the Seneschal of Normandy, and by him having had two daughters, in a short time after became a widow; then that yoke shaken off, letting her self loose to the pleasures of the Court, she presently became so absolutely Mistressse of the Kings affections, that



she disposed of him as she pleased ; and not degenerating from her womans nature , governed so licentiously, and with such greedinesse appropriated all the riches of the Crown, that she became intolerable to the whole kingdom, and universally hated of all men. For the Queen (although she made shew of the contrary) through disdain of being rivalled, was inwardly her bitter enemy ; And the Nobility, who through her womanish malice and practices, were many of them ill used , and disobliged, could not endure to submit themselves and their fortunes to her peevish humour ; and the people ceased not to curse her covetousnesse perpetually, attributing the cause of all their Taxes which they so groaned under, onely to her avarice.

But the *Guises* solicited onely with the fear of falling from their greatnesse , to which they had climbed thorow so many difficulties , having no regard to this universal hate, much lesse to any other respect, resolved to secure themselves under her protection and favour, which in a short time grew so partial on their side, that having married one of her daughters to the Duke of Aumale their third brother, they united all their powers to one and the same end. But the Constable soon perceived the subtil practices of the *Guises*, and not absolutely relying upon his own strength, nor the Kings favour, thought likewise of making his addressees to the same *Diana* ; and, as the *Guises* had allured her with the greatnesse of their alliance, to win and draw her to his party by satisfying her covetousnesse, a passion by which he perceived she was no lesse swayed then by her ambition. Wherefore beginning to use her with great respect, to gain her the sooner , at the same time , he gave her many rich presents, and was so far transported with the desire of effecting his purpose, that all greatnesse of spirit laid aside , he resolved to take for his daughter in-law, a Neece of hers, whom he married to his second son *Henry* Lord of Danville ; which was so much the more unadvisedly done, by how much *Diana* already straightly united with the *Guises*, really endeavoured to maintain their power, and favour'd the Constables designs in appearance and shew onely.

But from hence forward it was in vain any longer to oppose the greatnesse of the *Guises*. For besides the merits of their actions, in the same time that this contention was at the highest



highest for superiority; *Francis* the Daulphine of France, and the Kings eldest son, took to wife *Mary* only heir to the Kingdom of Scotland, who was daughter to *James Stuart*, then lately deceased, and *Mary* of Lorain, sister to the Duke of Guise and the Cardinall; so great an alliance, that they seemed now to have the same interest with the Crown; in so much, that nothing remaining to the Constable and his, but the Kings usuall countenance, and some naturall propensity of kindnesse to him; nor to the other Lords and Barons of France, but only the charges and offices of lesse consequence; the three brothers of Guise got into their hands all the principall dignities and chief governments of the kingdom, together with the superintendency of all the affairs both Martiall and Civil.

The three brothers of Guise made absolute administrators of the politick and military Government, by reason of their alliance with the Dolphin.

Whilest these things, which busied the minds of all men, were agitated at the Court, The House of Bourbon, next of blood, and neereft allied to the Crown, contrary to the custome of the Nation, being in a manner deprived of all honors and dignities, seldom appeared, unless called upon by the necessity of war, or in the exercise of their charge in those few small Governments which yet remained in their Family. And though the Prince of Anguin, one of the same house, so advanced himself by his valour and generosity of spirit, that the King was content to bestow upon him the government of his Army in Piedmont, where he won the victory at Cerisola, and in divers other occasions gained still greater credit and reputation: Notwithstanding, he not living long, his good fortune but little advantaged the oppressed and still persecuted House of Bourbon; for he once dead, it remained absolutely deprived of all manner of greatnesse or favour at Court. The chief of this House were *Antony* Duke of Vendosme, and *Lewis* Prince of Condé his brother, both sons to that *Charles* of Vendosme, who after the Rebellion of Bourbon, and the imprisonment of *Francis* the First, by his modesty and retirednesse, in great part appeased the hate which so violently ragged against the whole Family.

Those of Bourbon seeing themselves thus overtopped in power & authority by the house of Guise (being but strangers newly come out of the house of Lorain, w<sup>ch</sup> lies between France & Germany) were not a little troubled to see themselves not only deprived of all priviledges belonging to their blood (except that



which could not be taken from them, the right of succession) but, whereas by the naturall course they used always to hold the first place about the King; to be now, contrary to all reason and justice, the last: And their condition was yet more deplorable, by reason of the Kings resoluteness and violent nature, not at all to be moved by the complaints of those who seemed in any way to oppose his naturall inclinations. In so much, as the Court losing in a manner its naturall uncon- stancy, kept still the same form and face of things; the Guises ruling all so absolutely, that none durst oppose their power. The Constables greatness afflicted them not so much; but on the contrary, they exceedingly grieved to see him so much fallen from his former height, and left in such a state, that he was scarce able to uphold himself. For being joyned with him not only by alliance, but in friendship and interests, they had yet hope by means of his favour to rise again; at least to some tolerable condition, if not to the power and authority their Predecessors had formerly enjoyed. So that now deprived in a manner of all hope, (which is usually a comfort to those in affliction) they became so much the more sensible of the hardness of their present fortune.

*Antony of Vendosme of the house of Bourbon, hee that was father to Henry the 4, marrieth the daughter of the King of Navarre, by whom he inherits the pretensions of that kingdom.*

But amongst these, *Antony of Vendosme*, a Prince of great goodnesse (and of a facile quiet nature) bare his misfortunes with an excellent temper; his thoughts being for the most part busied about greater matters: for having married *Jane of Albert*, only daughter to *Henry King of Navarre*, and after his father-in-laws death, assumed the title and Arms of King; he took upon him not only the care of the Principality of Bearn, at the foot of the Pirenean mountains, (where he was absolute Sovereign) but also used all manner of endeavour by way of accord, to recover his Kingdome, which the Spaniard had long possessed by force, ever since the Wars between *Ferdinand* the Catholick King, and *Lewis* the Twelfth. But the King of France, by whose means it was lost, had often (though to no purpose, being so neerly joyned to Spain) attempted the regaining of it by force. Wherefore now these two great Kings being about a Treaty for a generall peace, hee hoped likewise so to be comprised in the Articles of Agreement, that his owne state should be restored to him; or at least changed for some other lands of like value. He grew more passionate in that desire, because  
the



the Queen his wife had brought him a son, who, in remembrance of his Grandfather on the mothers side, was called *Henry*; the same, who after the revolution of many miseries and irksome Wars, by successe of victory obtaining the Crown, is now by general consent firnamed *The Great*: He was born upon the thirteenth of December, in the yeer of our Salvation 1554, in the Town of Paw, in the Viscounty of Bearne, which is most deliciously situated at the foot of the Perinees. This birth, as it greatly rejoyced the parents, so it spurred them on, with all eagerneffe to pursue their designs for the recovery of Navar; and withal the King *Antony* of Bourbon thinking he should easilier interest the King to include his restauration in the Treaty, then obtain as Prince of the blood any dignity or government in France, with so much the greater patience and meekneffe, suffered the injuries cast upon his family. And although the King, either still of the same minde to lessen the Princes of the blood, or else meerly in anger to *Antony*, because he refused to change his Signiory of Bearne, and the rest of his possessions in those parts, for other Cities and Lordships in the kingdom of France, dismembred his government of Guienne, which he enjoyed as first Prince of the blood, and separated from it all Languedoc, a large and populous Province, together with the City of Tholouse, and assigned the government of them to the Constable; He notwithstanding, dissembling so great an affront, without any shew of being at all ill satisfied, constantly persevered in his designe.

The birth of  
*Hen. the fourth,*  
Dec. 13. 1554.  
in the territory  
of Paw, in the  
Viscounty of  
Bearne, a free  
State.

But *Lewis* of Conde his brother, full of high thoughts, and of an unquiet spirit, not awed by such pretences, finding the narrowneffe of his fortune could not maintain the greatnesse of his birth, spitefully vexed at his present condition, could not conceal the malice and envie he bare to the house of Guise, which in a manner devoured all the chief employments of the kingdom. Besides his own interest, the disgraces laid upon the Constable, made not a little impression in him; For having married his Neece *Elleanor de Roye*, and made a firm league of friendship with him and his son Momorancy, he esteemed the suppression of that family an increase and accomplishment of his own misfortunes. These unquiet thoughts were still nourished in him by the Admiral of Chastillon, and his brother Monsieur *d'Andelot*: The first, of an ambi-



ambitious nature, but withal, cautious and subtil, let passe no opportunity by stirring up troubles, to raise himself to an eminent degree of power: The other of a fiery disposition, rash by nature, and perpetually involved in factions, endeavoured by his example and perswasions, more to exasperate the Princes fury, which already had kindled such a fire in his brest, that burning with hate, and made as it were desperate, his minde was wholly fet upon innovation.

Such was the state of things, such the emulations and enmities amongst the great ones, disposed upon every little occasion to break out into open dissention, when upon a sudden supervened the death of *Henry* the second, in the month of *July*, 1559.

*Henry the second killed in a Tournament by Montgomery. Francis the second his son, being 16 years old, succeeds to the Crown.*

This Prince had in the war proved the variousnesse of fortune, and desiring at the last to ease his kingdom of those great expences and troubles, he was perswaded joyning with the neighbour Princes to establish a general Peace; to confirm which with the most lasting bonds that might be, at the same time he married his eldest daughter *Elizabeth* to *Philip* the second King of Spain, and *Margaret* his onely sister to *Philibert Emanuel* Duke of Savoy. But whilst these Marriages were celebrating, with all Royal magnificence, and an universal joy, in the City of Paris; Behold, the last day of *June* in a publike solemn Tournament running with headed Launces against *Gabriel* Count of Montgomery, Captain of his Guard, by accident the Vizor of his Helmet flew open, and the staff of his adversaries Launce hitting him in the right eye, he was presently carried away to the *hostel des Tournelles*, where, his wound being mortal, the tenth of *July* he passed out of this life, much lamented of all men.

*Henry* the second being deceased, there succeeded to the Crowne *Francis* Dolphin of France, his eldest sonne, being about sixteene yeares of age, a youth of a languishing spirit, unhealthfull and of a tender constitution, under whose Government all things ran on in such a precipitate way to the foreseen end, that hidden discords brake out into open enmities, and soon after came to the resolution of Arms. The Kings youth, or rather his natural incapacity, required, though not a direct Regent (for the Kings of France are at fourteen yeers of age out of minority) yet a prudent assiduous Governour, till his natural weaknesse were overcome by maturity



city of yeers. The ancient Customs of the kingdom call'd to that charge the Princes of the blood ; amongst which, for neernesse and reputation it belonged to the Prince of Conde, and the King of Navar. On the other side, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorain, neerly allied to the King in relation of the Queen his wife, pretended to have this Dignity conferred upon them, as due to their merits, and great services done to the Crown ; and, which most imported, because they in effect enjoyed it during the life-time of the deceased King. Amongst these, *Katherine* of Medicis the Kings mother, for neernesse of blood, and according to many examples in former times, pleaded the right to be in her ; and her hopes were so increased through the dissention among the Princes, that she doubted not easily to compass what she desired. The fear that one faction had of another, facilitated her designe, insomuch that the *Guises*, knowing they had not the Qualification of Blood that was required to obtain the Government of the State, and foreseeing how much the authority of a mother was like to prevail with the unexperienced youth of a son ; resolved to joyn and unite themselves with her, dividing into two parts that power, which they doubted they could not wholly obtain for themselves. And in like manner the Queen, a woman of a manly spirit and subtil wit, knowing the Princes of the blood are ever naturally against the Government and greatnesse of the Queens ; foreseeing also, that as an Italian and a stranger, she should need the support of some potent faction to establish her self ; willingly condescended to make a League with the *Guises*, who, she saw, would content themselves with a share onely of the Government, which the Princes of Bourbon pretended to belong wholly to them.

A great obstacle to this Union, was the mutual interest of the *Guises* and the Dutchesse *Diana*, whom the deceased King loved extremely even to his last ; but the businesse requiring it, delays not being to be used in such great designes ; The Queen on the one side, who in her husbands life-time had with most commendable patience indured a Rival, was inclined with the same moderation to forget all injuries past ; And the *Guises* on the other part, wholly fixing their thoughts upon the present occasion, easily consented she should be abased, and removed from the Court ; provided,  
she



she were not absolutely deprived of her estate, which after her was come to their third brother the Duke of Aumale. Wherefore their common interest accommodating their present union, and all matters concerning *Diana* settled to the Queens liking; they began unanimously to lay the basis of their intended greatnesse.

The Obsequies  
of King Henry  
the second, last  
33 days.

The King by  
the perswasion  
of his wife,  
commits the  
management  
of the affairs  
to his mother,  
the Duke of  
Guise, and the  
Cardinal of  
Lorain.

The causes of  
the Constables  
disgrace at  
Court, and his  
exclusion from  
the affairs.

The King of Navar was absent, little satisfied with the King and the Court, because in the Capitulation with Spain, no regard was had of his interest for the recovery of his Kingdom. The Constable was employed in the Obsequies of the King, which were on purpose committed to his care: for, that solemnity continuing with the same pomp three and thirty days together, it is not lawful for him that hath the charge of it to depart from the place where the dead body lies, and the Ceremonies are kept, which was in the *Hofstel des Tournelles*, very far distant from the *Louvre*, whither (as the manner is) the new King was brought to reside. So that all those obstacles removed, partly by industry, partly by fortune, it was no difficult matter to get the King, who was likewise more then ordinarily led by the beauty and allurements of the Queen his wife, to remit his whole authority into the hands of their neereſt Allies. So to the Duke was committed the care of the *Militia*; the Civil affairs to the Cardinal; and to the Queen-mother the superintendence of all.

Things thus settled according to their own will, they began to take surer footing; and there being none present who by complaints or practice could work the King to open a way to alterations, they presently entered into consultation how to remove all such as might in any way oppose their designs. There was no doubt but their first attempt would be upon the Constable, as one whose authority and wisdom the *Guises* most apprehended, and the Queen-mother long, though secretly, hated. The *Guises* feared him by reason of the ancient emulations that had ever been between them, and because the opinion of his wisdom, though he had lost his power at the Court, preserved him still in great credit with the people. But the Queens hate of him proceeded from many causes, and particularly because when she was first married, he used all manner of endeavour to perswade the King to repudiate her as barren; and afterward, when she proved to have children, he never ceased to speak scandalously of



of her, saying, *Of all the Kings children, not any one resembled him, but onely Diana his bastard-daughter, who was destined for wife to Francis of Momorancy one of his sons* : which speeches (though not directly) cast a blemish upon the Queens honour and chastity. Nor besides these injuries, could she easily forget, that he (as he was naturally averse to strangers) had obstinately persecuted all those Florentines who through relation either of Blood or Country had recourse to her Court ; and as if he pretended to an emulation with her herself, had ever used what means he could possible to affront and keep under all her dependants. All which things in her husbands life-time she either patiently overcame, or wisely seemed not to take notice of, as indeed she was a woman of a most insearchable minde, and a most profound dissembler. But now that there was an opportunity, they made her easily to consent to the desire of the *Guises*, which was under other pretences, to deprive him of all Government in the kingdom, or favour a tCourt. Wherefore in private discourse, cunningly falling into that Argument, they with one accord represented to the King, the too great authority of that man ; that if he remained at Court, he would pretend to keep him like a childe, under Government, and the lash of his discipline ; and that being straitly united with the Princes of Bourbon (always enemies to those that possessed the Crown which they had long looked after) it was not fit in any manner to trust him, lest through that means his Majestie might expose both his own life and his young brothers to the treacheries of those men, who being suspected by reason of their restlesse ambition, were by the Kings his predecessors always kept under, and at a distance. These Arguments easily making an impression in the Kings weaknesse (as those that know little are naturally jealous of those that know more) they resolved upon a dextrous manner to license him from the Court. Wherefore his fathers Obsequies ended, receiving him with great expressions of kindnesse, he told him, that being not able any other way to reward the greatnesse of his merits, and the pains he had undergone in the service of his predecessors, he was determined to ease him from the cares and weight of the Government, which he knew now were burdensome, and disproportioned to his age, which he would not oppress with the excessive toil of businesse, but reserve him



The Constable  
retires the se-  
cond time  
from the  
Court.

for some great occasion ; and that therefore he might retire himself to his ease where best pleased him , he being resolved not to wear him out as a servant , or a vassal , but always to honour him as a father. By which speech the Constable knowing it was no time to dispute the matter , but that it would be best for him , to accept that for a reward which otherwise would turn to a punishment , having thanked the King , and recommended to his protection his sons and nephews , retired himself to his Palace of Chantilly , ten leagues from Paris , where he had formerly been sheltered from the persecutions of the Court.

The Constable thus sent away ; the next thought was how to remove the Prince of Conde , whose arrogancy and animosity appeared every day more prompt to take hold of any whatsoever occasion to attempt innovations , and to disturb the form of the present Government. But there being yet no means found to remove him , by reason of his quality of Prince , and for want of a just pretext , it was thought a good expedient , to send him out of the way , until such time as the foundation of their new formed Government were settled. Wherefore being appointed Ambassadour to the Catholike King , to confirm the Peace and Alliance contracted at the end of the last Kings Raign , departing from the Court , he left them the field free to perfect their purposed designs.

In the same manner they proceeded with all other persons. For the Queen and the Guises having resolved formerly to establish their commenced greatnesse , they thought it would happen according to their desire , if reducing by little and little , the Fortresses , Souldiers , Treasure , and sinews of the State , into their own power , all the essential important businesses of the kingdom were either managed by themselves , or else committed to the trust of their neereest followers and adherents. But they were not so wholly governed by their interests , that they had not still a regard to the publike good , and their own reputation. For they advanced not , as the common course is , men of little merit and abject condition , thinking they would be more trusty because of their obligation , but were industrious to get about them persons of known worth , noble birth , and above all , of good reputation among the common people ;  
by



by which they obtained two ends at the same time ; the one, that the people were commonly pleased, and their ill willers could have no just exceptions ; the other, that crediting persons of honour and sincere intentions, they were not cozened nor deluded in their trust, as often those are that in great business, rely upon men of base extraction, or of vitious life.

According to which Maxime, they recalled to the exercise of his charge *Francis Olivier* High Chancellor of the kingdom, a man of tried integrity, and severe constancy in the Government ; who for too much freedom, or too much persevering in his opinions, was at the beginning of *Henry's* Raign, by the Constables perswasion, dismissed from the Court. Likewise they recalled to the Councel of State, and neer to the Kings person, the Cardinal of Tournon ; he who in the time of *Francis* the first, Grandfather to this King, had the principal Authority in the State ; by which means, being men of tried and known goodnesse, and enemies to all impositions which oppressed the Common-wealth, they not onely satisfied the desire of the common people and publike expectation ; but being disgraced, and as it were cast out by the Constable, and now recalled with much credit to the present Government, they served also (by their counsels and industry) to establish the foundation of their commenced greatnesse. Like dexterity and like artifices were used to fetch in the rest. But with the house of Bourbon and the house of Momorancy, they proceeded not with such moderation ; on the contrary, the Guises transported, with a desire as much as was possible to abase their old enemy, and the splendor of the Royal family, readily embraced any occasion to diminish their reputation, or otherwise to prejudice them. *Gaspar de Coligny* the Admiral, was possessed of two severall Governments ; the Isle of France (so that Province is called wherein Paris is situated) and Picardy : and, because the Laws of the kingdom prohibit any one to have two charges, the late King had resolved to give the Government of Picardy to the Prince of Conde ; thinking by that means in some measure to pacifie his minde, which he knew through his oppressions was much incensed. To which he was the rather induced, because his father having long enjoyed that Government, and after him the King of Navar his brother, he not onely very much

*Francis Olivier* the high Chancellor, and the Cardinal of Tournon, are recalled the second time to the Court.



desired it, but had also some just and reasonable pretences to it. But the Admiral having in consideration of the Prince surrendered it, and the King dying almost at the same time; *Francis*, not regarding his fathers purpose, though already declared, at the instance of the Guises, conferred the same Government upon *Charles de Cossé* Marechal of Brisac, a Captain of great reputation, and no lesse vertue; but who taking his rise from the fortune of the house of Lorain, and straitly united with those Princes in all things, depended absolutely upon them. The same respect was born to Momorancy the Constables eldest son. For he having married *Diana* bastard-daughter to *Henry*, with promise to have the Office of *Grand-Maistre* conferred upon him, which his father had enjoyed many yeers, the Duke of Guise, as soon as *Francis* came to the Crown, got it for himself; it being his chief end, to adde to his new greatnesse new authority, and new lustre, and to deprive that family of it, which he desired to bring as low as was possible. Thus the Duke, and much more the Cardinal, when any opportunity was offered to depresse their adversaries, and advance themselves, most greedily entertained it. But the Queen-mother, who knew such excessive covetousnesse, and great animosity, must of necessity, at one time or other produce some great evil, and wished they would proceed with more dexterity, and dissimulation; was so bold as in the beginning to oppose the counsels and resolutions of those, by whose power her own authority was chiefly upheld. Now the Princes of Bourbon, in this manner excluded from any part of the Government, and almost from the Court, and from the Kings ear, began at last to weigh the estate of their own affairs; and considering the proceedings of their adversaries (who not content with their present authority, contrived all means to establish themselves for the future) they resolved no longer to stand by as idle spectators of their own disgraces, but to finde out some remedy for the time to come, w<sup>ch</sup> might recompence their past losses, and stop the precipice of their future ruine, which they saw undoubtedly lay before them. To this end, *Antony* King of Navar, having left his young son to the care of the Queen his wife in Bearne, in a manner secure from that fire, which he saw now kindling to consume the kingdom of France, came to Vandosme, where met him the Prince of Conde, then returned from  
his



his Embassie, together with the Admirall *Andelot*, and the Cardinall of Chatillon his brothers, *Charles* Count of Rochefaucault, *Francis* Vidame of Chartres, and *Antony* Prince of Portian, all neer Allies and friends; with whom came divers other Gentlemen, ancient dependents and adherents to the Families of Bourbon and Momorancy. Nor did the Constable (who under pretence of retirednesse and a quiet life, secretly gave motion to all the wheels of this attempt) fail to send thither his old Secretary *Dardres*, that by assisting at the Assemblée, he might represent to them his judgement concerning the present businesse.

Secret Assembly of the Princes of Bourbon and other discontented Lords.

Now entering there into a debate what (as things stood) was fittest to be done; they all agreed in the end, but were of different opinions concerning the means. For they all knew the great indignities received by the Princes of the Bloud; who were not only put by the first place in the Government; but deprived of those few charges that remained amongst them; likewise they cleerly foresaw how great a ruine suddenly threatned both the Princes of the Bloud themselves, and their whole party; the suppression of which, they saw was the Guises chief aim. Wherefore they all concluded, that in the first place it was necessary to provide, as much as might be possible, against so great a danger, before things were brought to the last extremities, and irreparable. But by what means this was to be done, they did not so easily agree among themselves.

The Prince of Conde, the Vidame of Chartres, *d'Andelot*, and divers others, the most ardent and resolute amongst them, were of opinion, that without giving more time to their adversaries to strengthen themselves, and augment their power and reputation, they should forthwith have recourse to Arms, as the most expedite remedie, and more secure then any other. They further shewed, it was but in vain any longer to expect in hope that the King would at length be moved, of his own free-will to restore them to their rights: for being of himself unable to resolve any thing, he would hardly perceive or shake off that carelesnesse wherein from his birth his own nature had as it were buried him; that overawed by the authority of a Mother, and the power which the Guises usurped over him, he would not dare to resume that Sovereignty which he had so easily parted with: that the



the complaints and admonitions of the Princes of the Bloud, and subjects well affected to the Crown, would never come to his ears, being as it were besieged (even to the servants about his person) by men hired by their adversaries, the Champions of the present Tyranny: and therefore it was not to be expected, that the King should of his own deliberation yeeld them any relief, to whom their complaints would never be admitted, but deformed and blasted with the odious names of Rebellion, Treason, and Conspiracy: What else then could they look for? that the Queen-Mother, and the Guises, should willingly depart from that greatnesse, which with such pains and artifices they had established, to share it with their enemies? that was a hope more vain, and more unreasonable then the former; for what men acquire boldly, they do not often part with cowardly. It is ordinary and naturall for things unlawfull and unfit, to be sought after secretly, and acquired leasurely: but once gotten into possession, they are afterwards impudently held, and maintained openly: That the shew of right, the refuge and authority of the Laws (things that use to prevail with private men) do yeeld without contest to the violence and force of Princes, who measure reason by the rule of their power and will; and that to proceed with such respect, increased confidence and boldnesse in their adversaries; That to begin with complaints and supplications, was but to sound the trumpet before the Battell, to give the enemy warning to prepare for his defence; That the successe of great designs depended on the quicknesse of execution, and timid uncertain counsels used to abate the courages of men, vilifie their strength, and let passe opportunities, of themselves apt enough to slip away: That therefore it was necessary to hasten the taking up of Arms, thereby to open a way to the suppression of their unprepared enemies; and not to use slow wary courses, which would ruine the foundation of their hopes, and render the whole enterprize very difficult.

On the contrary, the King of Navar, the Admirall, the Prince of Portian, and the Constables Secretary in his Lords name, disliked so at first to have recourse to force, and recommended more moderate gentle remedies. For they knew well, however the Princes of the Bloud professed to  
take



take arms rather to set the King at liberty, who was besieged and oppressed by the power of strangers, then against his State and Authority ; Neverthelesse, it would be sinisterly interpreted, and abhorred by all true French-men ; who most religiously reverence the Royall Majesty, which ought not in any consideration whatsoever, nor under any pretences to be in the least degree violated or constrained. They considered withall, that observing the strictness of the Laws, they could not justly force the King to yeeld up the Government into their hands ; for being now passed fourteen years of age, he was no longer subject to Tutelage, or the Government of any : and therefore it would be better to manage their cause with dexterity, and shew of modesty in their attempts and complaints, as wholly founded upon equity, rather then commit it to the fury of warre ; and if this resolution were prudently followed with art and industry, they despaired not to secure the Queen-Mother ; who, if she were once drawn from the Guises party, the foundation of their vast Greatnesse would soon fall, and a most secure and easie way be opened to their own pretences. Neither was it altogether to be doubted, that the Guises, who without contradiction had with such boldnesse ingrossed the whole, when they saw themselves so sharply and powerfully assaulted, would at least yeeld up some part of the Government to the Princes of Bourbon : which once possessed of, they might secure themselves from those present indignities and imminent dangers that now so diversly threatned them ; in which maner they thought it much better quietly to content themselves with some reasonable condition, then to hazzard all to the instability of fortune, and incertain chance of Warre : to maintain which, they did not see what Forces they could hope for in France against their lawfull naturall King, nor what assistance was to be had from stranger Princes, who by the late Treaty and Alliances were so firmly united and entred into a League with him ; in which consideration it was greatly to be feared, that by taking of Arms, they might rather open a destructive way even to the utter ruine of their whole Family, then an honourable inlet to the Government and Administration of the Kingdom.

This last opinion, through the authority of the Author,



The King of Navar goeth to the Court, soliciting the King in the name of the Princes of the blood, that they might participate in the Government.

at length took place, and so it was resolved, that the King of Navarre, as chief of the Family, and first Prince of the Bloud, should go to the Court; and there having the Kings ear, (which could not be refused to one of his quality) lay before him their reasons, use all manner of means to gain the Queen-Mother; and try by a wise and well managed Treaty, whether he could get himself any place in the Government, and his Brothers and their dependants restored to those dignities that were injuriously taken from them; or else to other Offices and charges of like esteem. But by the beginning it was easie to see how the event would prove. For the King of Navar terrified with the dangerous face of so great an enterprise, proceeded in it full of doubts and considerations, being besides of a facil bashfull nature: where, on the other side, the Duke of Guise, and Cardinal of Lorain, animated with their prosperity, boldly prepared themselves to encounter with vigour and assurednesse any opposition whatsoever.

The King for a long time was informed and made believe by the Queen his Mother, and the Guises, that the Princes of the Bloud had ever been kept under by his Predecessors, by reason of the innate malice they alwaies found in them towards the Kings that were in possession of the Crown; whom they were still practising against, either by secret conspiracies or open rebellion; and that at the present, the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde seeing themselves next to the succession, the King of a weak Constitution, and without heirs, and his Brothers Pupils, they endeavoured to deprive him of his Mothers Government, and the care of his neereft kindred, and keeping him in subjection (as formerly the Masters of the Palace did *Clouis*, *Chilperic*, and other Princes of weak capacity) intended perhaps by other wicked means, by treachery or poyson speedily to make way for themselves to the Crown. This probable well form'd Story easily breeding jealousies in the King, who was by nature timorous and mistrustfull, he received the King of Navarr with little shew either of kindnesse or honour; and when he talked with him, (which was not but in the presence of the Duke or the Cardinal, who never stirred a minute from his side) he still made him sharp answers; and alledging his Majority, and avowing the great services he received in the present Government,



vernment, still cut him off from the instances and demands of the Princes of the Bloud; as wholly proceeding from contrived ends, neither sutable to the times, nor any way agreeable to reason.

The design upon the Queen-Mother had no better effect; for knowing she could not trust to the Princes of the Bloud, who, though they seemed well affected to her for a time, till they had gotten access to the Government, yet she might afterwards not only be abandoned by them, but excluded from the Administration, and perhaps made to retire from the Court; and withall, thinking it direct indiscretion to forsake the friendship of the strongest party, that was so well settled, to joyn with the Princes of Bourbon, that had not any support at all; she resolved to rest upon that security which she had already proposed to her self. But nevertheless, desirous to withstand as much as was possible, the publick distractions and tumults of Warre; she proposed to her self, not to leave them altogether hopelessse; but to assay by dissimulation and artifices, to divert the King of Navar (whom she knew pliable enough) from such intentions, and by delays in time to effect something that might be beneficiall to the Commonwealth. To which purpose, at their first meeting, having with shew of kindnesse filled him with hope, she began most dexterously in the progresse of their discourse to demonstrate unto him, that the King being of a delicate disposition, was not to be exasperated by demands and unreasonable complaints; but that it was necessary to expect some fit opportunity, which time would at length produce. For as the King, being now past his minority, was not bound in matters of Government to conform himself to the arbitrement or opinion of any body, but only to his own wil and judgement; so when an occasion should be offered to honor or gratifie the Princes of Bourbon, he would without all doubt satisfie the bond of consanguinity, and shew to all the world, how great an account and esteem he made of their vertue and loyalty. That the King ought not in any manner by a change to destroy or alter the things already established, lest he should give occasion to be thought of a variable nature, unconstant, irresolute, and inconsiderate. But

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when places grew void, (as daily some or other did) he would not fail, so far as was reasonable, to satisfie the pretences of every one. Withall, she offered her self to undertake the protection of the Princes of the Bloud, and earnestly to sollicite her son, as soon as was possible, to satisfie their desires; that it would not be seemly for the King of Navar, who was a wise man, and had ever been a pattern of moderation, that he should now suffer himself to be guided by youthfull rash Counsels, and led into those precipices which were neither becoming his age nor wisdom; but expecting with patience that which he ought to acknowledge simply the Kings courtesie and affection, teach others the way how to receive in fit time the favours and benefits of their Prince. With these discourses having often tasted his temper, and perceiving he began already to stagger, finally, to give him the last shock, she proposed to him, that *Elisabeth* the Kings sister being to be sent into Spain, accompanied with some Person of great quality and esteem, she had thought to recommend that charge to him, being every way qualified both for gravity and Royall Birth, to honour and dignifie those Nuptials; which, besides the content the King her Son would receive by it, would by the way prove very advantageous to his particular ends. For he would have opportunity to gain the Catholick King, and withall, to treat in person concerning the restitution or change of his Kingdom of Navar; in which businesse she proffered to imploy all her own authority, and the power of the King her Son, to bring his desires to their wished ends.

The King of Navar, who in discovering and penetrating into the inclinations of the Court, found those who had any imployment there, complying with the present occasions, took little care of the pretences of the Princes of the Bloud; and those that had reason to desire his greatnesse and his Brothers, some of them disheartned, others ill satisfied with his long stay, and all equally desperate of effecting any thing, easily returning to his former thoughts of recovering his Kingdome, he conceived he ought not to refuse that occasion, which would be a means, not only to renew the Treaties of Agreement with Spain, but also to depart with honour from the Court, where hee found hee could not remain



remain with any reputation. Wherefore willingly entertaining the motion to conduct Queen *Elisabeth* into Spain, and filled with infinite hopes by the Queen-Mother (notwithstanding the other Princes his adherents were very much offended at it) he hastened his departure with such eagerness of mind, that his enemies themselves could not have desired it more. Nor did he with less facility entrap himself in the Treaty with the Spaniards: For King *Philip* being already advertised of the particulars of that business by the Queen-Mother, and he desiring no less than she, that the King of Navar, who had such strong pretences against his State, should be kept low, and far from any power in the Government; commanded the Duke of *Alva*, and the other Lords appointed to receive the Queen his wife, that they should be forward to use all manner of means to allure him on, and entertain him; but slowly embracing his propositions, they should offer themselves to make report thereof to the King and his Council, without the opinion of whom nothing could be determined that concerned the interest of the State.

So the King of Navar being come to the confines of Spain, and having delivered Queen *Elisabeth* to the Spanish Deputies, He presently entered into a Treaty that began fairly as he thought, of his own private business; which being managed with excellent dexterity by the Spaniards, so filled him with great but delayed hopes, that he had no other thoughts but of his own affairs; in such manner, that having at their request sent an Ambassadour to that Court, he determined to retire himself to his ancient quiet in Bearn; with a firm resolution not at all to meddle in the businesses of France, since their desires by way of negotiation proved fruitless. And for the Warre, he thought there was but little Justice in it, and too much hazard.

But contrary was the opinion, and other the resolutions of *Lewis* of Condé his Brother, a poor Prince, but hardy and courageous; who having framed his hopes to aspire to great matters, precipitated through the hate of his adversaries, constrained by the narrowness of his fortune, and continually spurred on by his wife and Mother-in-law (this Sister, that Niece to the Constable; but both of them fierce and



ambitious women) he could no longer support the wearisomnesse of his present condition, but with all his power promoted new and dangerous Counsels; having already figured to himself, that if he were a means and instrument to set the War on foot, he should not only obtain a great power amongst his own party, but riches also, with divers other conveniences; many adherents to his faction, and absolute Dominion over divers Cities and Provinces in the Kingdom. Wherefore having again assembled at his own house at la-Ferté in Champagne the Princes his Allies, and Lords adhering to his faction, he laid before them, that having till then tryed gentle pleasant remedies, and found no ease by them; it was necessary to apply a stronger medicine to cure the distemper, which from the beginning so violently tended to the ruine not only of the Royal House, but even of all that did not adore and depend as slaves upon the rule of the Queen-Mother and the Guises: That it was no longer time to hide their wounds (till then with so much patience concealed) for they appeared manifestly to the eyes of all the world: That the injuries with such indignities cast upon the Royall Family, were now openly to be seen; as their banishment from the Court, depriving them of the Government of Picardie, the usurpation of the Office of *Grand-Maistre*; The superintendence of the Kings Revenues; The dividing all the Charges and Offices amongst strangers, and persons unknown; The artificiall imprisonment of the King himself, to whom no body could have access, that spake freely or honestly; And finally, the oppression of all good men, and advancement only of those, who looked after nothing else, but to rob & waste the riches of the Crown. The eager persecution of the Bloud Royall was known to every one, and the tyranny of strangers established amongst them, whose violence could not be withstood but in the same manner by violence; That it was not the first time the Princes of the Bloud had taken Arms to defend the Jurisdictions and Priviledges of their Family. So *Peter Duke of Brittain*, *Robert Count of Dreux*, and divers other Lords ingaged themselves in a War, when in the minority of the King *Saint Lewis*, *Queen Blanch* his Mother, of her own accord took upon her the Government of the State: So *Philip Count of Valois*, after the death of

*Queen Blanch* Mother to *St. Lewis*, having taken upon her the Government of the Kingdome in the minority of her son, the Barons took arms to maintain the right in those to whom it belonged.

*Charles*



*Charles* the Fair, made use of his power to exclude from the Guardianship and Regency, those that unjustly pretended to usurp it; so *Lewis* Duke of Orleans made war in the time of *Charles* the eighth, to make himself be chosen Regent and Governour of the Kingdom, against the power and authority of *Anne* Dutchesse of Bourbon, who being the Kings elder sister, had assumed the charge of his Government: That these and many other examples, were so evident, that they could not do amiss in following the steps of their ancestors, whose case being clearly the same with theirs then, directed them the way to their own preservation. That they ought no longer to linger in expectation of the Kings pleasure; who buried in the Lethargy of his own incapacity, perceived not the miserable slavery into which he was brought. But as a wise careful Physitian gives medicines and potions to a sick man against his will, to cure him of an infirmity, and recover him from that danger which he perceives not in himself: so the Princes of the blood (to whom by consent of the whole Nation, and ancient Custom, this care naturally belongs) ought to endeavour to free the King from that slavery, and those bonds, which he (overcome by his infirmity) perceived not, though so prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the whole kingdom; but that it was necessary before the present danger precipitated them into extremities, to arm themselves with a strong resolution, and to proceed with a resolved constancy. For by quickness, prevention, and boldness, they should easily overcome those difficulties, which appear more in a Council, or putting doubts in a debate, then they are indeed when they come to be attempted. That on the contrary, by dejectedness of courage, and slackness, they should for ever subject themselves to a ruinous shameful servitude. Wherefore he desired every one, all doubts and uncertainties laid aside, courageously to trust his present safety, quiet, and future honour, to the strength of his own Arms.

These things being spoken with efficacy and souldier-like boldness and courage by the Prince, wrought upon the mindes of the greatest part of his audience, who were already of themselves, through their own affections and interests, disposed to take Arms.

But the Admiral, with more weighed counsel measuring  
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So did *Lewis*  
Duke of Or-  
leans in the  
time of *Charles*  
the eighth.



The Admiral  
maketh a pro-  
position to the  
Malecontents  
to protect the  
followers of  
those opinions  
in Religion  
introduced by  
*Calvin*, and it  
is embraced.

the greatnesse of the attempt, opposed the Princes opinion, and advised to take another way, which he thought more secure, and likelier to take effect. For to hazard so openly, all the Royal family, and so many their Allies and dependants, with little force, not any adherents, no strong places, without men, and no provision of money, to the arbitrement of War and Chance, appeared to him too desperate a resolution; and therefore thought it necessary to have recourse to industry and art, where there was a manifest defect of strength; and so working under-hand, without discovering themselves, bring their designe notwithstanding by the ministry of other persons to the end they desired. He shewed them, how the whole kingdom was full of multitudes of those that had embraced the opinions and faith newly introduced by *Calvin*: that, by reason of the severity of the Inquisitions exercised against them, and rigorous punishments, they were, through despair, brought to a desire, nay, to a necessity of exposing themselves to any danger whatsoever could befall them, so they might be free from the misery of their present condition; that they all believed that the severity used against them, proceeded from the motions and advice of the Duke of Guise, and much more from the Cardinal of Lorain, who not onely in the Parliament and Kings Council ardently wrought their destruction, but in publike discourse and private meetings, opposing their Doctrine, never desisted to persecute them; that the resolution and violence of that people was till then suppressed, because they had no head to guide them, nor any person whose counsel and activity might put heat into them; but with any little shew of assistance, they would without regard hazard themselves in all difficult and dangerous designs, through hope to be delivered from those calamities that so much oppressed them. Wherefore it would be an excellent Expedient to make use of that means to animate and get into a body a multitude so prepared; and then secretly to set them on when occasion served, to the destruction of the house of Lorain, in which manner, the Princes of the blood, and other Lords of their party, should secure themselves from danger, increase their strength by such a number of followers, gain the adherents of the Protestant Princes of Germany, and *Elizabeth* Queen of England, who openly favoured and protected that belief,

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set a greater shew of honesty upon the cause, lay upon others the burden of so bold an attempt, and make it believed for the future by all the world, that the Civil war was set on foot, and stirred up, not by the interest of the Princes, and their pretensions to the Government, but by the discords and controversies in matters of Religion.

It was not hard for the Admiral by his eloquence and authority to perswade the rest to approve of this designe; of itself, in appearance, much conducing to the state of their present affairs: and there being many in the Assembly which secretly enclined to *Calvins* Doctrine, it was resolved with a general consent, to follow that advice, the which, with lively and no lesse present hopes, hindered so precipitate a war, and kept off, for a time, those evident dangers to which men unwillingly expose themselves, when there is any means wholly to avoid, or at least to delay them. But it was a counsel and resolution so fatal and pernicious, that, as it let in all the miseries and calamities, which with such prodigious examples have for a long time afflicted and distracted that kingdom, so it brought to a miserable end, both the author himself that made the proposition, and all those, who led by their own affections and interests consented to it.

But since the beginning and progresse of *Calvins* doctrine is fallen into mention, under the colour of which, so many great and several factions have been engaged in the Civil wars of France, both for the better clearing the businesse in hand, as also not to be forced often to look back to those beginnings which are so requisite to the understanding of matters of fact, it is necessary to make some short relation of it.

After *Martin Luther* in Germany opened the way to let in Schism into Religion, and new opinions into our Faith, *John Calvin*, born at Noyon in Picardy, a man of a great but unquiet wit, marvellously eloquent, and generally learned, departing from the faith generally held and observed so many ages by our predecessors, proposed in his Books which he published in print, and in his Sermons which he preached in divers places in France, One hundred twenty eight Axiomes (so he called them) disagreeing from the Romane Catholike faith. The French wits, curious by nature, and desirous of Novelties, began at first, rather for pastime, then through choice, to read his Writings, and frequent his Sermons. But,

*John Calvin* a Picard, preacheth and publisheth in print 128 Principles differing from the Romane Catholike Religion; which at first are hearkned to onely in curiosity, but at last make great impressions in the mindes of men, and produce great mischief.



## The Historie of the Civill Warres

as in all busineses of the world it uses often to fall out, that things beginning in jest, end in earnest; these Opinions sowed in Gods Church, so crept up, that they were greedily embraced and obstinately believed by a great number of people and persons of all qualities; in so much as *Calvin* at the first, thought a man of little worth, and of a seditious unquiet spirit, in a short time came to be revered of many, and believed for a new miraculous interpreter of Scripture, and as it were a certain infallible Teacher of the true Faith.

*Calvins opinions had their first foundation in Geneva.*

*The Reformed Religion began to spread in France in the time of Francis the first.*

The foundation of this Doctrine was in the City of Geneva, situate upon the Lake anciently called *Lacus Lemanus*, upon the confines of Savoy: which having rejected the Government of the Duke and Bishop, to whom formerly it paid obedience, under the name of *Terra Franca*, and under pretence of living in liberty of conscience, reduced it self into the form of a Common-wealth or Commonalty. From thence Books coming out daily in print, and men furnished with wit and eloquence insinuating themselves into the neighbour Provinces, who secretly sowed the seeds of this new Doctrine; In progresse of time, all the Cities and Provinces of the kingdom of France were filled with it, though so covertly, that there appeared openly, onely some few marks and conjectures of it.

The original of this dissention began about the time of *Francis* the first; who though sometimes he made severe resolutions against them; notwithstanding, being continually busied in forraign Wars, either remitted it, or was not aware how' at that time, the Principles of that Faith (then rather despised and hated, then any way feared or taken notice of) began by little and little to spread in the world.

*Henry the second was very severe against the Calvinists.*

But *Henry* the second, a religious observer of the Catholike faith, knowing withal, that from distraction of Religion in mens mindes would infallibly follow (as a necessary consequence) distractions in the State; used his uttermost endeavors to extirpate the roots of those seeds in their first growth. and therefore, with inexorable severity resolved, that all who were found convict of this imputation, should suffer death without mercy. And although many of the Councillors in every Parliament, either favouring the same opinions, or abhorring the continual effusion of blood, made use of all their skill, to preserve as many as they could from the severity of this



this execution; notwithstanding the Kings vigilance and constancy was such, chiefly by the incitements of the Cardinal of Lorain, that he had reduced things to such a point, as he would in the end, though with the effusion of much blood, have expelled all the peccant humours out of the bowels of the kingdom; if the accidents which followed, had not interrupted the course of his resolution.

But thereupon, the death of *Henry* happening unexpectedly, which the *Calvinists* used to preach of as miraculous, & magnifie to their advantage: In the beginning of *Francis* the second his Raign, this severity being of necessity somewhat remitted, the disease by intermission of the purge grew stronger; and as the remedies were gentler and lesse operative, so inwardly it increased, & spread it self the more. For the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorain, who governed in chief, continued the same resolutions of severity; but it continued not in the Court of Parliament, nor were the other Magistrats so obedient to the Regal Authority; but, over-awed by the number and quality of those that had embraced that Doctrine which they called *Reformed*, and already weary of such cruelty towards their Country-men and kindred, silently slackned the rigour, and were lesse diligent in enquiring after them: Besides, there were many amongst the Counsellors, who according to the inclination of the present Government, and through desire of change, were well pleased to have things so brought into confusion, that every one might live with liberty of conscience. For *Theodor Beza*, *Calvins* disciple, a man of great eloquence and excellent learning, having by his Sermons seduced a great number of men and women, and many of the chief Nobility and greatest persons of the kingdom being revolted to that Religion, their assemblies and Sermons were then no more celebrated in Stables and Cellars, as in the Raign of *Hen. 2.* but in the Halls and Chambers of the best Gentry, and most eminent Nobility.

These people were formerly called *Hugonots*; because the first Conventicles they had in the City of Tours (where that belief first took strength & increased) were in certain Cellars under ground neer *Hugo's* gate, from whence they were by the vulgar sort called *Hugonots*; as in Flanders, because they went in the habits of Mendicants, they were called *Genx*: Others count other ridiculous and fabulous inventions

1560

The Calvinists use to boast much of the death of *Hen. 2.*

The name of *Hugonots* derived from certain places under ground neer *Hugo's* gate in the City of Tours, where those opinions first took growth.



of this name ; but howsoever it were , these Hugonots had not yet any Head , nor authority of any Prince to protect them. For though the Admiral and other Lords inclined to their opinions, they durst not as yet declare themselves ; but were bridled with the fear of punishment , and therefore kept their Assemblies exceeding privately.

Now the Princes of Bourbon finding France in this state, and so agreeing with their interests ; they greedily embraced the Admirals propositions , and unanimously consented to his Opinion, to make use of this pretext, and the opportunity of these conjunctures, to perfect their designs ; and to this end deputed *Andelot* and the Vidame of Chartres, to negotiate their businesse.

*Andelot* was brother to the Admiral ; a man of great fiercenesse, and much experience in war ; but being of a precipitate nature, and turbulent spirit ( still mingling and interesting himself in seditious Treaties and Plots ) had many times offended the former Kings ; and but for the protection of the Constable, and favour of his brother, more then once had forfeited his life and reputation. But, for these and the like causes, removed from Court , he had a long time continued to take part with the Hugonots, and to give them his aid in their secret assembling themselves to hear Sermons. Of like nature, and yet more precipitate, and more open, but not of like valour , was the Vidame of Chartres ; who great in riches, leading a licentious dissolute life , was become a refuge and sanctuary for all vitious persons ; and lastly ( more through capriciousnesse of his unquiet nature , then any sense he had of matters of Religion ) declared himself an adherent to *Calvin's* Doctrine. These as experienced instruments to stir up Novelties , and knowing the places where the Hugonots used to assemble, had no great difficulty, without discovering themselves, to finde out men enough fit to convey secret intelligence to those that were interested in it, of the begun design ; and to put in order and form those things that were to be put in execution ; who, besides their wondrous activity, had continual correspondence with those who ( terrified with fear of danger & punishment ) cared not, for their own safety, to molest and subvert the whole world : and easily, in a short time, brought their businesse to that issue as was intended.

Practising thus in all parts, they disposed the order of their  
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Council in manner as followeth. That, having assembled a great multitude of those that professe the Reformed Religion, they should first of all send, and then appearing before the Court unarmed, desire the King to grant them liberty of conscience, free exercise of their Religion, and Temples allowed them for that purpose ; which demands, knowing they would be sharply and resolutely denied , the armed men (which were to be sent privately at the same time out of divers Provinces) appearing on a sudden under certain Captains, as if it had been a multitude enraged with a denial, that ran furiously to take Arms, The King being found unprovided, and the Court disarmed, they should kill the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorain, with all those that followed or depended upon any of their name ; and so force the King to declare the Prince of Conde supreme Governour and Regent of the whole kingdom ; who should then remit the Laws made against them, and grant them a freedom of their Religion.

The manner of the Hugonots proceedings.

Some believe, and have divulged, that the chief instruments of this Conspiracie, had secret order, if their Plots succeeded as they had designed it, that they should presently cut in pieces the Queen-mother, and the King himself, with all his brothers ; by these means to clear the way for the Princes of Bourbon to attain to the Crown : But not any of the complices having ever confessed this intention, but always, even upon the rack, and otherwise, constantly denied that point, I cannot give my self leave to affirm it upon the uncertain report of Fame onely, which is raised and increased according to the several inclinations of men.

Now the Conspirators having thus ordered their businesse, they presently divided the charges & chief provinces amongst the Hugonots, that they might execute their designs with more order and lesse noise. *Godfrey de la Barre, Sieur de la Renaudie*, a man who, having past thorow divers fortunes, & spent much time in other Countries, with his boldnesse and wit had got a great name amongst the *Calvinists* ; and was much followed by them, took upon him the chief Government and care of the whole enterprise, neither wanting courage to undertake, nor understanding to direct so hazardous a designe. Withal, being brought to a low desperate fortune, he resolved by these means either to better his condition, or lose his

*Renaudie* a man of a desperate fortune, is made Head of the Hugonots Conspiracie.



life in the attempt. He was born in Perigort (which people were anciently called *Petrocorii*) of an indifferent good family; but for some false dealing in a certain Proceſſe, was forced to flee his Country, and, having for many yeers wandered up and down the world, at length came to Geneva, and there by the readineſſe of his wit, having gotten into reputation, he found means alſo to return home to his own Country; where waſting his fortune in projects and factious companies, he brought himſelf into ſuch a condition, that he was at length forced to get his living by the ſame arts he had formerly ruined both his credit and eſtate. Such was the quality and birth of the chief Head of that Conſpiracy, with whom many others joyned themſelves; ſome led by conſcience, others thruſt on through deſire of change, and many alſo invited by the natural humour of the French Nation, who cannot endure to live idely. To thoſe of beſt quality amongſt theſe, he gave ſeveral charges to raiſe men, & to bring them to a place appointed; ſo that having divided to all, their ſeveral Provinces, in this great diſorder they proceed in a moſt orderly method, which with all the members, agitating ſeverally, were notwithſtanding each of them in due time to be aſſiſting to their ſuperiour. To the Baron of Caſtelnew they committed the care of Gaſcogne; To Captain *Mazeres*, the charge of Bearn; To *Mefny*, the Country of Limoges; To *Mirabell*, Xaintonge; To *Coccardville*, Picardy; To *Mozans*, Provence; To *Mallines*, Brie and Champaigne; To the *Sieur de S. Marie*, Normandy; and to *Montejan*, Britany: men who, as they were all of noble families, ſo were they of known courage, and reputed principal leading men, in ſeveral Cities, and their own Countries where they lived.

All theſe departing from the Aſſembly at Nantes a City in Britanie (where under colour of Law-buſineſſe, celebrating Marriages, or ſuch like pretences, they met together) and returning with great expedition, every one to the Province allotted him, in a few days working with wonderful ſecrecie, they brought a great number of people of ſeveral conditions to be at their devotions; who, without looking further into the matter, were aſſured by their Preachers, that the buſineſſe they had in hand was for the good & quiet of the Commonwealth. In the mean while, the Prince of Conde (who underhand miniſtered fuel to ſo great a fire) by little journeys went towards  
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the Court, to be ready without demurr, to take such resolutions as were most expedient, and conformable to the present occasion : But the Admiral with his wonted sagacitie, preserving himself as it were neuter, to be better able upon all occasions to assist his party, being retired to his house at Chastillon, made shew of desiring the ease of a private life, without any thought of publick businesse belonging to the Government. Which he did not so much that he might secretly favour, with his counsell and assistance the common design; as through doubt (esteeming it too rash and dangerous) that it might meet some crosse encounter or unhappy end.

Now the Conspirators (not troubled with such thoughts, but full of good hope) were departed from their houses where they had lien hidden secretly, and carrying arms under their garments, went divers ways in several Companies (according to their order at that time prefixt) from divers parts towards Blois; where for the present, by reason of the goodness of the air, the Court remained; a plain open Citie, and not any ways fortified; neer which, in the places adjacent, they were all to meet the 15 day of March, in the year 1560: a day more then once destined for the execution of great designs.

1560.

But the diligence and secrecy of the Conspirators was not such (although very great) but that it was exceeded by the industry of the Queen-Mother and the Guises: who through great rewards, and the authority they had in the State, having infinite dependants in all parts of the Kingdom, were particularly informed of the whole frame of the Conspiracie; and it was impossible in reason, that the rising of so great a multitude could be concealed: for we see the secretest plots trusted to few persons of tried secrecie and known faith, use often to be discovered before they come to execution. Some will have it, that *la Renaudie* communicated all the particulars to *Pierre Avanelles* an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, whom he thought a man to be trusted, because he was one of the same Religion. But he, either looking upon it as too great an attempt, or designing to get a reward, revealed the businesse confusedly to the Duke of Guises Secretary; by whose counsel, afterwader sent for in person to the Court, he discovered all the particulars to the Queen-Mother. But whether this secret came from *Avanelles*; or spies entertained

The fifteenth of March was a day more then once appointed for the execution of great designs in France: and this day, Anno 1560, the Hugonots determined to meet at Blois, where the King then was.

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in the houses of the chief Conspirators, accused them; or that the advice, as some have said, came out of Germany; the Queen-Mother and the Guises having notice of it, consulted what course to take to divert or else suppress the mischief of the present Conspiracy. The Cardinal not accustomed to the dangers of war, inclining to the securest resolution, advised, that all the Nobility of the neereſt Provinces should be sent for; that all the foot in the neighbour Garrisons should be drawn into a Body; that Curriers should be dispatched to all the Princes and Governours of the Kingdom, with absolute command to put themselves into the field, to pursue all such as they found bearing Arms; conceiving, that the Conspirators finding they were discovered, and hearing of such great preparations, (which are commonly increased by reports) would of themselves scatter and disband, rather then try the uttermost danger.

But the Duke of Guise, who, used to the greatest dangers, made little account of the Force of a confused multitude without discipline or government; thought, by following that way which the Cardinal proposed, the mischief would be delayed, but not extinguished; which still perniciously creeping into, and settling in the inward bowels of the Kingdom, would break forth again at some other time with greater violence, and perhaps with more trouble and damage to the State. In which consideration, he was of opinion, that dissembling, and making shew of knowing nothing, they should give courage and commodity to the Conspirators to discover themselves; that so being vanquished, and punished, the State might be freed from the repletion of so pestilent and dangerous an humour; which, shewing it self like to occasion such great distempers, it was no time to appease it with lenitives only, but being already grown to a head, to expell it with strong purging medicines. He added yet to those reasons, that the Conspirators being so separately suppressed but in part, it would be in the arbitrement of malignants to calumniate the act; and the people not accustomed to such proceedings, would difficultly beleieve it; so that many would think it an invention of those that governed to depress their enemies, and more surely to establish their present power; but that, oppressing them all united together in one Body, at the same instant that they meant to put their designs in execution;



execution ; all calumnies would be taken away, and the truth and sincerity of their proceedings be evident to all the world.

The Queen-Mother moved with these reasons, concurred with him in opinion. Wherefore not making any provisions extraordinary that might make the Conspirators suspect they had any advertisement of their design ; they carried the King, with all the Court, as for recreation onely, from Blois to Ambois, ten leagues distant (a French league contains two English miles) upon the river Loire ; and by reason of that, and the woods that inviron it, very strongly situated. They did this, partly to delude the Conspirators in their first attempt, (who thought to find the King in a neerer place, and more open ; ) partly that by means of the Castle the Kings person and the Queens might be more secure ; and being a place but of little compasse, it was easily to be defended by those few people that were to be gotten thereabouts. There the day appointed drawing neer in which the conspirators were to appear, The Guises, having devised amongst themselves how to make use of this so great an occasion for their own advantage, not only better to establish, but to increase and bring to perfection their newly atchieved greatnesse, and convert this assault of their enemies to their own advancement, (as from poysons are often extracted cordials) without making the Queen privie thereunto, they went directly to the King, and, with shew of great fear, exaggerating and magnifying the attempt of the conspirators, laid before him how greatly the Government, and by consequence, his own person, and all his Allies, were indangered by their practices ; and withall told him of the neer nesse of the danger, the conspirators being already at the gates of Ambois, and that their number and force being more then at first was believed, it was necessary to resolve upon some present expedient to prevent them.

The King, of a timorous feeble nature, and at the present much moved with the greatnesse of so imminent a danger, calling to his presence not only his Mother, but all the Councell, began to debate the means of opposing the Force, and suppressing the violence of so great an insurrection. The Councell was tumultuous and confused, by reason whereof many doubts and infinite dangers appearing on all sides, which were much increased by the vehemence and art of the  
Cardinal



Cardinal of Lorain ; The King of himself unable to resolve any thing in matters of such difficulty, much lesse to sustain the weight of the Government in so troubled a time, without any other motive but his owne, was of opinion to declare the Duke of Guise, his Lieutenant Generall, with absolute power ; and relying upon the vigour of his courage and mature wisdom, to leave the Government of the State during those troubles wholly to him, forasmuch as he found himself unable to undergo so great a burthen. The Queen-mother, though inwardly struck with so bold an attempt, readily consented to the Kings opinion ; because she saw she could not oppose that resolution without coming to open variance with the Guises ; which in that time, when it was most necessary to remain united, would have occasioned the Kings ruine, and the subversion of the State, admitting with disorder and confusion in the Government, advantagious opportunities for the conspirators to execute with greater facility their intended designs. Besides, it appeared very reasonable to her, that to such imminent dangers should be opposed the absolute power of some one experienced person of great reputation, and that it was not fit to rely upon one of weak capacity, who with doubts and delays might give the enemy that opportunity which he desired, and take off from his own that resolution and freeness of courage which the urgency of the present affairs required. And by the example of past occurrences, (which teach excellent lessons to govern the future) she was put in mind, that not only Kings, who govern absolutely according to their will, but even Re-publicks, had conferred the supreme authority upon one man, when the occurrence of any great dangers seemed to require extraordinary and powerfull opposition. But besides these respects which concerned the welfare of her son and the publick good, she was perswaded to it by her own private interest. For foreseeing afar off the desolation that must of necessity follow, the enmities of the Princes of the Bloud, and the hate and envie that would fall upon her if she opposed it, she thought it very fit for her purpose, that the Duke of Guise commanding absolutely in chief, all the blame & envie should fall wholly on him, and she by that means preserve the love of the people, and the liberty to bend her counsels that way which she should think most fit and advantagious for her self.



But *Olivier* the Chancellor, a man in all times esteemed the Author of wise counsell, and averse to such unlimited power, seemed to stand doubtfull and in suspence, whether or no he should consent to the Kings Proposition; and such was his constancie and authority, that the businesse had been held longer in debate and with doubtfull successe, if the Queen-Mother had not made it appear to him, that the present danger was so extraordinary and so pressing, that it could not be prevented with ordinary moderate Counsels: That it was necessary to provide for the urgency of the instant affairs, and rather then ruine the present, lay aside a little the consideration of future things, which might be otherwise remedied by time and opportunity: That it would be very easie, this urging necessity once past, to moderate with new Decrees and new Edicts, the now unlimited power of the Duke of Guise, which would quickly transport him beyond the limits of duty and reason, if he were not restrained by his own vertue: And finally, it would be of advantage to every one, that in the effusion of so much bloud, which it was foreseen must be spilt, no other power nor authority should be used but the Dukes only; neither the King himself, his friends or ministers having their hands imbrued in those slaughters. Which considerations moving the Chancellor, he sealed the Cõmission drawn by *l' Aubespine* Secretary of State: In which was granted to the Duke of Guise the Title and Authority of Lieutenant General for the King, in all the Provinces and places under his command, with supreme power in all causes Civil and Military.

The Duke of Guise having obtained this charge, which he had ever aspired to, began resolutely to attend the suppression of the conspiracy, and presently causing the gate of the Castle into the garden to be walled up, and having placed the Switzers and French Archers, which use ordinarily to guard the Kings person, at the other; he sent forth the Count of *Sanserre* with some horse to scout abroad, and give him continuall advertisement what he could discover.

In the mean time *Renandie* arrived with his complices at the place appointed; and finding the King was retired from Blois to Ambois, neverthelesse his courage not failing, he went on in the same order towards the Court. The unarmed multitude came first, who falling prostrate before the King, were to

H demand



demand Liberty of Conscience. But they were not only not admitted to his presence, but being roughly driven away from the gates by the souldiers that were in guard, they retired, and scattered up and down in the fields, and without either order or advice expected the coming of their other companions.

Not long after Captain *Lignieres*, one of the conspirators, either terrified at the point of execution, with the greatnesse of the danger, or else through remorse of conscience, leaving his companions, went a by-way to Ambois, and acquainted the King and Queen-mother particularly of the number and quality of the conspirators, the names of the Commanders, the wayes by which they came, and withall their whole design. Wherefore by the Kings order a guard being set upon the Prince of Condé, that he might in no manner be aiding to the conspirators, as he had promised them; the Duke of Guise sent forth *Jaques d' Aubon* Mareschal de S. *André*, and *James Savoy* Duke of Nemours, with all the horse they could make, either of the Kings guard, or the attendance about the Court; who being placed in Ambushes in the woods thereabouts, intended to expect the coming of the conspirators. *Mazeres* and *Rannay*, who led the Troops of Bearn, were the first that fell into the Ambuscade laid by the Count of Senferre; and astonished with the sudden assault, neither knowing how to fly nor defend themselves, were taken prisoners without much dispute. The Baron of Castelnau, who led a great number out of Gascoigne, being arrived at Nozé, and there refreshing his Horse to continue their march, was met by the Duke of Nemours; who besieging him in that place where he had no manner of provision to make any defence, they thought it best to yeeld themselves to the Dukes mercy, who carried him and all his company prisoners to Ambois. *La Renandie* passing through the woods, having avoided all the Ambuscadoes, approached neer the gates of Ambois, where encountred him *Pardillian* with a Squadron of resolute Cuirassiers; yet seeing himself in good condition to fight, he made a fierce assault; but soon found that his men, as it is ordinary in such tumults, began to yeeld to the Kings old Souldiers. Wherefore desiring to end his life honourably, he spurred on his horse to *Pardillian*, and running him into the vizor with his tuck, laid him dead upon the ground; whereupon being shot in the thigh with a carabine by *Pardillian's* Page, who was neer his

The conspirators arrive neer Ambois where the Court was, and are all defeated.



his Master, he died fighting valiantly; and the rest of his Companions without much resistance, were for the most part all killed upon the place. The next day the rest of the conspirators Troops, hearing the death of *la Renaudie*, and the defeat of their companions, and considering that the Country about being raised upon them, there was no means to save themselves by flight; they resolved under the conduct of *la Mothe* and *Cocqville*, who were the only Commanders left, to assault the walls and gates of Ambois. For not knowing that the Prince of Conde was straightly guarded, they hoped some commotion would be raised by him within. The assault was at first very resolute and valiant; but finding the walls of the Castle in all parts well defended, at length wearied out, and desperate of effecting their purpose, they retreated into the faux Bourg, resolving to stand obstinately upon their defence; with hope, by help of the night that drew on, to find some means of escape. But the Cavalry coming in that had been scouring the Campagne, presently set fire to the houses where they were, and so burning them, they perished in a manner all, without being able in this last exigence to perform any memorable act. Those that were taken alive in the places about, the chief of them were preserved to draw from their confession the particulars of the conspiracie; the rest condemned to die, being hanged upon trees in the fields, and over the Battlements of the Castle wall, butchered and torn by the souldiers and executioners, were a most lamentable spectacle to the beholders, and the first beginning of that desolation and bloodshed, which continuing for the space of many yeers after, produced such sad and miserable events.

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*The end of the first Book.*

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THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Second BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**He Second Book contains the perplexity of the Kings Council in remedying the disorders discovered in the Conspiracie; the deliberation to punish the discontented Princes; the Assembly at Fountain-bleau; the resolution to hold an Assembly of the States Generall, which are summoned by the King to meet at Orleans; the Princes of Bourbon refuse to go thither; the King makes them change their resolution; the Constable with delays procures the benefit of time: The Princes of the Bloud arrive at Orleans; the Prince of Conde is committed to prison, and condemned to die. Francis the Second dieth suddenly; Charles the Ninth succees to the Crown, who being in minority, there arise great dissensions about the Regencie. The Queen-Mother is made Regent, and the King of Navar President of the Provinces; the Prince of Conde is absolved, and a tacit liberty granted to the Hugonots. The King is crowned at Rheims. The Constable unites himself with the Guises; they joyn together to take away the liberty from the Hugonots; the Ediēt of July follows; the Ministers



sters demand a Conference, and obtain it ; it is kept in Poissy, but proves fruitlesse ; the Hugonots departing from the Conference, preach freely ; great troubles arise thereupon : to remedy which, the States are assembled at Paris, where by the Edict of Jannary a liberty of conscience is granted openly. The Heads of the Catholike faction leave the Court ; draw into confederacie with them also the King of Navar : the Queen-mother being terrified, fains to make a League with the Hugonots, and so addes strength to that party.



His multitude thus scattered, and the greatest part of their Commanders either taken or killed, that had brought them from the remotest parts of the kingdom, the fury and violence of the Insurrection, was in appearance abated and suppressed. But none having perished save onely the seditious rabble, who desperate in their fortunes, were ready rashly to run upon any danger ; and the Princes of Bourbon, with the other Lords of that party that had not discovered themselves to be authors of that Conspiracy, remaining still unsatisfied, and ready to embrace new counsels, the common peace was still internally, more then ever disturbed, and the publike safety exposed to new troubles. This being very well known both to the Queen-mother, and the Guises, as soon as the tumult and commotions in the Court could be appeased, which by reason of the rarenesse of the accident were very great, to make the speediest and best provision that might be against so great a danger, they presently called to Councel in the Kings own chamber, all those who as faithful ministers in the present Government, they thought might be trusted with the secrets of these new occurrences. There the reasons being weighed with long debate of the late stirs, it clearly appeared that they proceeded onely from the practice and incitation of the Princes of the blood ; and that to maintain the Kings Authority, and the form of Government established, it was necessary in the first place to take away the Heads, and remove the Authors of that Insurrection ; They knew that proceeding according to strictnesse of Law, they might justly be punished as disturbers of the publike peace, as favourers and introducers of Heresie, and finally, as such who had conspired

After the suppression of the Conspirators, in a secret Councel held in the Kings Chamber, it is resolved to punish the favourers of the Hugonots.



1560. spired against the Kings liberty, and the ancient Constitutions of the Crown, and they doubted not, if the fomenters of that Insurrection were punished and suppressed, but the people would soon return again to their former quiet and obedience. But the reverence born in all times, to those of the blood Royal, and the power of those Princes that were named to have part in the Conspiracy, would have caused every one there to suspend his judgement; it appearing to them a businesse of great moment, and on all sides very dangerous, if the King himself exceedingly incensed, even beyond his natural disposition, at so sudden a Commotion, (which without any fault of his, or ill usage of his Subjects, he saw was raised by the Princes in the beginning of his Government) had not with sharp and sensible expressions given courage to the rest to resolve upon some such severe course as might expresse a sense of the affront. To which the Queen-mother (no lesse sollicitous of her sons welfare, then her own greatnesse) and the Guises, to maintain themselves in their acquired power, readily consenting; there was not any one who finally concurred not in decreeing the punishment and ruine of all those, who either by their counsel or assistance administred fuel to that fire.

But because a deliberation of so great weight, full of infinite hazards, and that drew after it many great consequences, was necessarily to be governed with exceeding art, and managed with prudent dexterity; they resolved to begin with dissimulation, to feign they had no further knowledge of any thing concerning the Conspiracy, then the manifest appearance of it brought to light, to attribute all the fault to the diversity of Religions, and ill government of the Magistrates, to shew rather a fear & terrour stricken into them by the fury and sudden attempt of the Conspirators, then any confidence or security by their suppression; In outward appearance to manifest a great desire of regulating the Justice of the kingdom, and to finde a way to a new Reformation in the Government, which contenting all pretenders, might reduce with satisfaction those turbulent spirits to their former quiet. With these kinde of proceedings, they thought they might lull into security those anxious mindes, who pricked in conscience, lived in extreme apprehensions, and by artifices compasse their desires, which they knew, by force were very difficult



difficult to attain unto. And because they conceived, the Constable and the King of Navar had both by consent and assistance abetted these stirs, and it was certainly known that the Visdame of Chartres and Andelot had been active in them, whom it was agreed upon they could not get into their power but with dissimulation and time; they resolved to set at liberty the Prince of Conde, as well to confirm an opinion that they were confident of his loyalty, and had not penetrated into the depth of the businessse, as also because to take away or punish him alone, if such powerful revengers of his death were left alive, would rather be prejudicial and dangerous, then of any advantage; past examples teaching us, that it is in vain to cut down the body of a tree, how high or lofty soever, if there be any quick roots left which may send forth new sprouts.

The secret intentions for matter of Government thus settled, and covered over with the veil of so perfect a dissimulation; they resolved, that soon after a General Assembly should be called of the three Estates, upon which is divolved the Authority of the whole kingdom; and that for two reasons. First, because the Kings resolution against the Princes of the blood was so severe, he being but young, and newly entered upon the Government, they thought it necessary to strengthen that act by the concurrence and universal consent of the whole Nation. Secondly, because by declaring a publike Treaty concerning remedies for the present disorders, and a form and rules to be observed in matters of Religion, and administration of the future government, the King might have an apparent & reasonable occasion to call to him all the Princes of the blood, and Officers of the Crown, without giving suspicion to any body; neither would there be any colourable excuse left for them not to come, when it should be given out, that a Reformation was intended, which they themselves professed that they desired. But because this Assembly of the States was a thing by all Kings ever abhorred (for whilst they sit with absolute power representing the body of the whole kingdom, the Kings authority seems in a manner suspended) it was therefore resolved first to call a great Council under pretence of remedying the present distractions; wherein by persons set on to that purpose, it should be proposed and counselled, as necessary; that so the Princes & Lords of the

To get the favourers of the Hugonots into their power, it is resolved to call an Assembly of the States, at which amongst others the Princes of the blood are to assist.



1560. the Conspiracy might not enter into any jealousie, as though the King, without request made by his Subjects, had voluntarily of himself resolved to call an Assembly of the States.

Things thus resolved upon, presently were published Letters Patents directed to all the Parliaments, and Edicts divulged to the severall Provinces of the kingdom: In the Preambles of which the King lamenting and complaining, that without any evident occasion, a great number of persons had risen, and taken Arms against him: afterwards proceeding, he clearly imputes the blame thereof to the rashnesse of the Hugonots, that they having laid aside all belief in God, and love to their Country, endeavoured to disturb and trouble the peace of the kingdom: But because it is the duty of a good Prince, to proceed with love and fatherly indulgence, He declared withal, that he was ready to pardon all such, who acknowledging their errour, should retire peaceably to their own houses, resolving to live conformably to the Rites of the Catholike Church, and in obedience to the Civil Magistrates. Wherefore he commanded all his Courts of Parliament, not to proceed in matters of Religion, upon any past informations, but to provide with all severity for the future, that they should offend no more in the like kinde, nor keep any unlawful Assemblies. And because he desired above all things to satisfie his people, and to reform abuses in the Government; That he therefore signified his pleasure to assemble all the Princes and eminent persons of the kingdom, at Fountain-bleau, a place fitly situated in the heart of France, and but few leagues distant from Paris, to provide by their counsel for the urgent necessities of the State; to which purpose he gave free leave and power to all persons whatsoever, to come to the Assembly, or else to send their deputies and grievances in writing, which he would not onely graciously hear himself, but the supplicants should have redresse in all that was reasonable or just.

With these and the like Decrees, divulged on purpose and with dissimulation (the Court Master-piece) they in a reasonable manner secured the great ones from their fears and jealousies; nor was there any one who believed not, but that the Queen-mother and the Guises, being terrified with the sudden attempt of the Conspirators, and doubting more then ever new Insurrections, had determined in a fair and fitting



fitting way to satisfie the discontented Princes, and so to regulate the form of Government, that all should again participate according to their merits, the charges and honours of the kingdom.

In this interim the Prince of Conde was discharged of his Guard, and left free, either to stay at Court, or depart, as he pleased; neither the King nor the Queen omitting any demonstrations of kindnesse that might appease him. But he, grievously troubled in minde, not being able to quiet his thoughts (for if he stayed, he stayed in danger; and going away, he went as criminal); at length he resolved to taste in some measure the Kings inclinations, and to finde out if it were possible, the intentions of those that governed. Wherefore being one day at Councel, where the Princes of the blood are always admitted, he laboured by weighty and earnest speeches to clear himself from being guilty of any practice either against the Kings person or the Queens, as had been falsly suggested by his enemies: But because things done in secret cannot otherwise be cleared, that he was ready to maintain his innocence with his sword in his hand, against any person whatsoever that durst calumniate him as a partaker in the late conspiracy. Which words, though they were directed to the Princes of Lorain, Nevertheless the Duke of Guise, not forgetting the resolutions already taken, most cunningly dissembling, added thereunto, that he knowing the Princes goodnesse and candor, offered himself in person to accompany him, and hazard his life as his second, if there were any that would accept the challenge.

The Prince of Conde, who was as a prisoner, is set at liberty.

These Ceremonies past over, which were so artificially carried, on both sides, that the most suspicious and least apt to believe, began to think them real; the Prince not at all quiet nor secure within, but thinking he had done enough for his justification, departed presently from Court, and with great diligence went into Bearn to the King of Navar.

They omitted not to use the like artifices with the Constable; the Admiral, and the rest; but entertained them with kinde Letters, and Commissions, and Charges of trust. Neither was there lesse care to provide in all the Provinces against any new Insurrections; for which cause the *Gens d'armes* were sent into several parts of the kingdom that were most suspected, and the Governours of places, and other



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Magistrates, were very watchful, that there should be no secret Assemblies, in which they perceived all the mischief was ordered and contrived ; and under pretence of the Hugonots, they kept a strict watch upon other people of all sorts and qualities. But about the King, where there was greatest danger, and cause of suspicion, were appointed to wait, the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Angoulême his brothers Bands of men at arms, commanded by men of fidelity and trust, the Duke of Guises Company and his brothers the Duke of Aumale's, the Duke of Lorain's, the Duke of Nemour's, Prince Lodowick Gonzago's, Don Francisco d' Este's, the Marechal of Brissac's, the Duke of Never's, the Viscount of Tavanne's, the Count of Crussol's, and *Monsieur de la Brosse's* ; to which were added the Prince of Conde's Band, and the Constable's ; for being amongst so many others, they might be carefully enough looked over. All these, which amounted to a thousand Launces, were still quartered about the Court, to be neer the Kings person ; and to his ordinary guard were added two hundred Harquebushers on horseback, under the command of *Monsieur de Richlieu* a man of exceeding fierceness, and absolutely depending upon those that governed. The Princes, ministers of the Crown, many Prelates and Gentlemen, eminent in birth or quality, were already summoned to the Assembly at Fountain-bleau, where those that sat at the Helm, proceeded with such dissimulation, that all men observing in them rather a timorousness, and apprehension of the future events, then any thoughts bent to severity or revenge, the Conspirators themselves believed they might without any more trouble, obtain such a Regulation in the Government as they had designed.

By the death  
of *Olivier*, *Michel de l'Hospital*  
is made  
High Chan-  
cellor.

In the mean time, the high Chancellor *Olivier* dying, that dignity was confirmed upon *Michel de l'Hospital*, who to his deep knowledge in the Greek and Latin letters, having added a great experience in affairs of State, and being of a cautelous subtil wit, the King thought he would prove an excellent minister for those resolutions that were then in designe. The Queen used great industry and no lesse diligence to advance this creature of her own to that Office, notwithstanding the Princes of Lorain would have brought into it *Monsieur Morvilliers*, a man no way inferiour, either in reputation or wisdom, but who seemed not to desire that place,  
left



left he might gain the displeasure of the Queen-mother, who beginning to grow jealous of the greatnesse of that family, desired to have such a person in so eminent a charge, who depending absolutely upon her will, might also be of ability to manage those great affairs.

But the Election of the high Chancellor thus confirmed (w<sup>ch</sup> for some days kept businesse in suspence) no delays being to be used in the execution of their purposed designs, the King with those bands before mentioned, and the Court all armed, went to Fountain-bleau to celebrate the appointed Assembly with great expectation of all men. There arrived two days after, the Constable accompanied by *Francis* Marshal of Mororancy, and *Henry* Lord d'Anville his sons, by the Admiral, *Andelot*, and the Cardinal of Chastillon his Nephews, the Visdame of Chartres, the Prince of Portian, and so numerous a gallant company of his friends and adherents that in an open place (as Fountain-bleau was) he needed not fear either the Kings strength, or the Guises power. The Prince of Conde and the King of Navar, though kindly invited, had already refused to come thither; the first, through exasperation of minde, which more then ever inclined his thoughts to new designs; the other, having remitted what concerned their common interests to the Constable & the Admiral (to whom he sent his Confident *Jacques de la Sague* with instructions) was resolved to stand at a distance in his own private quiet.

*Anne* of Mororancy with all his adherents, goes to the Assembly at Fountain-bleau.

The King of Navar and the Prince of Conde go not thither.

The Assembly at Fountain-bleau.

The day appointed to begin, the Assembly being now come, after they were all met together in the Queen-mothers chamber, the King in few words told them his intent, which was to prevent the troubles that were rising, and to regulate such things as were thought necessary to be reformed. Wherefore he earnestly desired every one there present, with sincerity and candor to deliver his opinion in what concerned the publike good. The Queen-mother pursued the Kings speech, speaking much to the same purpose; but more at large exhorting every body there to speak freely their own sense, without any respects; for the Assembly was called to no other intent, but to regulate and reform such things as were requisite for the present and future quiet. The Chancellor *de l'Hospital* made a long set Oration much to the same purpose, but descending to more particulars, signified it was the Kings opinion, and the Lords of

his



1560. his Councel, that the troubles of the kingdom did proceed chiefly from the dissentions in Religion; and next, from the excessive grievances laid upon the people by the Kings His predecessors; and therefore desired every one upon those two points especially to speak his opinion, that care might be taken both for the settling of mens consciences, and for paying the debts of the Crown, without laying more burden upon the Subject already overcharged, but rather finde some way to disburden and ease them of their oppressions: Yet his Majesty prohibited none, if they discovered any other disorders in the Government, but that they might and ought freely and plainly to propose, and represent to the Assembly, whatsoever they thought might conduce to the re-setling the present Distractions in the State.

After these proposalls, for the better information of those that were to speak their opinions, the Duke of Guise rendred an account of the Armies, and other things committed to his charge; and the Cardinal of Lorain related particularly the estate of the Treasury and publike Revenue, commonly called *Finances*; and with these Preambles, that every one might have time to prepare himself what to say, the Assembly was dismissed for that time.

The Admiral presents a Petition from the Hugonots, in which they demand erection of Temples, and liberty of conscience.

The next day, before they entred upon any businesse, the Admiral more in love with his own Opinions then ever, and conceiving if he could adde to the Queens apprehensions, and the Guises, they might with more facility obtain such a full Reformation as was aimed at; resolved to set forth the number and force of the Hugonots, notwithstanding the late suppression of the Conspiracy, and by that means gain the favour and absolute dependance of that party. Wherefore rising from his seat, and presenting himself before the King, he delivered him a Paper, and said aloud, so that he might be plainly heard by every one, *That it was a Petition from those of the Reformed Religion, who in confidence of his Majesties Edicts, in which he permitted all people freely to present their grievances, had desired him to present it; and though there were yet no hands to it, when his Majestie should so order, it would presently be subscribed by One hundred and fifty thousand persons.* The King, who by his mothers precepts had learned the art of dissembling, graciously received



ved the paper, and with affable speeches commended the Admirals confidence in presenting to him the desires of his Subjects. This paper being read by *Aubespine*, it appeared to be a Petition from the Hugonots, by which with many tedious circumstances, they desired in substance *Liberty of Conscience*, and temples to be assigned them in every City where they might freely exercise their Religion. After the reading of which, the Admiral being returned to his place, and the murmure ceased, which proceeded from the diverse sense that men had of this proceeding, every one was appointed in order to deliver his opinion. The Cardinal of Lorain, of himself ardent, and put on by the obligation of his calling, could not forbear to answer the contents of the petition, which he termed seditious, impudent, rash, hereticall and petulant; concluding, that if to strike a terror into the Kings youth, it had been said, that the petition should be subscribed by 150000 seditious persons, he made answer, *There was above a Million of honest men ready to suppress the boldnesse of such rebellious people, and make due obedience be rendered to the Royall Majestie.* Whereupon the Admiral offering to reply, a great contest would have followed, to the hindrance of the businesse intended, if the King imposing them both silence, had not commanded the rest to proceed in order to deliver their opinions.

For so much as concerned controversies in Religion, those that favoured *Calvins* doctrine, as there were many even among the Prelates that inclined that way, proposed that the Pope should be desired to grant a free generall Councell, where the differences in matters of Faith might be disputed, and determined by common consent; and if the Pope refused to grant it in such manner as was necessary for the present times, and the generall satisfaction of all men; the King ought, according to the wise example of many his Predecessors, to call a Nationall Councell in his own Kingdom; where under his protection those differences might be determined. But the Cardinal of Lorain, and the rest who constantly persevered in the Catholick Religion, and were the major part in the Assembly, denied that any other Councell was necessary, then that by the Popes order many yeers since begun, and now newly entred into again in the City of Trent; whether according to the Canons, and ancient use of holy Church,

A Nationall  
Councell pro-  
posed.



1560. Church, it was free for every body to have recourse, and to bring all differences in matters of Religion to be decided by the natural competent Judges; and that to call a Nationall Council, whilst the Generall was open, would be to separate (through the capriciousnesse of a few desperate persons) a most Christian Kingdom from the union and fellowship of the holy Church; that it was not necessary to look so far back: For the generall Councell of Trent, having discussed and examined the Doctrine of those Teachers that dissented from the Roman Church, had already for the most part reprov'd and condemn'd it; That they should indeavour by the best means that could be, to purge the Kingdom, and not by hopes or propositions of new Councils, increase the disorders, and multiply the confusions. But if the manners of the Ecclesiasticks, or abuses introduced into the government of the Church of France required reformation, or more severe constitutions; an Assembly might be called of Divines and Prelats, in which, without meddling with controversies in Faith, those disorders might be remedied by common consent. This opinion was approved by the major parts of voices, and finally embraced by all.

Then for the concernment of the State, after many propositions and disputes, which proceeded from the divers interests; *John de Monluc* Bishop of Valence, having by secret order from the Queen propos'd an Assembly of the States, both parties willingly consented thereunto. The Constable, the Admiral, and their faction, because they hoped from that, a Reformation in the government: The Queen-mother and the Guises, because they saw things go on of themselves to their own ends.

A general Assembly of the States is resolv'd upon, and the present Assembly dismissed.

This consultation ended, the King by his Chancellour thanked the Lords of the Assembly, and forthwith Letters Patents were dispatch'd by the Secretaries of State to all the Provinces in the Kingdom; containing, That in the month of *October* next they should send their Deputies to the City of Orleans, there to hold a generall Assembly of the States: and order was likewise given to the principal Prelats, that in the month of *February* following, they should all meet at Poissy to reform by common consent those abuses that were introduced in the Government and Ministry of the Church; and to take such order, that a considerable  
number



number of them should go to the generall Councel of Trent. 1560  
The Assembly ended, all were licensed to return to their houses, and desired to meet again at Orleans, to assist at the Assembly of the States.

But *Jaques de la Sague*, the King of Navar's servant, being charged with letters of instructions from the Constable, the Admirall and the rest of the Adherents, directed to his Master, as soon as he left the Court returning towards Bearne; being gone as far as Estampes, was by secret order of the Queen stayed prisoner; from whence, with all his papers, he was privately conveyed to Court. The Letters contained only private and generall complements, such as use to passe amongst friends; and being examined, he constantly denied, that he had any other commission then what was plain to be seen by the Letters. But being brought to the place of torture to draw the truth from him by force, not enduring the rack, he confessed, That the Prince of Condé had advised, and the King of Navar in part also consented thereunto, that he should leave Bearne, and under pretence of coming to the Court, by the way take possession of all the principal Towns thereabouts; seise Paris by the help of the Constable (his Son the Marechal of Momorancy being Governour of it); make Picardie revolt by means of the Lords of Senarpont and Bouchavanne, and draw Britannie to his party by aid of the Duke of Estampes, who being Governour of that Province, had great dependances there; and so armed and accompanied by the Forces of the Hugonots, come to the Court, and force the States to depose the Queen-mother and the Guises from the Government, and declaring the King was not out of his minority till he came to 22 years of age, create his Tutors and Governors of the Kingdom, the Constable, the Prince of Condé, and the King of Navar. He added to his confession, that if they put the cover of the Visdame of *Chartres* Letters which were taken from him, in water, the characters would presently appear, and they should find there all written that he had said. Thus by the confession of one employed by them, and the testimony of the Letters, the new designs of the conspirators were discovered.

*Saga* a servant of the King of Navar is taken prisoner at Estampes, with divers letters about him, & being tortured, confesseth certain practices against the Crown.

But as the discontented Princes (resolved to bring in innovations) increased in power and dependants; with so much the more sollicitousnesse and diligence they at Court made their



1560 their provisions; where continuing still their wonted dissimulation, they studied all manner of pretences and colours to draw neer to the Kings person, or else remove out of the suspected Provinces all such, who being united with the Princes of the Bloud, had received Commissions to trouble or molest them. For this cause the Duke of Estampes being sent for under pretence that he should be imployed as Governour of the Kingdome of Scotland, was entertained with artificiall delayes; And *Senarpont* being declared Lieutenant to the Marechal of Brissac, coming to receive new instructions in order to his Government, was by the same arts hindered from raising any commotion in Picardy; and so all the rest with sundry delayes and excuses were in like manner entertained and suspended. But the remedies were not sufficient, for the wound already festered.

The Hugonots having taken courage from the first Councils of the insurrection at Ambois, and the open profession of the Admiral, began to raise commotions in all parts of the Kingdome; and laying aside all obedience and respect, not only made open resistance against the Magistrates, but in many places had directly taken Arms, indeavouring to raise the countries, and get strong places into their hands, whither they might retire with safety: which was grown to such a passe, that from all parts came complaints against them to the Court, and news of their deportments. But one thing more important and more grievous then all the rest, made them hasten their former resolutions. For the Prince of Condé, moved by his old inclinations, and urged by the sting of conscience, not being able to quiet his mind, or moderate his thoughts, resolved to make himself master of a strong place in some part of the Kingdom, which might serve him afterwards for a retreat, or standing quarter, if he were forced to make preparations for the War. Amongst many others in which he kept secret intelligence, none pleased him so well as Lions, being a populous rich City, placed upon two navigable Rivers, not far from Geneva, the principal seat of the Hugonots; and placed so neer upon the confines, that he might easily receive speedy succours from the Protestant Princes of Germany, and the united Cantons of the Swissers; and from whence upon any accident or necessity, He might soon retire into some free open place out of the Kingdom.

The Prince of  
Condé practi-  
seth to possesse  
himself of Li-  
ons, but with-  
out successe.

Where



Wherefore using the assistance of two Brothers the *Maligni's* his old servants, he found a means to treat with divers principal men of the City, which by reason of the Traffick, is always inhabited by many strangers of all Nations, and through the neighbourhood of Geneva, was then (though covertly replenished with people averse to the Catholick Religion, and inclined to *Calvins* doctrine. These, when they thought they had got a party strong enough in the City to make insurrection, indeavoured to bring in privately souldiers unarmed, & others of their faction; with which being afterwards furnished with arms, they might on a sudden possesse themselves of the Bridges, and Town-house, and at length reduce the Town wholly into their power.

The Mareschal of S. *André* was then Governour of Lions; who being sent for upon the present occasions to Court, left there in his place, with the same authority, his Nephew, the Abbot of Achon. He, by means of Catholick Merchants jealous to preserve their own estates, and enemies to those counsels that might disturb the peace of the City, having perfectly discovered the practices of the Hugonots, and the time that they determined to rise; the night before the fifth of *Septemb.* appointed *Pro*, the chief Deputy of the Citizens, with 300 Firelocks, to place a guard upon the bridges over the Rhone, and the Soane, and besiege that part of the City which is placed between the two Rivers, where he knew the Conspirators were to assemble. The *Maligni's* perceiving the Catholicks design, not willing to stay to be besieged and assaulted where they could not defend themselves, holpen by the darknesse of the night, prevented the Governours men, and hasting with great courage, possessed themselves of the bridge over the Soan, where they lay watching with great silence, in hope that the Catholicks, terrified with a sudden incounter, would be easily disordred; whereby the passage would be free for them to the other part of the bridge, & to make themselves masters of the great place, and of the chiefeft strong parts in the Town.

But it fell out otherwise; For the Catholicks induring the first shock without being troubled or disordred, & afterwards continuall fresh supplies of men being sent by the Governor, the conspirators could no longer resist. The rest of their complices seeing the beginning so difficult, durst neither stir nor appear any longer. Wherefore the *Maligni's* having fought



1560. all night, and being wearied out, as the day began to break, perceiving the gate behind them was open, (which the Governour on purpose to facilitate their flight had commanded not to be shut, lest by an obstinate perleverance, all might be indangered) they fled away, and many of their faction with them, and others hid themselves; by which means the City was freed from those great commotions.

Then the Governor calling in those Troops that lay about the Town, and having made diligent search for the conspirators; to terrifie the Hugonots with the severity of their punishment, condemned many of them to be hanged, and preserving the rest alive, sent them presently to Court; who served afterwards to confirm the depositions of the prisoners against the discontented Princes.

The news of this attempt being come to Court, the King, resolved to use no longer delayes, nor give more time for new experiments, departed from Fountain-bleau with those thousand lances that used to attend him, and two old Regiments of Foot, that were newly come out of Peidmont and Scotland; and taking the way of Orleans, solicited the Deputies of the Provinces to appear.

The three Estates of the Kingdom.

The whole French Nation is distinguished into three orders, which they call States. The first consists of Ecclesiasticks; the second of the Nobility; and the third of the common People. These being divided into 30 Precincts or Jurisdicktions, which they call *Baillages* or *Seneschausées*, when a general Assembly of the Kingdom is to be held, go all to their chief City, & dividing themselves into three several Chambers, every one chuses a Deputy, who in the name of that Body, is to assist at the general Assembly, wherein are proposed & discussed all matters concerning the several Orders or Government of the State.

In this manner three Deputies are sent by every Baillage, one for the Ecclesiasticks, one for the Nobility, & one for the People; which by a more honorable term, are called the third Estate. Being all met together in presence of the King, the Princes of the Bloud, and Officers of the Crown, they form the Body of the States general, and represent the Authority, Name, and Power of the whole Nation. When the King is capable to govern, and present, they have power to consent to his demands, to propose things necessary for the good of their Order, to oblige the common people to new taxes, & to give



give and receive new Laws and Constitutions ; but when the King is in minority, or otherwise uncapable, they have authority when it falls into controversie, to chuse the Regents of the Kingdom, to dispose of the principal Offices, and to appoint who shall be admitted to the Councel ; and when the Kings line fails, or a descendent of the royal Family, they have power according to the Salique Laws to chuse a new Lord. But besides these supreme priviledges, the Kings have alwaies used in any urgent weighty occasions to assemble the States, and to determine of matters of difficulty with their advice and consent ; thinking not only by a publick consent to make the Princes resolutions more valid, but that it was also necessary in a lawfull Government and truly Royal, that all great businesses should be comunicated to the whole body of the Kingdom. Now at that time it plainly appearing, that through the dissentions among the Princes, and differences in Religion, all things were full of disorder, and had need of speedy remedy, the Deputies elected by the Provinces, and instantly called upon with reiterated Orders from the Court, met together with great diligence at Orleans, at the beginning of October, where the King himself being also arrived, with a great company of the principal Lords & Officers of the Crown, he now expected nothing but the coming of the discontented Princes. The Constable with his sons stayd in the wonted place, at Chantillii ; the King of Navar, and the Prince his Brother were retired into Bearn ; and being summoned by the Kings Letters to come to the Assembly of the States, they did not plainly refuse it, but with divers excuses and many delays put off the time of their appearance.

This kind of proceeding held the King and all his Ministers in great suspence, doubting, not without reason, that the Princes either suspecting something of themselves, or advertised by some Confident, by refusing to appear at the Assembly, would frustrate all their great designs and preparations, which were founded only upon their coming. And the Prince of Condé, who ruled his actions by the guiltiness of his conscience, it appearing to him a thing impossible, but that by the prisoners at Ambois, *Saga's* confession, and the Conspirators taken at Lions, there was enough discovered to lay open his intents, was grown so extremely jealous, that no reasons could perswade him to put himself



1560. again into the Kings power or his Ministers, the chief of which he knew were all his mortall enemies. But the King of Navar, either being lesse guilty, or of a more credulous nature then his brother, thought, that by going to the States, they should easily obtain a reformation in the Government, which was the thing they had so much laboured for, and that by refusing to go thither, they should condemn themselves, and leave the field free to the avarice and persecution of the Guises. Nor could he possibly believe, that in the face of a Generall Assembly of the whole Kingdome, the King yet as it were a pupil, an Italian woman and two strangers would venture to lay violent hands upon the Princes of the Bloud, against whom the most masculine Kings and most revengefull, had ever proceeded with great regard, as against persons not to be violated, and in a maner *Sacro-sancti*. Wherefore he was of opinion, whatsoever came of it, to go to the Assembly, and to take the Prince with him; not meaning to give them that advantage, to condemn him in absence, without any kind of defence, as he was sure they would if he stayed so far off; whereas if he were there to sollicite the Deputies himself, he hoped his cause, if it were not approved of by the rigour of justice, yet the equity of his reasons would at least make it be born with; and at the last, (if no better) in consideration of his quality, and preeminence of blood, pardoned. All their counsellours and friends concurred in this opinion, except the Princes Wife, and his Mother-in-law; both which constantly opposed it, esteeming all other losse inferiour to the danger which they thought evident of leaving their lives there.

Whilest they were in this debate, there arrived on a sudden, first the Count of *Cursol*, and afterwards the Mareschal of Saint *André*, whom the King had dispatched one after the other, to perswade the Princes to come: They represented to them, that this grave venerable Assembly was called with much expence to the King, and great incommodity to the whole Kingdom, only in consideration of the Princes of the Bloud, and to satisfie their instances and complaints: That they were obliged to deliver their opinions in regulating the Government, and decission of points controverted in Religion, busineses of such weight, as without the assistance of the chief Princes of the Bloud could  
not



not be determined : That the King had great cause to think himself mocked, and the States, that they were slighted by the Princes of Bourbon ; since having so often desired a Reformation in the Government , and to have the Hugonot's cause examined, now that the time was come, and the States assembled for that purpose, they took not any care of going thither ; as it were condemning the Majestie of that Assembly, which was the representative Body of the whole kingdom ; that hereafter they ought not to blame any body but themselves, if they were worthily excluded from any part or charge in the Government, since they would not vouchsafe to come to receive that portion which the King with the approbation of the States thought good to assigne them ; and shewing themselves thus manifestly averse to the Kings service, and good of the Crown , they ought not to wonder if quick resolutions were taken to suppress and extirpate those roots of discord, and apparent designs of innovation. That the King was resolved, as he meant to gratifie such who shewed themselves respectful and obedient to him ; so he would binde those to a necessary and forced obedience, that had any intents to separate themselves from his Councils, or to stir any commotions in the Cities and Provinces of the kingdom : Of which delinquency he would think the Princes of Bourbon guilty , if they took no care at all to shew their innocence , but with their absence and contumacy should confirm the reports of fame ; which being never believed either by the King or his Council , yet his Majesty desired, for the honour of the Blood Royal , that with true demonstrations of duty and loyalty, and a real union for the publike good , they would testifie as much to all France, which with wonderful expectation had turned her eyes upon the actions of the present times.

This Message was delivered from the King, to the Princes of Bourbon, which had little moved the Prince of Conde, resolved not to venture his person in a place where his enemies were the stronger , if necessity had not forced him to break that resolution. For the Count of Cursol, being returned to Court, and having signified the Princes backwardnesse to come to the Assembly ; The Guises thereupon pressing and soliciting, that force might be used to fetch them in, and the Queen not dissenting from them (through a desire she had to



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see the seeds of those discords eradicated; and her sons quietly re-established in their States ) the King took a resolution to make shew of compelling them by Arms. To which purpose the Marechal *de Termes* being dispatched into Gascoigne, there began an Army to be formed under his command, and all the Troops and Infantry, that were distributed in the neighbor Provinces, were sent that way. The Princes of Bourbon were not onely without Arms, and unprovided, but restrained also in Bearne, a narrow country, (at the foot of the *Perinees*, and, partly by France, partly by Spain, shut up, and compassed in on all sides: So that they were assured, being attacked on one side by the French army out of Gascoigne, and on the other by the King of Spain's Forces (who desired to extinguish those few reliques that remained of the kingdom of Navar) they should easily be oppressed and subdued. In France the Princes designs had nowhere prospered; and in Bearne he had neither men nor money. Wherefore the King of Navar (resolved, not to hazard the rest of his state, together with the safety of his wife & children, who were all in the same place) shewing the necessity, to which all Counsels must yeeld; at length brought his brother to be content to go; all being of opinion, that whilst the States were sitting, the Guises would not dare to attempt any thing against them; whereas if they continued obstinate to stay in Bearn, they would undoubtedly be forced with eternal infamy to fall under the hateful name of Rebels.

*Charles* Cardinal of Bourbon their brother, contributed very much to bring them to this resolution. For he being a man of a facile good nature, as appeared in the whole course of his life, averse to novelties, and extremely affectionate to his brothers, when he understood the Kings intent, & the preparations that he made, being perswaded by the Queen-mother, who desired their purposed designs might be effected, without noise of Arms or the hazard of war; he presently took post, & went into Bearn to perswade them to come, by magnifying on one side the greatnes of the forces that were preparing (against w<sup>ch</sup> they would not be able to make any resistance) & by assuring them on the other, that there appeared not in the King or the Queen-mother any other shew but of good will, & a desire of peace & agreement. So leaving the Queen with the young children in Pau, they departed all three with a finall train, to give lesse cause of suspicion, and went together towards the Court.

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The Constable was sent for, though not with such earnestness, because he was in a place where they might easily get him into their power when they pleased. But he proceeded with greater dissimulation, and more security. For, having not favoured the faction of the Male-contents otherwise then with his counsel, and that also ever tending rather to seek redresse from the States, then to move any Insurrection or Rebellion; he would not, by refusing to go to Court, encrease the suspicion against him, but by other arts and dissimulations defer his coming thither, till he saw what became of the Princes of Bourbon. Wherefore being come to Paris, there feigning he was troubled with a Catarre, and the Gout, he returned (till he could recover) to his own house. Many days after, being again upon the way, under pretence that too much motion offended him (which by reason of his age was easie to be believed) he made little journeys, and went out of the way for commodity of lodging, artificially delaying the time, until he could hear that the others were arrived.

It is certain, that, his sons urging him to make more haste, and telling him that neither the Queen-mother, nor the Guises would be so bold to offend a man so much esteemed as he was, and that had such great dependances in the kingdom; he, grown wise through long experience, made them answer, That those about the King could govern the State as they pleased, without any obstacle or impediment whatsoever; and yet notwithstanding sought contradictions, and assemblies of the States; things that could not be without some hidden designe, which with a little patience would be brought to light. By which reply his sons being satisfied, he sought still by delays to gain the benefit of time.

In the mean while the King of Navar, and the Prince of Conde were met upon the confines by the Marefchall *de Termes*, who, under shew of honour, conducted them with a great body of Cavalry to secure those Towns which *la Sague* mentioned in his Confession; and at the same time, sent other companies of Foot and Horse to shut up and guard the ways behinde them; doubting that the Princes might change their resolution, and endeavour secretly to get back again into Bearne. But news being come to Orleans, that the Princes being in their journey, were come into the Kings dominions,



1560. minions, and compassed about by *de Termes* his Troops ; presently *Hierom Groslo*t Bailly of Orleans , accused to have held intelligence with the Hugonots, to make that City revolt to the discontented Princes , was laid close up ; and by order from the King, the Visdame of Chartres was committed to prison in Paris, who still contriving new mischiefs, had lingered there unadvisedly.

*Andelot* was not so easily intrapped ; who being as wise and cautelous in providing against dangers, as he was precipitate and bold in contriving them , had secretly conveyed himself away into the remotest parts of Brittany , neer upon the Sea side ; being resolved, in case of necessity, to passe over into England. But the Admiral , who with great art and dexterity had managed the businesse, without being discovered , went thither freely at the beginning, with an intent to employ all his power in the Assembly for the advantage of his party ; and being very much made of by the King, and used (as was her custom ) very civilly by the Queen , he had opportunity neerly to observe all the passages of the Court : of which afterwards with great warinesse, he gave secret advertisement to the Constable, and the King of Navar.

But now there was no further need of pretences; insomuch as the Princes of Bourbon being neither met upon the way, nor courted by any body but a few of their intimate familiar friends, arrived at Orleans the 29 day of October ; where (contrary to the custom of the Court, though in time of War) they found not onely the gates of the City guarded with a great number of Souldiers ; but the strong Holds secured, the places manned, and Watches appointed at the end of every street , with a terrible shew of all warlike instruments, and many companies of Souldiers, which passing thorough, they arrived at the Kings lodging , much more strictly guarded, as if it had been the Tent or Pavilion of a General in the midst of an Army. Being come to the Gate , and intending to go into the Court on horse-back ( which is a privilege belonging to the Princes of the blood ) they found the Gate shut, and onely the Wicket open ; so that they were forced to alight in the midst of the High-way ; and being neither saluted nor met ( but by very few ) were conducted to the Kings presence ; who placed between the  
Duke



Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorain, and compassed about by the Captains of his Guard, received them in a much different manner from that familiarity which the Kings of France use to all men, but especially to the Princes of their blood. From thence the King himself went with them, but the Guises followed not, to the Queen-mother's chamber; who not forgetting her old Maxims, To seem independent, and not interested in any party, received them with the wonted demonstrations of honour, and with such an appearance of sadness, that the tears were seen to fall from her eyes.

But the King, continuing still the same countenance, turning to the Prince of Condé, began in sharp language to complain, that he, without any injury or ill usage received from him, had, in contempt of all humane and divine Laws, many times stirred his Subjects to rebel, raised war in divers parts of the kingdom, attempted to surprize his principal Cities, and practised even against his own life and his brothers. To which the Prince, not at all dismayed, boldly answered, that these were the calumnies & persecutions of his enemies; but that he could soon make his innocence appear to all the world. Then replied the King; To finde out the truth, it is necessary to proceed by the usual ways of Justice: and so departing out of the chamber, commanded the Captains of his Guard to seise upon his person.

The Prince of Condé committed to prison.

Here the Queen-mother, who moved with the necessity gave her consent, but forgot not the various changes of the world, wholly applied her self with kinde words to comfort the King of Navar, whilst the Prince not saying a word else, but blaming himself to be so cozened by the Cardinal his brother, was led to a house hard by, which being prepared for that purpose, had the windows walled up, the gates doubled, and was reduced into a kinde of Fortresse flanked with Artillery, and strait Guards on every side.

The King of Navar, astonished at his brothers imprisonment, after many complaints and long debate with the Queen-mother (who laying the fault upon the Duke of Guise Lieutenant-General, sought to remove all jealousies and ill will from her self) was carried to be lodged in a house joyning to the Kings palace; where his ordinary Guards being changed, saving the liberty of conversation, he was in all other respects guarded and kept as a prisoner.

The King of Navar kept as a prisoner.



1560.

At the very same time that the Prince was committed, *Amaury Bonchard* the King of Navar's Secretary was arrested, and all his Letters and Writings taken from him.

The same night also *Tannequy de Carrouge* went from Court towards Anici in Picardy, a place belonging to *Magdalen de Roye* the Princes Mother-in-law; and there finding her without suspicion of any thing, being but a woman, he sent her away prisoner to the Castle of *S. Germaine*, and carried all her Letters and papers with him to the Court.

But the news of these stirs (notwithstanding the gates of the City were kept shut, and travellers forbidden to passe) being come to the Constable, who was still upon the way, some few leagues from Paris; he presently stopped his journey, with a resolution not to go any further till he saw what would be the event of them.

The Assembly  
of the States  
begins.

In the mean while, the Assembly of the States began; where the first thing that was done, was to make a profession of their faith; which being set down by the Doctors of the Sorbon, conformable to the belief of the Romane Catholike Church, and publicly read by the Cardinal of Tournon president of the Ecclesiastical Order; was by a solemn Oath approved and confirmed by every one of the Deputies; because none should be admitted into that General Assembly either unwittingly or on purpose, that was not a true Catholike.

This solemn Act being past, the high Chancellor, in presence of the King, proposed those things which were necessary to be consulted of for the Reformation of the Government. Upon which, & the demand of the provinces, they retired into their severall chambers; where when they had debated them apart, they were to make their reports thereof in publike. But this was the least thing in every mans thought; for the mindes of all men were in suspence, and expecting the issue of the Princes imprisonment; whose commitment was confirmed by a solemn Decree of the Kings Council, subscribed by the King himself, the High-Chancellor, and all the other Lords, except the Guises, who, as suspected of enmity, absented themselves when the Princes of Bourbons cause was to be handled, which was remitted to an Assembly of Judges Delegats, who forming  
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a judicial Proceſſe, ſhould proceed to a final Sentence. The Delegates were *Chriſtophle de Thou* Preſident in the Parliament of Paris, *Bartholomy de Faye*, and *Jaques Viole*, Counſellors in the ſame Parliament; and according to the Cuſtoms of that Kingdom, *Giles Bourdin*, the ordinary Attorney that proſecutes all Cauſes that either concern the Kings Rights, or tend to the maintenance of the peace & ſafety of his Subjects, Procuror fiſcal to the King, performed the Office of Plaintiff and Accuſer, *John Tilliet* chief Notary in the Court of Parliament, wrote the Proceſſe; and all the examinations and acts paſt in the preſence of the High Chancellor.

In this manner proceeding upon the examinations of the priſoners (which were on purpoſe brought from Amboiſe, Lyons, and divers other places) they were ready to examine the Prince upon the points already diſcovered and proved. But the High Chancellor and the Delegates coming into the Chamber where the Prince was in priſon, to interrogate him, he conſtantly reſuſed to answer or ſubmit himſelf to the examination of any of them; pretending as Prince of the blood, that he was not under any Juſtice but the Parliament of Paris in the Chamber called The Chamber of Peers, that is, in a full Parliament, the King being there himſelf in perſon, all the twelve Peers of France, and all the Officers of the Crown, which was the cuſtom formerly; and therefore he could do no other then appeal to the King againſt ſuch an extraordinary and perverſe way of Judicature. This appeal being transferred to the Kings Council, although according to the ordinary Forms and Cuſtoms of the kingdom it appeared agreeable to reaſon, notwithſtanding (the preſent caſe requiring quick and ſpeedy Judgment, and no Law making it neceſſary that the cauſes of the Princes ſhould always be tried with ſuch formality in the Chamber of the Peers) it was declared not valid. But the Prince having often made the ſame appeal, and perſiſting ſtill to make the ſame proteſtations; the Kings Council, upon demand of the Procuror fiſcal, declared at length that the Prince was to be held as convict, becauſe he had reſuſed to answer the Delegates. So being forc't to ſubmit himſelf to examination, they proceeded judicially, and with great expedition, in the reſt of the circumſtances; till the very laſt pronouncing of Sentence. Into ſuch calamity were the Princes of

The Prince of Condé except againſt his trial, and appeals to the King; but the appeal is not accepted.



1560. Bourbon brought, that they were like to expiate with *their* blood their past crimes; yet was there not any body so much their enemy among the French Nation, that, considering the great Birth and noble Education both of the one and the other brother, was not moved with exceeding compassion towards them. Onely the Guises, men of a resolute nature, either really believing it was expedient for the common good, peace, and welfare of the kingdom; or else, as their ill willers affirmed, being eager to oppress their adversaries, & confirm their own greatnesse, constantly pursued their first designs, without any regard either to the quality or merit of the persons: nay, boasted with arrogant and bold speeches, *That at two blowes onely they would cut off at the same time the heads of Heresie and Rebellion.*

But the Queen-mother, though perhaps secretly she gave her consent, and was willing enough they should proceed to execution; yet desiring notwithstanding, that all the hate and blame should fall upon the Guises, as she had ever artificially contrived it, and having an aim still to preserve her self Neuter for any accidents that should happen in the uncertain changes of the world; her countenance expressing sadnesse, and her words sorrow, she often sent, sometimes for the Admiral, sometimes for the Cardinal of Chastillon, and shewed an earnest desire to finde some means or other to save the Princes of Bourbon. With the same arts she entertained *Jacqueline de Logent* Dutchesse of Montpensier, a Lady of sincere intentions, who being far from dissimulation, judged of others by her self, yet she was inclined to the Doctrine of the Hugonots, and being withal neerly intimate with the King of Navar, she served by carrying messages from one to the other, to maintain a kinde of correspondence between them; which kinde of proceedings, though directly opposite to her designs, the effect whereof could not be concealed, they were neverthelesse so excellently dissembled, that even those who perceived most, were in doubt whether they were true or no; considering how profound the secrets of men are, and how various the affections and interests that govern the force of worldly actions.

Sentence pronounced against the Prince of Condé.

The Commissaries had now pronounced the Sentence against the Prince of Condé. That being convict of Treason and Rebellion, he should lose his head at the beginning of the



the Assembly of the States Generall before the Royal Palace; nor was the execution deferred for any other reason, but to see if they could catch in the same net the Constable, who being earnestly called upon did not yet appear; and to involve in the same execution the King of Navar, against whom nothing could be found sufficient to condemn him; when one morning, the King being under the Barbers hands (which he used often) was on a sudden taken with such a grievous swooning, that his servants laid him upon the bed for dead; and though in a short time he returned again to his senses, yet hee had such mortall accidents, that he gave very little hopes of life. In which tumult of general amazement and confusion, the Guises solicited the Queen-mother, that whilest the King was yet alive, the judgement should be executed upon the Prince of Condé; and the same resolution taken against the King of Navar; by which means they should cut off the way to all innovations that might happen upon the Kings death. Withall, they perswaded, that it was the only way to preserve the Kingdom to her other sons yet in minority, & to dissipate those clouds of future dissension which already appeared in divers parts of the Kingdom. For although the Constable were wanting, whom in this necessary and hasty resolution they could not get into their hands; Notwithstanding, the authority and priviledges of the Bloud Royal, the prudence of the King of Navar, and the Princes fiercenesse being once taken away, there was little to be feared from him, who would neither be followed by the Nobility, nor have the adherence of the Hugonots, as the Princes of Bourbon had. That there wanted nothing to perfect their designs (with so much art and patience brought to maturity) but the very last point of execution; which by no means was to be hindred, if the King should chance to die. For the Kingdom falling by right upon his Brothers, both they and the Queen-mother would still have the same reasons and interests. But the Queen having had the dexterity in apparence to preserve her self as it were neuter, was not so straightly necessitated as to precipitate her deliberations. Wherefore considering, that under her Sons, yet pupils, the face of things would be wholly changed, and that the excessive greatnesse of the Guises, if it remained without counterpoise or opposition, was no lesse to be feared then  
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The King under the Barbers hands taken with an Apoplexie.



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the continuall practices of the Princes of the Bloud; she lessened the report of her sons weaknes, and often gave it out, that there was great hopes of his recovery; seeking by that means to gain time, and defer the execution of what was determined, that she might afterwards conform her self to the present occasions. In pursuit of this resolution, which was confirmed by the advice of the high Chancellour; as soon as they knew the King was past hopes, she caused the Prince *Dolphin*, son to *Jacqueline* and the Duke of *Montpensier*, to bring the King of Navar in the night secretly into her chamber; where, with her wonted arts and many effectually arguments she sought to perswade him, that she had ever been averse to the late proceedings, and that she was desirous to joyn with him to oppose the unlimited power of the Guises. Which, though it were not absolutely believed, was not altogether unusefull for the future: for with this and other negotiations, a correspondence being still maintained between them, it was not so hard to treat upon agreement when occasion should serve, as it would have been, if she had passionately declared her self a principal agent in what was done, and an open enemy to the Princes of the Bloud.

In the mean while, the Kings weaknes still increased, who from the beginning was thought to have an Impostume in his head, over the right ear, because he was ever from his infancy troubled with defluxions and pains in that part, which afterwards coming to break, the abundance of matter and corruption falling into his throat choaked him; so that the fifth day of *December* in the morning he passed out of this life, leaving all things in extreme disorder and confusion.

All men for the most part believed at the present, that he was poysoned by his Barber; and it was said that the Physicians had discovered evident signs of it, which the suddenness of the accident and time of his death would have made believed by men of best understanding, if the disease of which he died had not been known to be nourished and grown up with him from his cradle. He left behind him the opinion of a good Prince, free from vice, inclined to Justice and Religion; but reported to be of a weak heaveie understanding, and of a nature rather apt to be awed by others, then able to govern of himself. However, it would have been expedient for the peace of France, either that he had never come to the  
Crown,



Crown, or else that he had lived till the designs then on foot had been fully perfected. For as the force and violence of thunder useth in a moment to overthrow and ruine those buildings which are built with great care and long labour; so his unexpected death, destroying in an instant those counsels, which with so much art and dissimulation were brought to maturity and concluded; left the state of things (already in the way (although by violent and rigorous means, yet) to a certain and secure end) in the height of all discord, and more then ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering, and abandoned.

*Charles the Ninth, Brother to Francis, and second Son to the Queen, succeeded to the Crown, being yet but a child about 11 years old. In so tender an age, there was no doubt but he should be committed to the care of a Guardian, who should supply his defect in the Government; in which case the ancient customes of the Kingdom, and the laws often confirmed by the States, called rightfully to that charge, as first Prince of the Bloud, the King of Navar. But how could the Kings youth, and the Government of the Kingdom be safely committed into his hands, who upon great suspitions to have practised against the State, was kept in a manner prisoner, and his Brother for the same crime already condemned to die? The Guises had governed with supreme authority under the late King, and with great constancy applied all manner of frank remedies to recover the prosperity & peace of the State: so that committing the Government to them, the same Councils might be continued, and the same deliberations followed. But how could the Guardianship of a King in minority be conferred upon those that were in no manner of way allied to the Royal Bloud, against all the laws of the Kingdom, and in such a time when the major part of the great Lords being already awakened and advertised, would earnestly oppose it? The States had often committed the Regency and Government of infant Kings to the Mothers; and in such division of opinions and factions, the life of the King, and custody of the Kingdom ought not in reason to be trusted in other hands. But how could a woman that was a stranger, without dependences, and without favourers, pretend to the supreme authority with two so powerful and already armed factions?*

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All the Nobility and the Militia is divided between two Factions.

Wherefore, when the late King *Francis* beginning to grow worse, shewed evident signs of death ; the Guises foreseeing what might easily happen, entred into a straight league of friendship with the Cardinal of Tournon, the Duke of Nemours, the Mareschals of Brissac and S. *André*, the Sieur de *Simpierre* Governour of Orleans, and many other great Lords, continually providing what force they could to maintain themselves and their power. On the other side, the King of Navar, conceiving good hopes for the future, making a confederacie with the Admiral, the Cardinal of *Chatillon*, the Prince of *Portian*, Monsieur de *Jarnac*, and the rest of his dependents, had secretly armed all his Family, and by sundry messengers sent for the Constable, who, having understood the Kings death, hastening his journey, which he used to delay, was every hour expected at Orleans. So that both Factions having put themselves into a posture of defence, and the whole Court & the souldiers divided between them, and not only all others, but even the Deputies of the States themselves taking part according to their inclinations and severall interests, there was no place left for any third resolution ; but with the instant danger that every hour the Factions would affront each other, every place was full of tumults and terror, and all their proceedings tended to a manifest ruine.

Notwithstanding, the unbridled desire of rule did not so sway their minds (as yet accustomed to reverence the majesty of Laws) that through private discords, publick obedience should be denied to the lawful King, though in minority: but both Factions with tacite and unanimous consent striving who should be the first, they saluted and did homage to King *Charles* the Ninth of that name, the same day that his brother dyed ; all agreeing to acknowledge him for their lawfull and naturall Prince.

This was the foundation and basis whereon to form those things which were left so strangely disordred. For the Queen, who knew she could not trust the life of her children, and the government of the State to either Faction, the one grievously offended and exasperated, the other full of boldnesse and pretensions, and both of them powerfull in adherents, and inclined to undertake any great attempt, desired to preserve in her self, not only the custody and care of her children, but also the government & administration of the Kingdom ; which  
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in the last dayes of *Francis* his life, and in the disorders at his death, appeared to her so difficult, that she little lesse then despaired of safety. But this first point confirmed, of obedience rendred to the Kings Person by both parties; which, as appeared manifestly, was done through jealousy and mutuall fear the one had of the other, each doubting his adversary would arrogate the authority to rule, and usurp the power of the Government; the Queen laying things together, conceived, that drawing from these discords and present confusion, an advantageous resolution for her self, she might, as Mediatrix between them, get the superiority of both, being supported by the proper interests of the one and the other Faction; who not agreeing among themselves, nor able easily to attain to that end they aimed at, would agree upon her, as a mean between the two extremes; being contented that the Authority and Power should rest in her, which by reason of the opposition of their adversaries they could not obtain for themselves. In w<sup>ch</sup> respect the Guises would easily joyn with her, that the King of Navar might not acquire the absolute Government; and the King of Navar would perhaps be content with lesse authority then of right belonged to him, rather then hazard the whole, by contending with the Guises. So that if the businesse were dextrously carried, the supreme authority would fall upon her.

This conception was the likelier to take effect, because the Queen, though united with the Guises, had in apparence preserved her self *neuter*; by which means she was confident to one party, and not thought an enemy to the other.

But two great difficulties traversed this design. One, that the King of Navar being exasperated with the injuries past, it was a very difficult matter to appease him. The other, that beginning to treat with him, she might give cause of suspicion to the Guises; & so greatly endanger the losing that support, before she had time to settle the affairs. Which obstacles though they appeared invincible, yet the urgency of the occasion enforced a necessity to try all kind of policies, though never so doubtful. The first thought was to assure the Guises: for it had bin but an unwise counsel, to abandon all old friendship already confirmed, before there was any manner of assurance that it was possible to contract a new one. But a businesse of that nicety, & on every side full of suspicion, was not to be managed but by persons of great dexterity. Wherefore having thought

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1560 upon many, the Queen at length resolved there was no instrument so proper for that negotiation as the Mareſchal S. *André*. For being a great Confident to the Guises, privy to all their ſecretest thoughts, and beſides that, a man of prudence and ſingular quicknes; he would not believe the Queen could have any hope to cozen him, and the buſineſſes treated by him would have credit & great authority with his own Faction. So that having ſent for him, and deplored the ſtate of the preſent affairs, ſhe enquired what reſolution the Princes of Lorain meant to take; profeſſing that ſhe would not differ from them, but follow any advice that they by agreement amongſt themſelves ſhould think moſt reaſonable. To which he making a doubtful reply, with an intent, rather to penetrate into the Queens deſigns, then to diſcover to her the intentions of his own party; after many ſeveral diſcourſes, at laſt all their arguing ended in this concluſion; that the differences between the two Factions could not be accommodated without great troubles, & the danger of a doubtful War, if both parties did not yeild ſomething in their reaſons, & retire (as it is cōmonly ſaid) a ſtep backwards, leaving to her to mediate between them; who both as a Judge & Moderatrix, & as an indifferent party, might limit the pretentions of the Princes in ſuch a manner, that one ſide ſhould not ſeem to yeild to the other, but through modeſty and reſpect that they bore to the Mother of their King, forget all paſt injuries; and ſo things might remain equally balanced between them. This counſel proceeding in a maner wholly from the Mareſchal, the Queen ſaining rather to take then give advice, they began to conſult which way was beſt to proceed. Then ſhewing that the King of Navar was a man of right intentions, and of a facil moderate nature, ſhe doubted not but ſhe could perſwade him to it, ſo the Princes of Lorain would be content. The Mareſchal, that was free from any private paſſion, & knew the ſlippery dangerous condition in w<sup>ch</sup> the Guises ſtood, took upon him the charge to manage the buſineſſe with them; Which being propoſed to the Duke and the Cardinal, and afterwards debated in a meeting of their Confederates, they all approved of it. But the two Brothers were of different opinions: For the Duke being more placable and moderate, conſented to an accommodation, provided his Governments and Revenues that he enjoyed by the favour of the late Kings, might remain untoucht. But the  
Cardinal



Cardinal being of a more ambitious nature, and vehement disposition, desired still to persist in the strifes they had begun, and to endeavour to preserve themselves in the same authority they had obtained and exercised during the life of *Francis*. Notwithstanding, not only the Cardinal of Tournon, concurring with the Duke in opinion, as desirous to avoid the tempest of war, but also the two Mareschals of Brissac and S. *André*, and especially the *Sieur de Sipierre*, whose opinion through the fame of his wisdom was of great esteem amongst them, and conceiving they got enough, if, preserving their reputation, their estates and honours which they possessed, they could preserve themselves for times of better conjuncture; Leave was given to the Queen by means of the same Mareschal, to try all the ways she should think good to make an agreement with the King of Navar.

This difficulty being overcome, the greatest obstacle was yet to passe through; which was to appease the Faction of the discontented Princes: a thing judged by many not possible to be brought to passe, and absolutely desperate. But the Queen, knowing the nature and inclination of those she had to deal with (a thing chiefly necessary for the effecting any great design) did not doubt to compasse her desire. The intimate Counsellors to the King of Navar were *Francis de Cars*, a Gascoigne, and *Philip de Lenon-court* Bishop of Auxerre; That, a man of small judgement, and little experience in the world; This, of a deep reach, extremely vigilant, & altogether intent upon those interests that were most for his own advancement. These being secretly gained by the working of the Queen-mother, with such means as were most likely to prevail over their severall humours (for she sought by rewards, and apparent specious reasons to corrupt and perswade *de Cars*, and to Auxerre she offered honours and Ecclesiasticall preferments, which by means of the King of Navar only he could, not so easily attain unto) they became ministers to the Queens designs, and under the name of faithful sincere Counsellors, were ready to favour those negotiations that tended to an agreement, and the advancement of her greatnesse. The first overtures of this accommodation were made by the Dutches of *Montpensier*, by reason of her goodnes & candid disposition very inward with the Queen, and a great friend to the King and Queen of Navar, through the inclination she had to the Hugo-



1560.

nots Religion ; and in the progresse of the busines, came in by little and little *TanneGuy de Carronges*, and *Louis de Lanfac*, men of approved wisdom, in whom the Queen reposed great confidence: and these three continually imploied their indeavours to shake the King of Navars resolutions; who, being now drawn from his wonted inclinations to peace and quietnesse, and incited by the ardour of enmity, and the memory of dangers past, had his thoughts so confused, that he stood in suspense, and doubtfull what course to take. Three conditions were proposed from the Queen : First, that all prisoners should be set at liberty, and particularly the Prince of Condé, *Madam de Roze*, and the Visdame of *Chartres*, causing the Parliament of Paris to declare *null* the sentence pronounced against the Prince by the Judges Delegat. Secondly, that the King of Navar should have the government of all the Provinces in the Kingdom, provided the Queen should enjoy the name and authority of Regent. And the third, that the Catholick King should be sollicitated to the restitution or change of Navar ; and the Isle of Sardinia was particularly named. These conditions being proposed by the Queens agents, the Kings Counsellors highly approved them ; shewing, that the Regency, a Title without substance, and only an airy name, was abundantly recompenced by the authority and power over the provinces, wherein consisted the reall command and essential government of the Kingdom : to which being added the honourable release of the Prince, with the suppression of his enemies, and hope to recover an estate befitting his quality and birth, there was not any doubt at all to be further made. They added, that their affairs for the present were in so doubtfull a condition ; that putting themselves upon the rigour of the laws against such potent enemies, and with the prejudice of their past machinations, it was rather to be feared they would be utterly ruin'd, then advanced to those honours they desired : that the States then at Orleans depended wholly upon the Queens will and the Guises ; by whose means they were with great regard assembled ; for which cause they were for the most part united and joyned with them : wherefore it was greatly to be feared, if their cause were remitted to the arbitrement and determination of the States, that they being incensed by their former practices, would exclude the Princes of the Bloud from the Government and

commit



cōmit it to the Guises, as persons they could more confide in; upon which would follow the inevitable destruction of the whole family of Bourbon. That it was necessary to stop this precipice with moderate counsels, and shewing they desired nothing but what was just and reasonable, by yeelding to the Laws, clear themselves from suspition and their former contumacy; and although the change proposed with the Catholike King were very uncertain and doubtful, yet it would be great imprudence, any way by pretending to the Government of others States, to weaken the hopes of recovering his own, and the inheritance belonging to his children. These reasons wrought upon the King of Navar, of himself inclined to such kinde of thoughts; but he was spurred on to the contrary by the instigation of the Prince his brother, though rather with a violent passion of revenge, then any founded reason. Notwithstanding, there being joyned to that party which perswaded an accord, the authority of the Duke of Montpensier and the Prince *de la Roche-sur-yon*, both of the same family of Bourbon, but who being many degrees removed from the Crown, had not interested themselves in these late businesses; the King of Navar inclining to come to an agreement with the Queen, proposed, by the same persons that treated the Accommodation, besides the three Conditions offered, two others: The first, that the Guises should be deprived of all places of command at Court; The other, that Liberty of conscience should be granted to the Hugonots.

When *Calvin's* Doctrine was first preached, the seeds thereof were planted in the family of *Henry* King of Navar, and *Margaret* his wife, father and mother to *Jane* the present Queen; and as the mindes of those Princes were ill-affected to the Apostolike See, being deprived of their kingdom under pretence of Ecclesiastical Censures thundred out by Pope *Julio* the second against the kingdom of France and the adherents of the same, with which Navar was then in confederacy; so it was likeliest, they should apply themselves to that Doctrine, which opposing the Authority of the Romane Bishop, by consequence concluded those Censures invalid, by vertue whereof they had lost their kingdom. Wherefore the Ministers (so they call them of *Calvins* Religion) frequenting the house of those Princes, and there teaching their

Opinions,

Pope *Julio* the second excommunicates the Kingdom of France and the adherents thereof; in which the King of Navar being included, he applieth himself to follow the opinions of *Beza* and *Peter Martyr*.



1560 Opinions, they made such an impression in Queen *Jane*, that departing from the rights of the Catholike Church, she had wholly entertained and embraced the Religion of the Hugonots. Whereupon being married to *Anthony* of Bourbon, (at the present King of Navar) she not onely continued in the same belief, but had in great part drawn her husband to that Opinion, being besides perswaded by the zealous eloquence of *Theodor Beza*, *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, and other Teachers that went freely into Bearne to preach their new Doctrine. And the Prince of Condè, the Admiral, and other principal men of the faction of the Princes of the blood, having at the same time, partly through conscience, partly through interests of State, embraced those Opinions, with so much the greater constancy, the King of Navar persevered to continue the protection of the Hugonots. For this cause he desired of the Queen in the Treaty of Accommodation between them, that Liberty of conscience might be granted to the *Calvinists*: and she, who thought all other things inferiour to the evident danger (wherein she saw the kingdom to be lost both to her sons and her self) not to interrupt the Treaty of agreement, would not absolutely deny those two Conditions, though very hard ones, but shewing, that to deprive the Guises of their charges at Court, was immediately contrary to the Accord then in agitation, and to the thought of reducing the wavering estate of the kingdom into peace and repose (for they being armed and powerful, would never suffer so great and manifest an affront, but joyning with the Catholike faction and the greater part of the States, would, to maintain their dignity, soon have recourse to Arms) notwithstanding, she obliged her self, that with time and art she would continually lessen their authority and power; which, they being by degrees deprived of their Governments, would soon fall to nothing. And for so much as concerned the liberty of the Hugonots, being a thing of too great importance to be granted upon so little deliberation, and which the Parliaments and the States themselves would undoubtedly oppose; she was content to promise secretly, that governing by common consent with the King of Navar, she would by indirect by-ways, & upon the emergencies of occasions which might happen every day, so work under hand, that by little and little they should in great part obtain their desires.

The



The Queen promised these things, being forced by the present necessity ; yet with an intent, when the Government was established, and the King of Navar appeased, to observe none of them ; but delaying the execution of them with her wonted artifices, at length with dexterity to render them altogether vain. For she thought it not expedient for her own interests, and the preservation of her sons, wholly to suppress the Guises ( who served marvellously to balance the power of the Princes of the blood ) ; and to permit a liberty of conscience, she knew it would not be done without great scandal to the Apostolike See, and all other Christian Princes, nor without great disorder and dissention in the kingdom ; but reserving many things to the benefit of time and future industry, she endeavoured by all manner of means, to provide for and remedy the present distractions.

Now the Accommodation being in a manner confirmed upon these Conditions, the King of Navar declared, that he would not conclude any thing without the consent and authority of the Constable, who was already neer upon his arrival ; so that it was necessary to return to the old arts to overcome this last impediment, esteemed by many no lesse difficult to master then the former. Wherefore the Queen, who very well knew the nature and inclination of the Constable, thought by restoring him to the authority of his place, and seeming to acknowledge from him both her own greatness, and the welfare of her sons yet in minority ; that he, ambitious to be held the Moderator and Arbitrator of all things, would easily be brought to favour her Regency, and to shew himself neuter to both factions. So that having the consent of the King of Navar and the Guises, (who on both sides were now inclined to thoughts of peace) she made shew of confessing that all things depended upon his power; giving order that the Captains of the Guard and the Governour of the City at his entry into the Gates should deliver up to him the chief command of the Souldiers, acknowledging him as in effect was but just, for General of the *Militia*. By which testimony of favour, the ancient sparks of loyalty and devotion reviving in him, wherwith he had so many yeers served the Grandfather and the Father of the present King, turning himself about to the Captains with the same majestical countenance that he used always to have, he told them, *That*

*since*

The Constable Anne of Monrancy restored to his Command.



1560. *since the King had again intrusted him with the command of the Armies, they should not need to stand long with such watchfulness upon the guard in a time of peace; for hee would soon take such an order, that though he were yet in age of minority, he should be obeyed in all parts of France by his Subjects without the force of arms.*

So being come to the Kings Palace, where the Queen received him with great shews of honour, and he doing homage to the young King with tears in his eyes, exhorted him not to have any apprehension of the present troubles; for he and all good French men would be ready to spend their lives for the preservation of his Crown: From which the Queen, taking courage, without any delay, entring into private discourse with him about the present affairs, not to give time to the practices of others, told him, that she had placed all hope of her own welfare and her sons in him only; that the Kingdom was divided between two pretending Factions, which resolving to persecute each other, had forgotten their obedience to their Prince and the publick safety; that there was no other person of Authority who, standing neuter, could suppress their pretences; that there was no hope of preserving her children in possession of the Crown, which was aimed at, and aspired to by so many, if he (mindfull of his Loyalty, of which he had given so long a testimony) did not undertake the protection of the young King, of the Kingdom afflicted with such distractions, and of the whole Royall Family that was then in a very slippery dangerous condition, and relied only upon the hope of the fidelity and aid from those who had been obliged and advanced by their Predecessors. To which words adding all the womanish flatteries that either the time or businesse required, she so wrought him to her will, that he not only consented to the accommodation treated with the King of Navar; but seeing the Guises already lessened, and the charge of the affairs with the first dignity of the Kingdom returned again into his own hands, forgetting all private interests of particular Factions, proposed that he would unite himself with the Queen for the conservation of the Crown, by which only he pretended to hold that place, which in the course of a long life he had taken such pains to attain unto.

The accommodation then agreed upon and confirmed by  
the



the Authority of the Constable, without further delay they assembled the Kings Councell, at which were assistant all the Princes and Officers of the Crown that were present. Where the Chancellour proposing according to ordinary use in the Kings presence, it was unanimously resolved upon, That the Queen-Mother should be declared Regent of the whole Kingdom, the King of Navar President and Governour of the Provinces, the Constable Superintendent of all the Forces, the Duke of Guise as Grand-Master Keeper of the Palace, and the Cardinal of Lorain High Treasurer. That the Admiral, the Marechals and Governours of the Provinces should enjoy and execute their charges, without being intrenched upon by Strangers; that the Supplications and Letters of the Provinces should be addressed to the King of Navar, who should make report thereof to the Queen, and return such answers as she and the Councell thought good; that all Embassies and Letters of Negotiation with Forreign Princes should be brought immediately to the Queen, and she to communicate them to the King of Navar; that in the Kings Councell where the Princes of the Bloud were to assist, the Queen should preside, and make all propositions, and when she was away, the King of Navar, or in absence of them both, the High-Chancellour: all dispatches whatsoever passing under the common name of the Governors of the Kingdom; conditions, by which the Princes of the Bloud had in shew a great part of the Government, but in substance all authority and power remained in the Queen. She promised further then this, (although secretly, by little and little) to open a way to liberty of conscience for the Hugonots, and by the same addresse in a short time to remove the Guises from all Ministerial dignities: which were the two conditions finally proposed by the two discontented Princes, and by her through a finall necessity fainedly accepted of.

The precipice of things being thus stopped, and the best order taken that could be for the Government of the Kingdom, the Prince of Condé, according to the Agreement, was set at liberty; and departing from the Court to shew how free he was, within a few dayes after returned thither again; and lastly, was by an honourable Edict in the Parliament of Paris absolved from the imputation

The Prince of Condé set at liberty, and the Sentence pronounced against him declared void.



1560. laid upon him, and the Sentence declared *null* and irregular which was pronounced against him by the Judges Delegates, as incapable of judging the Princes of the Bloud. The Visdame of Chartres injoyed not the benefit of this Agreement; for when he was first taken prisoner, being put into the Bastile (a fortresse placed upon the skirts of the City of Paris) he grew into such a discontent and indisposition of body, that he died before the Accommodation was fully concluded.

1561

The Assembly  
of the States  
dismissed.

Things being in this state, ended the yeer 1560: but in the beginning of the yeer after, the Regent and the King of Navar, not willing that the affairs thus settled should be disturbed by any new practises, dismissed the Assembly of the States, after they had celebrated the Ceremonies of the first Session; having caused by their dependents this reason to be alledged from the beginning, That the Deputies being sent by their Commonalty to treat with the late King, their Commission was expired by his death; and therefore they had no power under the reign of the present King, either to treat or conclude any thing concerning the State: Yet notwithstanding they gave Commission, that the Deputies upon the first opportunity should meet at a place appointed to consult of a means to pay the debts of the Crown without oppressing the people with new Taxes; but not to meddle with any thing else.

The States thus broken up, they applied themselves to settle the Government. But for all this, the discords and troubles of the Court were not quieted. For the Guises, who had gotten so little a share, and which consisted rather in apparence then any reall power, being accustomed to govern, could not conform their minds to their present condition: and being ill satisfied with the Queen, for having performed much lesse then she had promised, they sought all manner of opportunities whereby they might again raise themselves to their former greatnesse; and on the other side, the Prince of Condé, being exasperated, but not withdrawn from his wonted designs, burnt more then ever with an implacable desire of revenge; and the Lords of Chatillon, who firmly continued to protect the Hugonots party, desisted not to attempt the raising of Tumults, by which they might augment their owne power. Both Factions were intent



intent to draw to their party the Constable, who having declared, that he would depend only upon the Kings will and the Queens, maintained himself neuter : and so much the rather, because the King of Navar, contented with his present condition, continued still a good correspondence with the Regent, and persevered in the desire to establish a Peace. Wherefore there was not any apparent reason for the Constable not to remain constant in his first resolution.

But the Admirall and his Brothers, together with the Prince of Condé, hoped that the nearness of blood would at length prevail to win him to their side ; and the Guises knowing him affectionate to the Catholick Religion, and adverse to that of *Calvin*, so severely persecuted by him in the Reign of *Henry* the Second, despaired not, under a colour to defend the Faith, and extirpate the Hugonots, to draw him to their partie.

These stirs were kept in motion by the obstinacy of the King of Navar, who very urgently pressed the Queen, that she would apply her self to perform those promises which she made unto him in favour of the Hugonots. And she, who contented her self with the present state of things, which, being equally balanced, and not enclining more to one side then the other, secured her greatness and her Son's Kingdom, avoided all that was possible the being brought to a necessity of discontenting him, lest he should alter his resolutions. But on the other side, conceiving it neither just nor safe to give so much liberty to the Hugonots, she found out quaint excuses, and divers pretexts to delay the execution of her promise ; hoping indeed, that in progresse of time the King of Navar would grow lesse instant in his desires. But it fell out altogether otherwise : for being stirred up by the continuall instigations of the Prince and the Admiral, and the perpetuall incitements of the Queen his Wife, he grew every day more violent in pressing the performance of that promise which was made him at the beginning.

The High-Chancellour *de l' Hospital*, though covertly, favoured his desire ; who either beleiving that it was indeed expedient for the quiet of the Kingdome ; or else through an inclination that he had to the Hugonots Do-



1561

Strine, took off as much as he could from the severity of other Magistrates, and advised the Queen, to stay the effusion of bloud, to settle mens consciences in peace, to take away all ground of scandall, and not to give an occasion of bringing things again into confusion, which with so much pains and art were set right and composed. Many also of the Kings Councell yeelded to the instances of the King of Navar, who professed that he was moved to compassion, to see so many of the Kings subjects that were continually scattered about in the Kingdom, abandoning their own houses through fear of punishments; and that he detested so often to goar his hands in the bowels of the French Nation. And the Hugonots themselves, among whom were many men of wit and courage, omitted no art nor care that might any way help them: but sometimes with little Treatises artificially scattered abroad, sometimes by petitions seasonably presented, otherwhile by the effectuall perswasions of those that favoured them, indeavoured to move the great persons to commiserate their condition.

A kind of Toleration permitted to the Hugonots.

The Queen therefore being forced to yeild to the consent and authority of so many, and conceiving perhaps it would be best, willingly to intermit that severity which by no means could be longer continued (since those threats which are not resolutely put in execution by force, prove alwaies damageable) she gave way, that by a Decree of Councel passed the 28 day of *January*, the Magistrates should be ordered to release all prisoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to stop any manner of inquisition appointed for that purpose against any person whatsoever; nor to suffer any disputations in matters of Religion, nor particular persons to revile one another with the names of *Heretick* and *Papist*: but that all should live together in peace, abstaining from unlawfull Assemblies, or to raise scandalls and sedition.

Thus *Calvins* Religion, under the obscure pretence of hindering the effusion of more bloud (which carried an appearance of much Christianity and piety) was, though not authorised, at least covertly protected and tolerated. A greater contest seemed likely to arise about the depression of the Duke of Guise. For the King of Navar, putting the Queen in mind of the promises she secretly made him, required, that as the Kings Lieutenant Generall, the keys of the Palace should



should be assigned to him ; which the Duke of Guise, as Grand-Master, alwayes kept. But the Queen, though she saw that she was greatly upheld and honoured by the King of Navar and the Constable, and on the contrary knew the Guises were grown very averse to her ; yet she imployed all her power to hinder their depression. For on one side, the Hugonots party maintaining it self under the protection of the Prince of Condé and the Admirall ; and the Catholicks on the other side, under the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorain ; conceiving that between these two Factions, as between two strong banks, she might remain secure in a calm : She would not so much weaken the Catholick party, as they should be forced afterwards to receive Laws from the Hugonots. Wherefore sometimes by delays, sometimes by complying with him in other demands, she sought to remove the King of Navar from that thought.

But he persisting in his demand, and growing every day more earnest, as he saw her more backward ; not in an instant to dissolve that agreement which with so many difficulties was effected, it was thought convenient to command the Captains of the Guard, that from thence forward they should not carry the keys of the Kings Lodgings, as the custome had been, to the Grand-Master, but to the Lientenant General, as the man to whom that dignity belonged. Whereat the Duke of Guise was exceedingly incensed, and much more the Cardinal his Brother ; not so much for the importance of the thing, or the injury received (which at the first was otherwise determined in the Kings Councell) as because they manifestly saw, that the King of Navar's intention, which drew along with it the Queens consent, was wholly to suppress and tread under foot their greatnesse. But knowing they were thought to be men of passion and ambition, and seeing themselves not able in a private dispute to deal with the Princes of the Bloud, who had then in their hands all the Kings force and authority, they dissembled the affront done unto them, and made shew only of being moved and offended at the tacite toleration that was permitted to the Calvinists ; covering in this manner with a pious pretence under the vail of Religion, the interests of private passion.

The keyes of the Kings Palacetaken from the Duke of Guise, and delivered to the King of Navar.

So by degrees the discords of great men were confounded  
with



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The private  
interests and  
enmities are  
covered with  
the vail of Re-  
ligion; & the  
two Factions  
take the name  
of Hugonot and  
Catholick.

with the dissentions of Religion; and the Factions were no more called the discontented Princes and the Guisarts; but more truly and by more significant names, One the Catholike, and the other the Hugonot party. Factions, which under the colour of piety, administered pernicious matter to all the following mischiefs and distractions. The Queen Regent and the Constable held the Kings partie, as it were in the middle of the balance; and the Constable, though he hated *Calvinisme*, and lived conformable to the Roman Church; Neverthelesse, both in respect of his Nephews, and to preserve the publick peace, was contented that they should proceed warily in matters of Religion, untill such time as the King, being come to age, should be able to govern himself.

At Rheims a  
vial is kept,  
with the oyle  
whereof the  
first Christian  
King *Clouis*  
was consecra-  
ted.

But to confirm in the mean while the Kings Authority and Empire, although in minority, it was thought expedient by those that governed, that he should be acknowledged with the usuall Ceremonies belonging to the Kings of France. Wherefore they resolved to carry him to Rheims, and in that place, where the holy oyl is kept with great veneration, which served at the Coronation of the first Christian King *Clouis*, to cause him to be annointed, or as they commonly call it, *Sacré*; and from thence to conduct him to the City of Paris, there to reside, as the Kings for the most part are accustomed, in the principal City of the Kingdom. At the Ceremonies of the Coronation there arose a new strife for precedency between the Princes of the Bloud and the Duke of Guise. For these pretended to the first place, as they were first in dignity before any whosoever; and the Duke of Guise, as first Peer of France, pretended in waiting at the Ceremony to precede every man; and though the Kings Council determined in favour of the Duke of Guise, (because at the crowning of the King, the presence and assistance of the Peers, (which are twelve, six Ecclesiasticks, and six Secular) is requisite; and the Princes of the Bloud having not any thing to do, their attendance is not necessary) notwithstanding, they being apt to take fire at every little spark, this was enough very much to incense and exasperate them. In the mean while, the Admiral and the Prince of Condé had used all possible indeavour to draw the Constable to the protection of their party; but though *Francis* Mareschal of Momorancy his eldest son, who was straightly united with them,

The Duke of  
Guise as first  
Peer of France  
is declared to  
precede all the  
rest.

The Peers are  
12, six Eccle-  
siasticall, and  
six Secular.



them, used great industry to perswade his Father; yet nothing could move his constancy; being resolved not to make himself in his old age head of a Faction, or an Author of new dissentions in Religion. Wherefore the Admirall, always an inventor of subtrill counsels, thought with himself, that he would make him concur with them by some other way.

At Pontoise, a Town seven leagues from Paris, the Assembly was held of certain Deputies of the Provinces, to consult of a means to pay the debts of the Crown, which by reason of the past Warres, amounted to a very important summe: and although the Marechal of Momorancy presided in this Assembly, yet the Admirall had some of his neereft familiars that were of it, by whose means he had the commodity to cause any thing to be proposed there that he pleased. Wherefore the Brothers of *Coligni* and the Prince of Condé resolved by means of their Confidents, to propose in the Assembly, That all those who had received any donations from the Kings, *Francis* the First, or *Henry* the Second, should be obliged to restore them into the publick Treasury; making account, that in this manner, without imposing new Taxes, they might pay the greatest part of the debts, which within & without the Kingdom occasioned both to the Publick and particulars, so great trouble. They made this Proposition, because the partakers of the late Kings bounty were the Guises, the Duches *Diana*, the Marechal S. *André*, and the Constable: And for those, they desired to see the effect of it to their utter ruine; but for the Constable, it was designed to put him only in fear, and necessitate him to unite himself with the Faction of the Princes, to avoid the danger of losing his estate, which was the fruits of so many yeers sweat and labour; and such was the animosity of the Factions, that even his Nephews made themselves the Ministers to bring these straights and cares upon their Uncle.

But as Counsels too subtrill and forced use often to produce contrary and unthought of ends; So this attempt had an effect much different from that which the contrivers thereof designed; For in this restitution of goods, the Constable and Guises having an equall interest; *Diana*, who was joyned in affinity with both of them, having already regained a confidence with them, began, as concerned in the same bu-  
sinesse, to treat of it with the Constable: and as she was a  
woman



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woman of great wit, well instructed in what she was to do, ill-affected towards the Queen, and greatly terrified with the restitution which was spoken of; she used her skill to passe from this to other discourses tending to a reconciliation with the Catholique faction, and the Princes of Loraine: and from a consult how to hinder the proposed restitution, coming to inveigh against the Admirall, and the Prince of Condé, who was suspected to be the Author of it, at last they fell to a deploration of the present State, in which, under the rule of a Pupil King and a stranger woman, things were governed with such pestiferous and destructive Counsells; that to promote ambition and private passions, the publike peace and tranquillitie were destroyed, with introducing shamelesly into the Kingdom those heresies, which being condemned by the Catholick Church, were so carefully punished with sword and fire by the just severity of the late Kings. Nor made she an end with this condolence, but went on with the same efficacy: that the whole Kingdome was extremely amazed and very much troubled, that one of the house of Momorancy, which first received the Christian Religion, who in the course of his past life had with great praise of Pietie and Justice executed the chiefeft Authority of the Kingdom, should now, as if he were charmed by the Arts of a Woman, suffer himself to be led by her appetite, and one of so little wisdom as the King of Navar, to consent to those things which they did to the prejudice of Gods Church: That he, who had strength and power in his hands, was streightly obliged to disturbe and hinder those wicked Counsells which then prevailed, and once more to lend that help with which he had oftentimes formerly supported the Crowne afflicted, and Religion wholly abandoned: That he should call to minde his owne Maxime, so constantly observed in the glorious actions of his youth, according to which he had ever condemned and opposed the power of strangers, which alwaies tends to the ruine, not edifying of States; and not now suffer two Women, one an Italian, the other a Navaroise, so perversly to destroy the foundations of the French Monarchy, chiefly established upon the Basis of Piety and Religion. That he should remember, this was that same *Catherine* whose manners and disposition he had ever blamed and detested; That these were the very same Hugonots whom



whom he had so fiercely persecuted in the reign of *Henry* the Second; that the persons were not changed, nor the quality of things; but every one would believe that he in his old age suffered himself to be led, either by Ambition, or inclinations of others, to shew himself altogether different from those Maxims by which formerly hee had guided his Actions.

To these perswasive speeches, many times on purpose reiterated, adding many other reasons, and by often visiting and sollicitation, finding that the Constable began to yeild, partly through indignation conceived against his Nephews, for what concerned his estate, and partly through the hate of *Calvinisme*; at length *Magdalen de Savoy* his wife undertook the taske wholly to vanquish his resolution; who being not well pleased to see him bear such an ardent affection to his Nephews *de Coligni*, and desirous to insinuate into the same place of his favour *Honoré de Savoye* Marquis of Villars, her Brother, she let passe no occasion whereby she might prejudice them, and advance his interest.

Nor did the practice end there; but by the means of *Diana*, the Mareshall of Saint *André* being also brought in, who was no lesse concerned in the restitution, they so wrought with him, that partly to unite himself with those who had the same interest, partly through the hate to his Nephews, and partly through the just apparence of the preservation of the Catholick Religion, to which he was ever affected; he began to incline to a friendship with the Guises. Which when they once perceived, they omitted not any artifice nor submission, or other means that might conduce to draw him absolutely to their party: having conceived new hopes to recover this way some part, if not all of their former power in the Government. And it so fel out, that *Diana*, Wife to the Mareshall of Momorancy, (who was the onely obstacle to this Treaty) being sick at Chantilly, his affection forc'd him to leave his Father to visit her; so that he being thus removed out of the way, the friendship was finally concluded, and a league made between the Constable and the Guises for the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and mutuall defence of their severall Estates.



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But when this combination was known to the Queen, she conceiving she had lost her greatest stay, and that the Princes of Loraine, so much increased in strength and reputation, being ill satisfied with her proceedings, would endeavour to deprive her of the Government: thought it so much more necessary to enter into a straighter union with the King of Navar, to counterpoize as much as was possible, the other partie: knowing she was to be very studiously vigilant to preserve things in an equality so, as neither the Kings safety, nor stability of the Government should be endangered. Wherefore, the King of Navar soliciting it, and the Queen not disliking that his party should increase, under the pretence to keep the Kingdom in peace during the Kings minority, to appease the people formerly exasperated, and at their first entring upon the Government to gaine a plausible name of clemencie; it was commended to all the Parliaments by new Edicts and Decrees, not further to molest

An Edict that no body should be molested for matters of Religion, with the restitution of confiscated goods.

any body for matter of Religion; and to restore the goods, houses, and possessions of all such who for suspicion of Calvinisme had been formerly deprived of them. Which Edicts, though the Parliament of Paris opposed, and many Magistrates refused to obey them: nevertheless the Hugonots having so specious a colour as the declared will of the King, and the Regent, approved of by the Councell of State, they of themselves took upon them to exercise a liberty of Conscience, encreasing still in number and force; which perhaps would have fallen out according to the Queenes intention, if the multitude of the Hugonots had knowne how to containe themselves within the limits of modestie and reason. But they on the contrary, as those use who are led by a popular rage, without the bridle of a formall Government, finding themselves now supported and favoured, loosed from the feare of punishment, and laying aside all respect due to Magistrates, by open Assemblies, insolent speeches, and other odious acts, provoked against themselves the hate and disdain of the Catholiques: from whence arising in all parts obstinate jarres, and bloudy Factions, every thing was full of tumult; and all the Provinces of the Kingdome troubled with seditious rumors. So that

The Hugonots grow insolent towards the Catholicks.

contrary



contrary to the intention of those that governed, and contrary to the common opinion, the remedy applyed to maintain the State, and preserve an union of peace during the Kings minority, fell out to be dangerous and destructive, and upon the matter, occasioned all those dissentions and perils, which with so much care they ought to prevent.

This gave opportunity to the Guises, being encouraged and increased in strength, to begin to oppose the present Government. Infomuch as the Cardinall of Loraine, taking a time to speak at the Counsell-Table, without bearing any regard to the Queen or the King of Navar who were present, began to enter upon the point of Religion, and with hot words and effectuall speeches, to shew with what indignity to the most Christian Kingdom, what sin towards God, and with how great scandal to all the world, Liberty of conscience was permitted to those, who professing manifest heresies, already condemned in all Councells, went about scattering monstrous opinions in Religion, corrupting the youth, seducing simple persons, and in all places of the Kingdom stirring up the people to tumult, contempt, and Rebellion. Already the Priests could no longer celebrate their sacrifices in churches for the insolencies of the Hugonots; already the Preachers durst not goe into the Pulpit, for the arrogancies of the Calvinists: The Magistrates were no longer obeyed in their Jurisdictions, through the Rebellion of Hereticks; all places raged with discords, burnings and slaughters, through the presumption and perverseness of those who assumed to themselves a liberty of teaching and beleiving after their owne fashion: and now the most Christian Kingdom, and first born of the church, was readie to turne schismatick, to separate it self from the obedience of the Apostolick See; and the faith of Christ, onely to satisfie the capritious humours of a few seditious persons. Upon this subject he so enlarged himself with his wonted eloquence, by which he used to prevaile in all disputes, that, not any of the Hugonots favourers being able to answer the reasons he alledged; but the King of Navar holding his peace, the Queen-Mother not replying a word, and the Chancellor startled and confounded; it was resolved with great alacrity of all the Councell, who were exceedingly scandalised at the excessive license of the Hugonots,

The Cardinal of Loraine in the Kings Councell inveighs against the Hugonots.



1561 that forthwith all the principall Officers of the Crowne should assemble at the Parliament at Paris, there in the Kings presence, to debate these matters, and resolve upon such remedies as were most necessary for the future. It was impossible to hinder them from coming to the Parliament, which was appointed upon the thirteenth day of July : for the King of Navar durst not openly oppose it, lest by declaring himself Hugonot, he should gain many Enemies : and the Queen-Mother, although she desired not to see the Catholick party increase in strength, yet she was very much perplext in mind, and above all things apprehensive, lest the advancement and establishment of heresie should be imputed to her.

The Edi& of  
July.

The Parlia-  
ment of Paris  
expells the  
Hugonots out  
of the King-  
dom.

The judge-  
ment of here-  
sie committed  
to the Bishops.

The contestations in the Parliament were very great : and although the Protectors of the Hugonots employed their uttermost endeavours to obtaine them a Decree for Liberty of Conscience, by which Declaration they pretended that these stirs and dissentions would cease ; yet all was in vaine. For indeed, it being cleerly, not onely against the intention and authority of the Catholick Church, but also contrary to the ancient customes of the Kingdom : and the Councillors of the Parliament being exasperated by the continuall complaints which were brought them from all parts, against the insurrection of the Hugonots : It was with a generall consent expressly ordered, that the Ministers should be expelled out of the Kingdom, with a prohibition to use any other rites or ceremonies in Religion, then what were held and taught by the Roman Church : and all Assemblies and meetings forbidden in any place, either armed or unarmed, unlesse in the Catholick Churches to heare Divine Service, according to the usuall custome. And to give some ballance to the other party ; the same Edi& contained, that all delinquencies found in matter of Religion before the publication thereof, should be pardoned : and that for the future all accusations or complaints of Heresie should be brought to the Bishops, their Vicars, or Surrogates ; and the civill Magistrates to be assisting to them upon all occasions ; and that they should not proceed against those convict of heresie further then banishment ; but abstain from any corporal punishment, or effusion of blood.

This deliberation comprehended in a solemne Edi&, approved



proved, and subscribed by the King, the Queen, and all the Princes and Lords of both Fa<sup>c</sup>tions, absolutely restrained the liberty of Religion, and gave heart to the Catholick party, which was not a little dejected. But the Prince of Condé and the Admiral grieving at the depression of the Hugonots, in whose number and force they had founded the strength of their fa<sup>c</sup>tion, not able other waies to hinder the execution of the Edi<sup>c</sup>t, (which being imbraced with great affection by the Parliaments, and the greater parts of the inferiour Magistrates, they durst not oppose) they advised, to procure that the Calvinist Ministers should desire a conference in the Kings presence, accompanied with his Prelats, to propose and examine the Articles of their Do<sup>c</sup>trine; hoping by indirect wayes to bring it so about, as again to introduce a liberty of Religion. This demand of the Hugonots was opposed by many of the Catholick Prelats, and in particular, by the Cardinal of Tournon, shewing that it was uselesse to dispute matters of faith with men so extremely obstinate, and who persisted in opinions condemned by the Holy Church; yet if they had a minde to have their reasons heard, they might addresse themselves to the generall Councell at Trent, where under safe conduct they should be permitted to propose and dispute their opinions. But the Cardinal of Lorain was not against it, either moved through hope by evident reasons to convince the Do<sup>c</sup>trine of the Hugonots, and by that means disabuse the consciences of simple people, or set on (as those that were emulous said) with the vanity to shew his learning and eloquence, and to render himself in such a publick Assembly so much the more eminent and renowned. Howsoever his intentions were, certain it is, that he, not contradicting the Ministers demand, drew to his opinion the other Prelats; and finally, they all consented to the King of Navar; who, being desirous to hear a solemn dispute for the settling of his own conscience, solicited it with great earnestnesse in favour of the Hugonots.

Safe conducts then being sent to the Ministers that were retired to Geneva, and Poissy (a Town five leagues from Paris) appointed the place for the conference; besides the King and the Court, there came thither on the Catholick party the Cardinals of Tournon, Lorain, Bourbon, Armagnac, and Guise, and with the Bishops and Prelats of best esteem,



1561. steem, many Doctors of the *Sorbon*, and other Divines sent for from the most famous Universities of the Kingdom. There appeared for the Hugonots *Theodore Beza*, head of all the rest, *Peter Martyr Vermeilo*, *Francis de St. Paul*, *John Raimond*, and *John Virelle*, with many other Preachers, which came some from Geneva, some out of Germany, and other neighbouring places. There *Theodore Beza* with great flourish of Rhetorick, having first proposed his opinions, and the Cardinal of Lorain with strength of Reason, and authority of Scripture, and of the Fathers of the holy Church, strongly opposed him, The Councel of State thought it not fit that the King, who being but young, and not yet able to judge or discern the truth, should come any more to the Disputation; lest he should be infected with some opinions less exact, or lesse conformable to the Doctrines of the Catholick Church. Wherefore the Dispute, from being publick, by degrees, grew more private; and finally, after many meetings, brake off, without any conclusion or benefit at all. The Catholick party got only this advantage, that the King of Navar himself remained little satisfied with the Hugonots, having discovered, that the Ministers agreed not amongst themselves about that doctrine which they too unanimously preached; but that some followed strictly *Calvin's* opinions, others inclined to the doctrine of *Ecolampadius* and *Luther*; some adhering to the Helvetian Confession, others to the Augustan: at which uncertainties being very much troubled, from thence forward he began to leave them, and incline to the Roman Religion.

The conference at Poissy.

The divers opinions of the Hereticks.

But the Hugonots got much greater advantage by the conference, to which end only they desired it; For being departed from the Diet, they divulged abroad, that they had made good their opinions, convinced the Catholick Doctors, confounded the Cardinal of Lorain, and gotten licence from the King to preach. Whereupon, they began of their own authority to assemble themselves in such places as they thought most convenient for their purpose, and to celebrate their preachings publickly; and were frequented with such a confluence of the Nobility, and common people, that it was not possible any longer to suppress or hinder them. And if the Magistrates molested them in their congregations, or the Catholicks attempted to drive them out of their Temples;



ples; they were grown to that insolence, that without respect of any authority, they took Arms to right themselves. Whereupon cruel contentions arising with the name of *Heretick and Papist*, the whole Kingdom was turned up side down; the Magistrates opposed in their Jurisdictions, the people disquieted, the collectors for the Kings Revenue not suffered; and in the midst of a full peace were seen the effects of a tacite but destructive war.

Those that sat at the Helm moved with this necessity, and finding that the severity of the Edict of *July* had rather increased then diminished the disorders; they called another Assembly of all the eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, to consider the state of every particular Province, and by common consent to make such Ordinances as should be thought most expedient for the settling of this businessse. Which, continually varying with the interest of State, and passions of great men, it is no marvell, though after so many and such divers orders taken, it became more confused and disordered. For, through inconstancy and often change, it could not receive that form which proceeds only from constancy and an exact obedience to the supreme power.

There are eight Parliaments in France.

This Assembly met in Paris in the beginning of the yeer 1562; where, the Queen consenting, (as altogether intent to balance the Factions, and not to suffer the one to advance, or to oppresse the other, lest she should remain a prey to that which got the superiority) and most of the Councell approving it; (partly perswaded, that so great a multitude moved with the zeal of Religion could not easily be restrained; partly moved with pity, to see so much bloud spilt unprofitably) that famous and so much celebrated Edict of *January* was made; by which was granted to the Hugonots a free exercise of their Religion, and to assemble at Sermons, but unarmed, without the Cities, in open places, and the Officers of the place being present and assistant. The Parliaments, though at first they refused to accept this Edict, and the Magistrates greatly opposed it; notwithstanding, by reiterated Orders from the King and his Councell, it was at length registred and published by way of provision, with this expresse clause and condition; Untill such time as the generall Councell, or the King himself should order it otherwise.

The Edict of January.



1562

This Edi&th dismayed the heads of the Catholick party ; and not willing that the world should beleeeve they consented to what was done, the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Cardinals, (amongst which the Cardinal of Tournon was lately dead) with the Marshalls of Brissac and St. *André*, left the Court, already contriving how they might hinder the execution of the Edi&th, and oppose the Hugonot Faction. But because they saw, that whilst the King of Navar stood united with the Regent, they had no manner of right to intermeddle with the Government of the Kingdom ; and therefore whatsoever they should do, would prove of no effect ; they proposed to themselves to dissolve that union. And knowing that the Queens thoughts and intentions were disposed to continue with the same power till her son came of age, they thought it more easie to gain the King of Navar. It hindred not, but rather advanced their design, that they were absent from the Court. For the businesse being of such difficulty and length, it might be managed with the greater secrecie ; and there came in under hand to treat it, *Hippolito d' Est*, Cardinal of Ferrara, the Popes Legat, and Don *Juan Mauriquez*, Ambassador from the Catholick King ; who being favoured by the Councillors of that Faction, found an easie way to promote their intentions.

The Cardinal  
*Hippolito d'*  
Asst Legat in  
France.

The King of Navar was already very much averse to the Hugonots Religion, by reason of the different opinions he found amongst those of that sect about the points in controversie. Wherefore after the conference held at Poissy, having there not found the same constancy in *Theodor Beza* and *Peter Martyr Vermeil*, which they used to shew in their Sermons when no body opposed them, he sent for Doctor *Baldwin*, a man skilled in holy Scripture, and versed in the disputes of Religion, by whom he was wholly taken off from the Helvetian and Augustan Confession, and perswaded to reunite himself to the Religion taught in the universall Catholick Church. And although he consented to the Edi&th of *January*, he did it rather through an old opinion, That mens consciences were not to be forced, and through the perswasions of those who affirmed that it was a means to quiet the troubles and tumults in the Kingdom, then for any particular liking of it; having already an intent to reconcile himself with the Church. Which inclination of his being known to many, by means of his neer Counsellors



Councillors of late disposed to serve secretly the Catholike party, it gave courage to the Legate and the Spanish Ambassadour, to enter into their proposed Treaty.

1562.

But to accompany the Spiritual considerations with profit, and Temporal interests, they joyntly proposed, that repudiating Queen *Jane* his wife with a Dispensation from the Pope, by reason She was manifestly tainted with Heresie, the Guises should obtain for him the Queen of Scotland their Neece, widow to *Francis* the second; who, besides her youth, and excellent beauty, brought with her a kingdom. But seeing that, through love to their children, he consented not to the Divorce, they went about to introduce that Treaty so often proved vain, to give him with certain Conditions the Isle of Sardinia for Navar; knowing, that it was the trial, which, as it touched neerest, would work most inwardly with him. And although the hopes thereof were almost quite lost; yet the Treaty being never absolutely broke off, the Ambassadour *Manriquez* with the wonted arts began so effectually to revive the thoughts and belief of it, that he was soon raised to new hopes. For, besides the ordinary assurances of the Catholike Kings affection, they were gone so far, that they already treated the manner of the change, and the quality of the Tribute that in acknowledgement of superiority he should pay to the Crown of Spain: seriously disputing upon the Capitulations & Articles of Agreement, as if the Treaty were meant really to be effected.

Proposition to exchange Navar for Sardinia.

That which furthered the Catholikes designe, was his natural inclination, by which he was disposed to plain honest counsels. It availed them, that he began to discover the passions and interests which were covered under the veil of Christian charity, and the cloke of Religion: besides, it conduced not a little to their ends, that he was entered into a suspicion, that the Admiral with his too-much knowledge sought to arrogate to himself such an Authority, as to make the world believe he swayed and ruled his actions. But above all, the way was facilitated to perswade him, in that he saw the whole faction made their addresses to the Prince of Condé, admiring and exalting the boldness, generosity and promptness which he shewed; and on the contrary, despised his facility and too much mildness. He was moved with



1562. one consideration more of exceeding great consequence ; seeing the King of France and his Brothers were in an age unable to have children, by nature of a weak complexion, of little heat, and subject to dangerous indispositions ; he was not altogether without hope, but that in a short time he might attain to the Crown, which as first of the Bloud belonged to him. In which case, he knew, that to be a favourer and head of the Hugonots, would be a great obstacle unto him, and almost an invincible impediment. Wherefore desiring to remove all such contrarieties as might hinder him in that pretence, he inclined to joyn himself with the Catholick party, and to gain the Popes favour and the King of Spains, together with the forces of the best united and most powerfull Faction. To all these respects being added the effectuall promises and lively perswasions of the Legat, and the Ambassador *Manriquez*, and growing suspicious of his Wives counsels ; as given without measure to *Calvin's* opinions, and naturally an enemy to thoughts of peace ; he resolved finally to enter into a league with the Constable & the Duke of Guise, professing by their speeches, and declaring in writing, that they were confederated for the defence of the Catholick Religion. But the truth was in effect besides those considerations, the K. of Navar left that party in which he knew he was inferiour to his Brother, to joyn himself with this, which fed him with many great hopes. Likewise the Guises were moved with desire of rising again to their former reputation and greatnesse.

The union of the King of Navar with the Duke of Guise and the Constable, which the Hugonots called the *Triumvirat*.

This was that Union which taught the French Subjects without their Kings consent to enter into any combinations ; and which with so many execrations and maledictions, was by the Hugonots, in respect of the three chief Confederates, called the *Triumvirat*.

Queen *Jane* was incredibly displeased at this so unexpected deliberation of her Husband ; and, not able to endure to see him a principall persecuter of that Religion w<sup>ch</sup> she constantly professed, & into which she conceived she had not only perswaded, but absolutely confirmed him, through disdain thereof, she resolved to leave the Court ; & therupon carrying with her Prince *Henry* & the Princess *Catharine* her children, whom she brought up in the *Calvinists* Religion, she retired into Bearn ; being determined to separate her self from the counsels and conversation of her Husband. But if Queen *Jane* were



were greatly afflicted at so sudden and almost incredible a change, the Queen Regent was no lesse terrified; who, seeing with this union her designs destroyed, of balancing the Factions, and that equality so unequally broken, in which consisted (with such jealousy and discontent of the Princes) the security of the State; began greatly to fear the ruine both of her son's Kingdom, and her own greatness: conceiving, that these reciprocall changes, and this uniting of interests so wholly different, could not be without some hidden design of great attempts, and a foundation of high hopes.

She knew the Guises had already discovered her arts, and that full of desire and pretensions they sought by all manner of wayes possible to attain to the Government. It appeared to her, that the King of Navar would not have been induced to leave the friendship of his brother and his other adherents, to unite himself with those who had been his bitter enemies, without great reward for such a lightnesse. She well knew what power Ambition and the thirst of rule had over the minds of men, though never so just; and looking round about her, she discovered her own weaknesse, and the crasse uncertain condition of her young sons. In which consideration, neither beleieving, nor relying any longer upon the sincerity of the King of Navar, nor the professions the Catholics made, that they would not innovate any thing in the State, being full of fears and jealousies, she saw not where securely to rest her thoughts. In so much as in the long watchings and frequent consultations which she held with her Confidants, amongst whom the principall were the Bishop of Valence and the Chancellor *de l' Hospitall*, at length she concluded (being advised by them, and what more imported, being forced by necessity) to make a league with the Prince of Condé and the Admirall; and fomenting their designs, make herself a Buckler of their Forces; by this means, equalling and counterpoising as much as was possible, the power of the Factions: this reason prevailing among many other, that even God in the government of the world oftentimes draws good from evill; and since the Hugonots had till then been the cause of so much care and trouble, it was but reasonable to make use of them for the present, as an antidote to cure those evils which with their venom were like to infect the most noble and most essentiall parts of the Kingdom.

Queen Catherine in opposition to the Triumvirat, joyns with the Prince of Condé and the Admirall.



1562.

The Hugonots, by the publication of the Edict of *January*, being free from the fear of punishment, had already begun to take strength and vigour; and assembling themselves publickly upon all occasions, it appeared that their number was great and considerable, not only for the quantity, but also for the quality of the persons; insomuch as their force was not contemptible. The Prince of Condé took upon him openly to be the head of them, who, though in apparence reconciled by the Kings command with the Guises, persevered firmly in his former designs, and burnt impatiently with desire to revenge his past affronts upon those that were his chief persecuters. His power and boldnesse was moderated by the wise counsel of the Admiral of Chastillon; who, through desire of rule, was together with his Brothers, more straightly united with the Hugonot party. Their Authority led after them, being of the same Faith, the Prince of Porcien, the Count *de la Rochefoucault*, *Messieurs de Genlis, de Grammont*, and *Duras*, the Count of Montgommery, the Baron *des Adrets*, *Messieurs de Bouchavane*, and *Soubize*, and many other the principal in the Kingdom; in such manner, that upon every little heat that they received from those who governed, they presently put themselves into a posture of defence, and boldly opposed the contrary faction.

Wherefore the Queen being forced to take hold of the opportunity of this conjuncture for her own defence and her sons, and being reduced into a necessity to imbrace for the present any whatsoever dangerous party, leaving the issue thereof to future occurrences, began to faine that she was moved with the Doctrine and reasons of the Hugonots, and inclined to entertain their Religion. To confirm them in which opinion as much as she could with outward testimonies, she would often hear their preachers argue and discourse in her own chamber, confer with great confidence and professions of affection with the Prince of Condé and the Admiral; and was often in discourse with the Dutches of Montpensier, whom (making her beleeve whatsoever she pleased with her excellent dissimulation) she used as a means to entertain with hopes many other the principal of them. And to lead them on with open demonstrations to a belief of her privat protestations & practices; she wrote obscure letters of ambiguous sense to the Pope, one while demanding a Council, such in every point as  
the

The Queen  
faining an in-  
clination to  
the Hugonots  
Religion.



the Calvinists desired; then licence to call a Nationall one; sometimes desiring that the Communion might be administered under both *species*; otherwhile requiring a dispensation for Priests to marry; now solliciting that divine Service might be said in the vulgar tongue; then proposing other such like things, wished for and preached by the Hugonots; in which she knew so wel how to dissemble, by the help of Monsieur de l'Isle Ambassador at Rome, that putting the Pope in doubt, and the Catholick partie, and so necessitating them to proceed warily, lest they should finally alienate her wholly from the Roman Religion: at the same time she so won the Hugonots, making them beleieve that she was altogether inclined to favour them, that of bitter enemies they became her greatest friends and Confidents.

Nor were the vulgar only deluded by these artificiall dissimulations, but the Admiral also, who was by nature so wary, and of such a subtil wit, gave such credit to them, that he was induced to give the Queen a full accompt of the number of the forces and designs of his Faction, of the adherents they had both within and without the Kingdom, and every other particular; She seeming desirous to be informed at large, before she declared her self; and promising openly to take that party, when they were once so established and provided with force, as she should not need to fear the power of the Catholicks, or the *Triumvirat*.

Thus with a sudden, and in apparence incredible change, the King of Navar went over to the Catholick party; and Queen *Catherine*, though dissemblingly, took upon her the protection of the Hugonots. Which change, to them that knew not the true secret reasons of it, appeared strange and extravagant, and therefore many did then attribute it to lightnesse in the one, and womanish inconstancy in the other; and many that have written since, ascribe the fault also to the same causes, not penetrating into the hidden foundations upon which the engines of this counsell were moved.

*The end of the second Book.*





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Third BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**He third Book relates the deliberation of the King of Navar to drive the Prince of Condé (already become formidable) out of Paris; for this purpose he sends for the other Catholick Lords to Court. The Duke of Guise makes a journey thither, and passing by Vassy, lights upon an Assembly of Hugonots at their devotions; Thereupon follows accidentally, a bloody conflict; to revenge themselves of which, the Hugonots rise in all parts of the Kingdom. The Prince of Condé leaves Paris; The Queen, together with the King, because she would not be constrained to declare herself for either party, retires to Fountain-bleau: On the other side, the Princes of each Faction indeavour to possesse themselves of the persons of the King and Queen; The Catholicks prevent the Hugonots, and lead them both to Paris. The Prince of Condé, having lost his opportunity, takes other resolutions; possesses himself of Orleans, and prepares for the War. The Catholick Lords under the Kings name likewise raise an Armie. Many Writings are



are published on each side. Both Armies go into the Field. The Queen-Mother avoids the War, and labours for a Peace: To this end she comes to a parley with the Prince, but without successe: notwithstanding she continues to treat of an Agreement, which at length is concluded: The Prince by the perswasion of the rest, repents himself thereof, and again takes arms: purposeth to assail the Kings Camp by night, but fails of his design. Forces come to the King out of Germany, and many thousands of Swisses: thereupon the Prince is forced to retire unto the walls of Orleans; where not being able to keep the Army together, he divideth it. He sends for succours into Germany and England: consents to give Havré de Grace to the English, and to receive their garrisons in Deipe and Ronen, to obtain aids of them: The Queen is offended and grievously afflicted therewith, and for that cause joyning with the Catholick party, causeth the Hugonots to be declared rebels. The Kings Army takes Blois, Tours, Poitiers, and Bourges; besiegeth Ronen and takes it: the King of Navar is kill'd there. Succours come to the Prince out of Germany, with which being reinforced, he makes hast to assault Paris; The King and the Queen arrive there with the Army: Wherefore after many attemps, he is necessitated to depart. Both Armies go into Normandy, and there follows the Battel of Dreux; in which the Prince of Condé is taken prisoner on the one side, and the Constable on the other: The Duke of Guise being victorious, layeth siege to Orleans; and is ready to take it; but is treacherously slain by Poltrot. After his death follows the generall Peace; and the Kings Army recovers Havré de Grace from the English. The King cometh out of his minority; The Queen useth divers arts to work the discontented Princes to her will; and to compasse her ends, together with the King, makes a generall visitation of the Kingdom; cometh to a parley at Avignon with the Popes Ministers, and at Bayonne with the Queen of Spain. It is agreed between the most Christian, and Catholick King, to aid each other in the suppression of seditions. The Queen of Navar cometh to the Court. The King maketh a reconciliation between the Families of Chastillon and Guise; but within few dayes after, they return to their former enmities. The Queen of Navar in distaste leaves the Court, and plots new mischiefs; divers Marriages are celebrated, but the civill dissentions nevertheless continue.



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ffairs of the State being thus on the sudden put into another posture, there were none so short sighted, who did not cleerly perceive, that the animosity of the factions would finally shew it self in a War; and that there wanted nothing to make this cloud break into a storm, but the conjuncture of some fit occasion. Which (as if all things had concurred to hasten the calamity of France) did forthwith arise from a marvellous opportunity.

The King of Navar, after he had declared himself of the Catholike party, stayed, as by chance, in Paris; which citie, as it is placed in the middle of France, so in frequency of people, riches, dignity, and power, far surpasseth all others in the kingdom. Wherefore believing that the rest would follow the example which that should give, he endeavoured very sollicitously, as was agreeable to the natural inclination of the inhabitants, to hinder there the preachings and assemblies of the Hugonots; and in all his other actions of the Government, having still a regard to that end, he hoped with the benefit of time, by degrees to take away their credit and force; and lastly, their liberty of Religion; which maintained in being, and gave increase to that party.

The Prince of Condé was likewise in Paris; who on the contrary, encouraging the Preachers, and enlarging as much as he could their license and liberty, under colour of making the Edict of January to be observed, arrogated to himself (more by force then reason) a great Authority in all the affairs of State.

It appeared necessary to the King of Navar, by some means or other to make the Prince of Condé leave Paris. For already, either the desire of peace, or the envie that he bore him, had rendred him exceeding violent against him; and Reason perswaded to preserve that city from tumults and seditions upon which the Catholike party chiefly relied; but knowing, his own forces were not sufficient, or willing to communicate this resolution with the other confederates before any thing were put in execution, he sent for the Duke of Guise and the Constable, that they might unite all their forces in the same place.

The



The Duke of Guise, after he retired from Court; dwelt at Jainville, a place of his own, upon the confines of Champagne and Picardy ; and having received advice from the King of Navar, being accompanied with the Cardinal his brother, with a train of many Gentlemen his dependants, and two Squadrons of Lances for Guard, was upon the way to be at Paris at the time appointed. But the first day of March in the morning passing thorow a little Village in the same confines called Vally, his people heard an unusual noise of Bells ; and having asked what was the reason of it, answer was made, that it was the hour wherein the Hugonots used to assemble at their Sermons. The Pages and Lacqueys of the Duke that went before the rest of the company, moved with the novelty of the thing, and a curiosity to see, (for then those Congregations began first to be kept in publike) with jesting speeches, and a tumult proper to such kinde of people, went towards the place where the Hugonots were assembled at their devotion ; who understanding that the Duke of Guise was there, one of their chief persecutors, and seeing a great troop come directly towards them, fearing some affront, or else indeed incensed with the words of derision and contempt which the rudenesse of those people used against them, without any further consideration presently fell to gather up stones, and began to drive back those that advanced first towards the place of their assembly. By which injury the Catholike party being incensed (who came thither without intent of doing them harm) with no lesse inconsideration betaking themselves to their Arms, there began a dangerous scuffle amongst them. The Duke, perceiving the uprore, and desiring to remedy it, setting spurs to his horse, without any regard put himself into the midst of them ; where, whilst he reprehended his own people, and exhorted the Hugonots to retire, he was hit with a blow of a stone upon the left cheek, by which, though lightly hurt, yet by reason he bled much, being forced to withdraw himself out of the hurly-burly, his followers, impatient of such an indignity done to their Lord, presently betook themselves to their Fire-arms, and violently assaulting the house where the Hugonots retired to secure themselves, killed above sixty of them, and grievously wounded the Minister ; who climbing over the tyles, saved himself in some

In a conflict between the Duke of Guise his servants and the Hugonots, the Duke is hurt with a stone.



1562.

A saying of  
he Duke of  
Guise, which  
made him  
thought the  
author of the  
ensuing War.

of the adjoyning houses. The tumult ended, the Duke of Guise called for the Officer of the place, and began sharply to reprehend him for suffering such a pernicious license to the prejudice of passengers; and he, excusing himself, that he could not hinder it, by reason of the Edi&ct of January, which tolerated the publike assemblies of the Hugonots; The Duke no lesse offended at his answer then at the thing it self, laying his hand upon his sword, replied in choler; *This shall soon cut the bond of that Edi&ct, though never so binding.* From which words, spoken in the heat of anger, and not forgotten by those that were present, many afterwards concluded, that he was the author and contriver of the ensuing War.

But the Hugonots, exceedingly incensed by this chance, and being no longer able to keep themselves within the limits of patience, not contented with what they had done formerly, both in Paris (where killing divers men, they fired the Church of S. Medard) and in other Cities all over the kingdom; now full of malice and rage, stirred up such horrible tumults and bloody seditions, that, besides the slaughter of men in many places, the Monasteries were spoiled, Images thrown down, the Altars broken, and the Churches brutishly polluted. By which accidents every body being much incensed, and the people in all places running headlong to take Arms, the heads of the factions upon the same occasion went about gathering forces, and preparing themselves for a manifest War.

But the Lords of both parties saw plainly, that in the state things were then in, they could not take Arms without running into an open Rebellion; there being no pretext or apparent colour that covered with the shew of Justice the raising of Arms: For the Catholike party could not oppose the Edi&ct of January without apparently contradicting an Act of Council, and trespassing against the Royal power by which the Edi&ct was authorized: and on the other side, the Hugonots having that liberty of conscience given them which was appointed by the Edi&ct of January, had no just cause to stir. Wherefore each faction desired to draw the King to their party, and seizing upon his person, by abolishing the Edi&ct, or interpreting it under his Name according to their own sense, to make a shew of having the right

on



on their sides ; and the contrary party by opposing the Kings will, and resisting him in person, to run into an actual Rebellion.

The Queen-mother, very well knowing these designs, and desiring as much as was possible to preserve her own liberty and her son's, continued her wonted artifices so to balance the power of the great ones, that by their tyranny they might not prejudice the security of the State ; and having left Paris, that she might not be constrained by either faction, she went to Fountain-bleau, a house of pleasure belonging to the Kings of France ; which being a free open place, she conceived she could not be forced to declare her self ; and hoped by doubtful speeches and ambiguous promises to maintain her credit with both parties. Wherefore she gave assurances to the Prince of Condé and the Lords of Chastillon, (who being inferiour in strength to the Catholikes, were gone out of Paris to arm themselves) that she would joyn with them as soon as she saw they had assembled such a force as might be sufficient to resist the power of their adversaries. And on the other side, she made protestations to the King of Navar, the Constable, and the Duke of Guise, that she would never forsake the Catholike party, nor ever consent to the establishment of the Hugonots further then granting them a moderate liberty, such as by the advice of persons well-affected should be thought necessary for the quiet of the State. Her Letters concerning this businesse were no lesse ambiguous then her words ; nor did she declare her self more openly abroad to forraign Princes, then at home within her own kingdom : but often changing the tenour of her discourse, and varying the instructions she gave to Ambassadors in other Courts, and particularly to Monsieur *de l'Isle* who resided in Rome, sometimes restraining them, other while giving them a larger scope, so confounded the understandings of all men, that they could not conclude any thing.

But now she began to have a hard task. For the heads of both parties were grown by experience to be no lesse their Crafts-masters then her self ; and in such a long time that she had held the Regencie, they had had the commodity to discern and understand her arts ; besides now that the King began to grow of age, she was necessitated to cut



1562 off those delays which she formerly used ; many things being in apparence just, which when He should come to yeers to govern of himself, depended absolutely upon his judgement and arbitrement ; which none could oppose without manifest delinquencie of Felony ; whereas at the present every one might pretend that they did not withstand the Kings will, but the wicked pernicious counsels of his Ministers.

The Duke of Guise, who being of a more violent disposition and resolute nature then the rest, absolutely swayed the resolutions of his party, having already drawn to his opinion the Constable and the King of Navar, perswaded them that going presently together to Court, they should bring the King and the Queen-mother to Paris, and afterwards make them confirm such Determinations and Edicts as seemed necessary for the present times ; and not by expecting, run the hazard of being prevented, or suffer their adversaries to seize first upon the Kings person, and so invest themselves with the authority of his Name.

The Prince of Condé had the same intention ; who when he left Paris, retired first to Meaux, a Town in Brye, ten leagues distant from thence ; and then to *la Ferté*, a place of his own, there to assemble his Forces. To this resolution he was advised by the Admiral, invited by the promises of the Queen-mother, and perhaps further induced by the designe of the Catholikes, which was not concealed from him (as for the most part in civil dissensions, through the infidelity of counsellors and frequency of spies, it is very easie to penetrate into the very thoughts of the enemy.) But the Catholike Lords with their ordinary followers were sufficient to manage this designe ; besides, they were neer to Paris, which depending absolutely upon their wills, afforded strength and commodity to effect it ; Whereas on the other side, the Prince of Condé being far weaker then they, and but few of his men armed, he was forced to expect the other Lords and Gentlemen of his party ; who being sent for from divers Provinces of the Kingdom, were not speedily to be brought together.

In the mean while the Catholikes prevented them, and on a sudden appeared in great numbers at the Court. Yet the Queen, nothing dismayed at their so unexpected coming, though



though doubtful that her former arts would no longer prevail, began to perswade the King of Navar, that the Princes and other Lords that came with him should presently withdraw themselves from about the Court, that every one plainly perceived the cause of their coming; which was, to force her being unarmed, and the King yet in minority, to order things in the State according to their humours, and to accommodate publike affairs to passions and private interests; which was not onely far from the loyalty and integrity they professed, but absolutely contrary to the peace and safety of the kingdom, which they pretended onely to desire. For to seek new Edicts and new Institutions different from those which were already enacted, was no lesse then to arm the Hugonots; who, bold enough of themselves, and ready for Insurrections, would believe and publish to all the world, that they had reason on their side, if without any cause that Edict should be recalled, which by a general consent was confirmed and established. That it was expedient, whilst the King was under age, to avoid the necessity of a War, and the troubles and inconveniences that accompanied it; lest besides the universal prejudice, a greater brand of infamy might be fixed upon them who held the greatest authority in the Government. That she for this reason consented to the Edict of January; for this cause left Paris; to take away all manner of pretence and opportunity for that mischief to break out, which secretly crept up; and that to return to a place suspected, and to disturb the Edict already published, would be openly to foment the violence of it. Withal, she put the King of Navar in minde, and the other Catholike Princes, that to raise Civil Wars was onely proper to those who were either of unsettled or desperate fortunes; and not for such who, possessing riches, dignities, estates, and honours, lived in a flourishing eminent condition. That the King of Navar should enjoy the principal Command of the whole kingdom, which already without contradiction he was possessed of; the other Princes should enjoy their estates, greatnesse and dignities; and should comply with the people, that by enjoying, or believing they enjoyed a borrowed and momentary liberty, they might suffer the King without War to accomplish the age of his majority. That nothing had been done which was not forced by an absolute necessity; That onely

Persons of desperate fortunes, the incendiaries of Civil Wars.



1562 only was given, which could not be sold; and that liberty granted to the Hugonots, which of their own power they arrogated to themselves. And therefore the Catholick Princes should have patience, that this so frantick humour might be overcome with art & dexterity; and not wilfully be an occasion, by anticipating the remedies before the time the King came of age, to anticipate likewise the disease; which would carry along with it many adverse revolutions and dangerous accidents: and if they were positively resolved to regulate the Edict, that it was to be done insensibly, and with opportunity of times and occasions, and not with such open violence, which would afford that commodity to the seditious, which they themselves desired and sought after.

701 These reasons effectually expressed and reiterated, would have moved the King of Navar, and perhaps the Constable also, if the Duke of Guise had consented thereunto. But he having settled his hopes, not only to recover, but enlarge his former greatnesse by the fortune of the war; and desirous, as ancient protector and head of the Catholick party, that those things resolved upon without his consent should by any means whatsoever be disturbed, and the honour of disturbing them redound apparently upon himself; he peremptorily opposed all the Queens arguments; shewing, that they should at the same time lose their credit and reputation, when they suffered themselves to be so easily deluded by a woman, who did all with a design to throw her self into the arms of the contrary party; if fondly giving credit to her words, they should so easily be perswaded to depart from the Court, that it would too much prejudice the justice of their cause, if it should appear by their own confession, that the end of their coming was not for the publick good or preservation of the Royall Authority, but through private passions, and particular interests; and that through an inward guilt, they had not pursued those intentions which they purposed to effect. That they ought not, by the artificiall perswasions of the Queen to be diverted from a deliberation so maturely weighed, and unanimously resolved upon; nor to satisfie her will, suffer those things to be laid aside which were dictated by Reason, prescribed by Justice, and commanded by Religion; the preservation and respect of which had chiefly brought them thither: But howsoever, it was no longer seasonable

to



to defer or spend time in discourses: The Prince of Condé with an armed power was already at hand, the Hugonots had already joyned their forces; who without doubt would carry the King along with them, if they did not first take order for his security. And therefore this being a businesse not to be determined by perswasions, it was necessary to use force, and carrying away the King, leave the Queen to take that party which pleased her best. For having with them the person of the lawfull King, and the first Prince of the Bloud, to whom the Government naturally belonged, they needed little to regard what she should do with her self. And it was true, that the Prince of Condé, joyned with the Lords of Chatillon and the rest of his adherents, already drew neer to the Court. Wherefore the Constable and the King of Navar being confirmed by these reasons, and seeing it was necessary to break off all treaties and delayes, gave the Queen personally to understand, that she must instantly resolve; for they had determined, whatever hapned, to carry the King and his Brothers with them to Paris, lest they should fall into the hands of the Hugonots, who (as they had advertisement) were not far off; that it was not fit for them to leave their lawfull Prince a prey to Hereticks, who desired nothing more then to have him prisoner, that they might under his name subvert the foundations of the Kingdom. That there was now no time to be lost, nor means to put it off; That they would dispose of the King as their allegiance and the common good required. For what concerned her self, that they would not determine any thing, but, as it was their duty, leave her free to do what she pleased.

Though this intimation were peremptory and sudden, yet the Queen was not at all surpris'd therewith, having long foreseen it, and designed what in such a case would be fittest to do. Wherefore being necessitated to declare her self, though it were against her will, and she foresaw War would quickly ensue thereupon; she would not by any means separate her self from the Catholick party; not onely because reason and justice so advised, but because she likewise conceived, that both her own safety and her sons depended upon their strength. So that with her wonted vivacity of courage presently resolving, she returned answer to the King of Navar and the Constable; That she was no lesse a Catholick, nor lesse



1562 lesse sollicitous of the generall good of that Religion, then any other whatsoever; that for this time she would rather beleeve the counsell of others, then her own judgement; and since all agreed that it was best to go, she was ready to satisfie them. And so, without any other reply, she presently put her self in a readinesse to depart; notwithstanding, at the same time she dispatched letters to the Prince of Condé, lamenting that she could not discharge the promise she had made to put both the Kings person and her own into their hands; for the Catholicks coming first, had carried them by force to Paris; but that they should not lose their courage, neglect their care for the preservation of the Crown, nor suffer their enemies to arrogate to themselves the absolute power in the Government. So being mounted on horseback with the King and her other sons, and compassed about with the Catholick Lords, who omitted no observance or demonstrations of honour that might appease her, they went that night to Melun, the next day to the Bois de Vincennes, and with the same speed the morning after to Paris.

The Queen is forced to declare her self for the Catholicks, and at the same time maintains hopes in the Hugonots.

Charles the IX. wept at his restraint.

It is most certain, that the young King was seen that day by many to weep, being perswaded that the Catholick Lords restrained him of his liberty; and that the Queen-Mother being discontented that her wonted arts prevailed not, and foreseeing the mischiefs of the future War, seemed perplexed in mind, and spake not a word to any body; of which the Duke of Guise making little account, was heard to say publickly, *That the good is alwayes good, whether it proceed from love or force.* But the Prince of Condé having received this news upon the way, and finding that he was either prevented by the Catholicks, or deluded by the Queen, he presently stop'd his horse and stood still a good while, doubtfull what resolution to take; all those future troubles that were like to ensue representing themselves before him with a face of terrour. But the Admirall, who was somewhat behind, overtaking him, they conferred a little together, and after a deep sigh, the Prince said, We are gone so far forward, that we must either drink or be drowned; and without any further dispute, taking another way, he went with great speed towards Orleans, which he had formerly designed to possess himself of.

Orleans is one of the principal Cities of the Kingdom,  
some



some thirty leagues distant from Paris, of a large compasse; abundant in provisions, commodious for buildings, and very populous; which being in the province of Beaulle, stands as it were the navell of the Kingdom, upon the River of Loire, anciently called Ligeris, a great navigable River; which passing thorow many provinces, at length runs into the Brittainish sea. This City, by reason of the navigation, the fertility of the soil, the eminency of it, and the mutuall commerce it had with many other places, seemed to the Prince very convenient for a standing Quarter, and to oppose against Paris, by making it the principall seat for their Faction. For which reasons having many months before cast his thoughts upon it, he had taken pains to hold secret intelligence with some of the citizens which were of *Calvin's* Religion, and by their means to raise a great party of the youth, who were of unquiet spirits, factious, and inclined to a desire of Novelties. So that the disposition of the Inhabitants answering the instigations of the complices, already a great part of the people were willing to take Arms. And that things might be done in due order, the Prince had the day before sent Monsieur *de Andelotte* to the City; who entring thereinto secretly (at the same time that the Prince seised upon the Court) should indeavour likewise to make himself Master of the Town. But though it so fell out, that the Prince could not arrive at court; *Andelot* not knowing what had happened, armed 300 of his followers, and at the day appointed suddenly seised on *S. Johns Gate*. Upon which accident Monsieur *de Montereau*, Governour of the citie, getting together some few men of Monsieur *de Sippierres* company, who by chance were then thereabouts, very hotly assaulted the conspirators, with no little hope that they should be able to drive them away, and recover the entrance of the gate, where they had not had time enough to fortifie themselves; so that joyning in a bloody fight, after a conflict of many hours, *Andelot* at length began to yeeld to the multitude of the Catholicks, who ranne thither armed from all the parts of the Town, and had surely received an affront, if hee not been opportunely assisted by an unexpected Succour. For the Prince of Condé not finding the court at Fountain-bleau, and therefore desisting from his voyage, returned much sooner then he

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thought,



1562. thought, and marching with great diligence, approached neer to Orleans at the same time that the fight began; and knowing it to be very violent by the continuall shot and incessant ringing of Bels, which might be heard many miles off, he presently galloped with all his Cavalrie towards the City to succour his confederates, who were already in great danger of being defeated.

They were more then 3000 horse, and ran headlong with such fury, that the peafants, though astonished with the usuall spectacle of civill arms, in the midst of their fright and wonder could not forbear to laugh, seeing here a horse fall, there a man tumbled over, and neverthelesse without regarding any accident, run furiously one over another as fast as their horses could go, upon a design which no body knew but themselves. But this haste, so ridiculous to the spectators, had very good successe to the Princes intentions. For coming with such a powerfull succour, and in so fit an opportunity of time, the Governor being driven away, and those that resisted suppressed; at last the Town, which was of exceeding consequence, was reduced into his power, & by the authority of the Commanders preserved from pillage. But the Churches escaped not the fury of the Hugonot souldiers, who with brutish examples of barbarous savagenesse, laid them all waste and desolate.

Orleans made  
the seat of the  
Hugonot Faction.

Thus the Prince having taken Orleans, and made it the seat of his faction, he began to think upon war. And first having appointed a Councell of the principall Lords and Commanders, he advised with them of the means to draw as many Towns and Provinces to his party as was possible, and to get together such a summe of money as might defray the expences, which at the beginning of a War are ever very great.

The Catholick party were intent upon the same ends; who being come to Paris with the yong King and the Queen, held frequent consultations how best to order the affairs for their own advantage: in which counsels the Duke of Guise openly declared, that he thought it most expedient to proceed to a War with the Hugonots, so to extinguish the fire before it burst out into a consuming flame, and to take away the roots of that growing evill. On the contrary, the Chancellor *de l' Hospital*, secretly set on by the Queen, proposing many difficulties, and raising doubts & impediments upon every



every thing, perswaded an agreement ; by which both parties absenting themselves from the Court, the power of the Government should be left free and quiet to the Queen and the King of Navar. But being sharply reproved by the Constable, and after the news of the revolt of Orleans, injuriously treated, under pretence of being a gown-man, he was excluded from the Councell, that was now called the Councell of War ; by which means also a principall instrument was taken from the Queen, who having no power left in that Councell, ( for there were newly admitted to it *Claude Marques de Boisy*, *Honoré Marques Villars*, *Louis de Lانسac*, *Monsieur de Cars*, the Bishop of Auxerre, the Sieurs *de Maugiron*, and *la Brosse*, who all absolutely depended upon the Constable and the Guises ) every thing on that side likewise tended to the raising of arms.

At the first (as it ever falleth out) their pens were more active then their swords. For the Prince of Condé and his Adherents, willing to justifie in writing the cause of their taking arms, published certain Manifests and Letters in print, directed to the King, the Court of Parliament in Paris, the Protestant Princes of Germany, and to other Christian Princes ; in which very largely, but no lesse artificially dilating themselves, they concluded, that they had taken arms to set the King at liberty, and the Queen his Mother, who by the Tyrannicall power of the Catholick Lords were kept prisoners ; and to cause obedience to be rendred in all parts of the Kingdom to his Majesties Edicts, which by the violence of certain men, that arrogate to themselves a greater Authority in the Government then of right belonged to them, were impiously despised and trodden under foot ; and therefore that they were ready presently to lay down their arms, if the Duke of Guise, the Constable, and the Mareshall *de St. André*, retiring themselves from the Court, would leave the King and the Queen in a free place, in their own power ; and that liberty of Religion might be equally tolerated and maintained in all parts of the Kingdom.

The Prince of Condé's Manifest.

The Parliament of Paris answered their Manifest, and the Letters, shewing, that the pretence was vain, by which they sought to justifie their taking of Arms, which they had immediately raised against the Kings Person

The Parliament of Paris Answer to the Princes Manifest.



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and his Royall Authority : for so far was the King or the Queen his mother from being deprived of liberty, or retained in prison by the Constable and the Guises, that on the contrary they were in the capitall City of the Kingdom, where the chief Parliament resided ; and in which commanded as Governour *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon, brother to the Prince of Condé, and one of the Princes of the Bloud. That the King of Navar, Brother also to the same Prince of Condé, held the chief place in the Government, and the Queen Mother the charge of the Regencie ; both chosen by the Councell, according to the ancient custome, and confirmed by the consent of the States generall of the Kingdom: that every day they assembled the Councell composed of eminent persons to consult of fit remedies for the present evils ; that the Edi&th of *January* was intirely observed with full liberty of conscience to those of the pretended reformed Religion (notwithstanding it depended wholly upon the Kings will to call in those Edi&ths whensoever he should think fit, especially that of *January*, made by way of provision, and which was accepted by the Parliaments only for a time) ; That the Hugonots had of themselves violated the Edi&th made in their favour ; because, contrary to the form thereof, they went to their Assemblies armed, without the assistance of the Kings Officers, conditions expressly mentioned in the same. And besides this rashnesse, they were likewise so bold, as in all places to raise tumults, and commit disorders and slaughters. Wherefore their rebellion could not be excused with so slight a pretence, seeing many Towns were openly seised upon, souldiers raised, the Munition consumed, Artillery cast, moneys coyned, the publick Revenues spent, Churches thrown down, the Monasteries laid desolate, and infinite other proceedings, no way agreeing to the duty of Subjects, but expresse acts of Felony and Rebellion. Wherefore they exhorted the Prince of Condé, that following the example of his Ancestors, he should return to the King, abandoning the society of Hereticks and factious persons ; and not so cruelly wound the bosome of his own Country ; the welfare whereof, as Prince of the Bloud, he was obliged to maintain with the hazard of his own person, even to the last period of his life.

The Constable likewise and the Guises made an Answer  
in



in their own behalf; and after a long narration of the services they had done to the Crown, concluded, that they were ready not only to depart from the Court, but to enter into a voluntary exile, upon condition that the Arms taken up against his Majesty might be laid down; the places kept against him delivered up, the Churches that were ruined restored, the Catholick Religion preserved, and an intire obedience rendred to the lawfull King under the Government of the King of Navar, and the Regencie of the Queen-mother.

After which Declarations past on both sides, the King and the Queen together, by the advice of the Councell, made another Answer to the Prince of Condé, and caused it to be divulged in print, in which they avowed, that they were in full liberty, and that they had voluntarily removed the Court to Paris, to remain there in greater security, and to advise with the Officers of the Crown, how to remedie the present disorders; that they were ready to continue the observation of the Edict of *January*, and to see it should be entirely kept, untill such time as the King came of age; And since the Catholick Princes, whose loyalty and vertue was sufficiently known to all France, were contented to retire themselves from Court; that the Prince of Condé nor his Adherents had any manner of excuse longer to keep at such a distance, & in arms; but that they ought presently to put both themselves and the places they possessed into obedience of the King; which if they did, besides a pardon for what was past, they should be well lookt upon by their Majesties as good Subjects, and punctually maintained in all their priviledges and degrees.

The Answer  
of the King &  
Queen.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the Queen endeavoured to bring it so to passe, that both parties (to colour their proceedings and not to seem to condemn themselves of any violence to the Kings person) should retire to their severall charges, and leave the Government of the State to her and the King of Navar; who being of a facile nature was a fit instrument for the establishment of her sons in the Kingdom. But after much Treating, and many Declarations on both sides, all was reduced to this point; That neither of them would be the first to disband their forces; and upon this cavill they made large propositions in writing, without concluding any thing in fact.

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At the same time that these Manifests were published to the world, and every man busie about the Treaty, the Prince of Condé and the Admiral used meanes to draw all the greatest Towns and those that lay most convenient for them, to their party. To which purpose, having scattered men of understanding and trust in the severall Provinces, they with divers policies, by the assistance of the Hugonots, and other seditious persons which abounded in all parts of the Kingdom, easily made themselves masters of the principall Cities and other strong places of greatest consequence. With these practices revolted the City of Rouën (the residence of the Parliament of Normandy) and in the same Province Diepe and Havre de Grace, situated upon the Ocean on that Coast that looks toward England. In Poictou and Touraine, with the like skill they got into their hands Angiers, Blois, Poictiers, Tours, and Vendosme. In Dauphiné, Valence; and at last, after many attempts, the City of Lyons also; and in Gascoigne, Guyenne and Languedoc, where the Hugonots swarmed most; except Burdeaux, Thoulouse, and some other Fortresses they had in a manner possessed themselves of all the Cities and walled Towns. By which insurrections all France being in an uproare, and not only the Provinces, but private houses and families divided amongst themselves, there ensued such miserable accidents, that every place afforded spectacles of desolation, fire, rapine and blood-shed.

The Prince of  
Condé coynes  
the Plate be-  
longing to  
Churches.

And because the Contributions they had from the Hugonots, (though they gave very largely) and their own private Revenues, with the pillage they had in those Towns that they took, was not sufficient to maintain the charge of the War; the Prince of Condé made all the gold and silver in the Churches to be brought to him, and coyned it publicly into Money; which was no little help to them. For the ancient piety of that Nation had in every place adorned the reliques, and filled the Temples with no small Treasure. Nor was their diligence lesse to provide Munition and Artillery. For in the Towns which they surpris'd, and particularly in Tours, having found a great quantity, they sent it to Orleans to supply their present occasions; where, having appointed the Convent of Franciscan friers for a Magazine, they kept there in very good order all the stores and

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Provisions that they made with exceeding industry for the future.

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But the Governors of the Kingdom having resolved and determined a War, with no lesse diligence brought the Catholike Army together neer about Paris; where entering into consultation what they should do concerning the Edict of January, though there was some difference in their opinions, they all concluded, it should be observed: partly, not more to sharpen the humors already too much stirred; & partly not to adde strength or colour to the Hugonots cause; who, whilst the Edict was maintained, had no manner of reasonable pretence to take Arms.

But because the People of Paris reverencing (as in the greatest troubles they have ever done) the Catholike Religion, instantly desired that no Congregations of the Hugonots might be permitted amongst them; First to take away an occasion of Tumults and dangers in the principall City, which was the foundation of the Kings party, it being besides very indecent that where His Majesty remained in person any other Religion should be exercis'd but that which he himself professed: These Reasons laid together, they resolved, the Edict of January in all things else remaining in force, to forbid the Hugonots to keep any Assemblies in the City of Paris or the Precincts thereof; or in any other place where the Court resided, where none could live that were not conformable to the Rites of the Catholike Religion observed in the Roman Church.

An Edict published at the instance of the Parisians to forbid the Hugonot Assemblies in their City or neer the Court.

After the publication of this Decree followed other Provisions in pursuance of the Civil and Military affairs. And the Cardinall of Bourbon, who loved not to engage himself in troublesome businesses, having in these times of difficulty surrendred up the Government of Paris, they conferred it upon the Marshall of Brissac; that they might be sure to have in the power of one they trusted the most potent City in all France; which alone gave more assistance to that party it favoured, then half the rest of the Kingdom could. They appointed other Commanders in divers other parts to withstand the attempts of the Hugonots; amongst which the principall were *Claude* Duke of Aumale in the Province of Normandy; *Louis de Bourbon* Duke of Monpensier in Touraine; and in Gascoigne, *Blaise*, *Sieur de Monluc*, a man  
famous



1562 famous for wit and valour and much more for experience in the War.

The Kings  
Army moves  
towards Or-  
leans.

But having already a great power on foot, those who commanded in chief resolved to go directly towards Orleans, where the Prince of Condé and the Admirall gathered their forces, and not to give them longer time for the provisions that they made, but to endeavour to suppress them before they encreased in strength or reputation. The Kings Army consisted of 4000 horse, the chief Gentry in the Kingdom, and 6000 French foote, all chosen men and old Souldiers; and the Swisses were expected, who being hired by the King, were already advanced to the confines of Burgundy. With this number of men, and a convenient traine of Artillery, the Army moved towards Orleans commanded by the King of Navar with the Title of the Kings Lieutenant General; but with the consent and authority of the Duke of Guise and the Constable; who for their experience and age had the chief credit in directing businesses of weight or consequence.

On the other side, the Prince of Condé and the Admirall, by whose advice all things were governed, having already assembled such a force as was able to encounter with the Kings Army, resolved to issue out of Orleans and to take the field likewise; judging it the best way to uphold their reputation, which in all, but especially in civill wars, is alwaies of great moment to maintain and encrease a faction; there being an infinite number of men that follow the rumor of fame, and prosperity of fortune. Being marched forth into the field with 3000 horse and 7000 foot, they quartered themselves in a place naturally strong, some four leagues distant from the citie, just upon the great Roade; that so they might cut off the Catholikes passage to the Town, and with greater facility have provisions brought them in from the country about.

But whilst the Armies thus approached one another, the Queen was greatly troubled in mind to see things at last break out into a War, in which she doubted she should certainly remain a prey, whosoever obtained the Victory; believing that she could no more trust her self to one party, then be secure of the other. For though the Catholike Lords made shew of paying her a great respect, and seemed



to promise, she should continue her wonted authority of Regent; she feared not without good ground, that the contrary party once suppressed, and the obstacle taken away that contained them within the bounds of reason, they would make but little accompt of a Pupill King, or a woman that was a stranger; and prefer their own greatnesse before all other respects. And for the Prince of Condé, who, besides his restless disposition and vast thoughts that wholly swayed him, thought himself also injured and betrayed by her; she could by no means depend upon his support. Besides, the exaltation of the Hugonots she knew would absolutely subvert the State, and kindle such a lasting fire that the miserable Country of France would never be able fully to recover the quiet it formerly enjoyed. Wherefore desiring a peace, and that things should remain in machination, and (as they call them)

\* *Brigues* of the Court, without breaking out into the violence of Arms; she endeavoured to promote propositions of accommodation by means of the B. of Valence; who at last, after many difficulties, concluded a parley between her and the P. of Condé, in a place equally distant from both Armies; that by discoursing together they might find a means to secure and satisfie both parties. To which purpose the Queen, being come to the Catholike Campe, accompanied with the King of Navar & Monsieur d'Anville the Constables son, she advanced as far as Toury, (a place about ten leagues from Orleans) whether came the P. of Condé with the Admiral and the Cardinal his Brother, who called himself Count de Beauvais (of which place he held the Bishoprick though he had changed his Religion.) Where meeting altogether in an open Campaigne which on every side extended as far as they could discern, the Prince and the Queen withdrew themselves from the company, and discoursed very long together; but what passed between them was unknown; only it is certain, that they parted without concluding any thing; and each of them retired to their own company in great haste. This meeting satisfied those who doubted it, that the Q. only dissembling with the Hugonots for her own ends, would not in any wise, forsake the Catholikes. For she was there in such a place, that she might have gone away with the Pr. if she had pleased; who perhaps came to the parley principally through such a hope.

Now the Prince being returned to his Army, (as if he had

\* *Brigues* a French word signifying factions, or contentions.

The Cardinal of Chatillon changing his Religion, calleth himself Count of Beauvais.

The Parley between the Queen-Mother and the Prince of Condé.



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The Prince of  
Condé de-  
mands in fa-  
vour of him-  
self and the  
Hugonots.

received courage from the Treaty he had with the Queen, or else to encrease the jealousies that the Catholikes generally had of her) proposed much higher Conditions then formerly, and so exorbitant, that they moved a disdain even in the King himself, though yet in such an age that he referred all things to the arbitrement of his Councell. For he demanded, that the Guises and the Constable should depart out of the Kingdom; that the Hugonots might returne again to live in the Cities, and have Churches publicly appointed them; that all the Edicts should be nullified that were made since the Duke of Guise returned to the Court; that he might hold the Towns he was possessed of, till the King was out of his Minority, and command in them as free absolute Lord; that the Popes Legat should be commanded to leave the Kingdom, that the Hugonots might be capable of all charges and publicke Magistracies; that the Emperor, the Catholike King, the Queen of England, the Re-publike of Venice, the Duke of Savoy, and the commonalty of the Swizzes, should give security, That neither the D. of Guise, nor the Constable should return into the Kingdom, or raise any Army, untill such time as the King came to the age of two and twenty years. Every man being incensed with these conditions, the Governors of the Kingdom resolved to send Mounfier de *Fresne* one of the Kings Secretaries to Estampes in the mid-way between Orleans and Paris, who with a publicke Proclamation should warn the Prince of Condé, the Admirall, *Andelott*, and the rest of their Adherents, within ten dayes after to lay down their Arms; to deliver up the Towns they possessed, and to retire privatly to their own houses: which if they did, they should obtain pardon and remission for all that was past; but if they refused to obey this his Majesties expresse Command, it being an immediate Act of treason and rebellion, they should be deprived of their estates and dignities, and proceeded against as Rebels. Which being published accordingly, it was so farre from working any thing upon the Hugonots, that on the contrary, either through desperation or disdain become more resolute, they united themselves by a publicke Contract in a perpetuall Confederacie, to deliver as they said, the King, the Queen and the Kingdome from the violence of their oppressors; and to cause obedience to be rendered

The Kings E-  
dict slighted  
by the Hugo-  
nots.



to his Majesties Edicts through all his Dominions. They declared the Prince of Condé head of this Confederacy; and with their wonted liberty published in print a long narration of the causes and end of this their Union.

The Queen for all this, still employed her thoughts how to compasse an agreement. For besides the hopes she had to effect it, nothing was more advantagious to her then gaining of time; and by delaying the War, to keep things from coming to an issue, till her son was out of his Minority, which they pretended was at 14 years of age. She began already to endeavour by her usual art; to regain the Constable and the Guises; and having given evident proof of her resolution to persevere in the Catholick Religion, and continue constant to that party, since when she was even in the Hugonots Campe she returned notwithstanding back to them againe; She had in great part removed and purged her self of those jealousies which they were wont to have of her inclinations: insomuch as, besides that they left her a more absolute power in the Government, they sought by complying, to make her approve of their proceedings. Wherefore having more hope then ever to find some meanes of accommodation, she began to deal with the Catholick Lords under the pretence of Justice and detestation of a Civill War; that to shame the Hugonots, and for their own honour, they should be content to depart first from the Court, as they were the first to come thither. She laid before them, how greatly it would commend their sincerity, by one action only to extinguish that horrible flame which was now kindling in every part of the Kingdom to consume all things both sacred or prophane. That they would merit much more of their Country by this so pious a resolution, then by all their former exploits put together, though never so glorious and beneficiall. For this would bring safety; whereas those added only greatnesse and reputation. She told them further, that to absent themselves from the Court, was but a Ceremony of a few Moneths. For, if nothing happened before to make it necessary to call them back again, when the King came of age, which would be shortly, he would soon send for them; and in the mean while, this short time of absence might

*The Queen  
perswadeth the  
Duke of Guise  
the Constable  
and the Mare-  
shall de S. An-  
dre to leave  
the Court,  
which they  
promise.*



1562 be employed to their honour and advantage. For every one retiring to their severall Governments with which they were intrusted, they might with industry keep the Provinces in peace, and purge those that most needed it, of the pestiferous humours that infected them; whereas staying at the Court, they served for nothing else but to foment and stir up a War. She assured them, she would never change resolution in matters of Religion, or the Kings Education; that never any thing of importance should be determined without their privy; that the present insurrections once quieted, she would take care, that with the first possible opportunity they should be recalled; and that in all times they should find her gratitude answerable to so great a benefit, if really they resolved to performe what she proposed. With which kind of practises she so far prevailed, that at last the D. of Guise, the Constable, and the Mareshall de St. André, were contented to depart first from the Court and the Army; provided, that the Prince of Condé came presently without Arms to render himself to the Queens obedience, and to follow such orders as she should think most expedient for the welfare of the Kingdom: which though every one of them thought a very hard condition, yet such was the generall applause that resulted from thence to their own augmentation and glory, and so firme the belief, that the Prince would never be perswaded to return to the Court unarmed as a private person, that they were induced to consent to it; believing withall perhaps, that there could not want pretences and interpretations speedily to licence their return; and so much the rather, because the King of Navar, being then so exasperated that they thought him irreconcilable with his Brother, remaining still an assistant in the Government, they were, in a manner, secure that the forme of things would not be changed; and that they should have the same power in their absence as if they were present.

But the Queen having gotten this promise from them, and keeping it very secretly to her self, forthwith sent the Bishop of Valence, and *Rubertette*, one of the Secretaries of State to the Prince of Condé, who having given them this answer, That if the Catholick Lords departed first, he would not only lay down his Armes and return into obedience to the Queen; but also for the more security, forthwith  
leave



leave the Kingdom; and often reiterating, and making large professions of the same; though with an assured opinion, that those Lords would neither for their reputation nor safety be willing first to lay down their arms and depart; The Bishop and *Rubertette* praising his readinesse, desired he would write what he had said to the Queen; shewing, that whereas for the present he was held for the Author of these scandals, and of the War; by this free offer he would silence his enemies, and confound the faction of the Guises; justifying to all the world the candor of his intentions and counsels. The Prince perswaded by the fair apparence of the proposition, and with a hope to add to his force a shew of reason, (which is alwaies of very great moment among the people) was content to write to the Queen, That when the Catholick Lords were retired to their houses without either arms or command; hee, with the principall of his Adherents, for the Kings satisfaction, and the quiet of the State, willingly promised to go out of the Kingdom, and never to return till he were recalled by the generall consent of them that governed.

The Queen having received this ratification written and subscribed by the Princes own hand, instantly advertised the Catholick Lords, that they should forthwith retire themselves, only with their ordinary followers; who readily obeying her command, having put over their men to the King of Navar, went to Chasteau Dane, with a full intention to be gone as soon as the Prince on that part began to perform his promises. The Lords having left the camp on a sudden, the Queen without any delay, the very same night let the Prince know by *Rubertette*, that the Catholick Lords being already departed from the army, and their commands, it remained that he with the same readinesse and sincerity should perform what he had so assuredly promised under his own hand-writing.

*The Queen having it under the Princes hand that hee would retire himself, the Catholick Lords leave the Camp.*

This unexpected resolution not a little perplext the Hugonots, having never imagined that the Constable and the Guises would yeeld to this condition. Wherefore repenting themselves that the Prince through his facility had promised so much, they began to consult how they might break off and hinder the Agreement. The Admiral making little account of outward appearance, and deeming that after a Vi-  
ctory



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Story all things seemed just, and justice by an overthrow would lose her authority; advised presently to send back *Rubertette*, and without farther ceremony to break off the Treaty. *Andelot*, according to his manner, mingling brags with his reasons, wished that he were so neer the Catholicks, that he might come to try it out by force; and it should soon appear, whom it concerned most in reason to abandon their country; it being against all right, that so many gallant men, who voluntarily had taken arms, should be deluded by the crafty Treaties of the Queen and the Catholicks. It appeared hard to the Prince to gainsay his word, and hardest of all to relinquish his command in the army, and at one Treaty to fall from such great hopes, to a necessity of forsaking his Country, without knowing whither to retreat.

The Hugonot Ministers interposing their Divinity with matters of State, alledged, that the Prince having undertaken the maintenance of those who had imbraced the purity, as they called it, of the Gospel, and made himself by oath protector of Gods word; No obligation afterwards could be of force to prejudice his former oath and promise. Others added to this reason, that the Queen having at the beginning failed of her word to the Prince, when she promised to bring over the King to his party, he likewise was not bound by any promise made to her, who first committed such a manifest breach of Faith. Amongst which, rather tumultuous then well directed opinions, applying themselves (as in matters of difficulty it is usuall) to a middle way, it was at last, not without much dispute, determined, that the Prince should go to the Queen, making shew to perform his promise, and confirm a peace; but that the morning after, the Admirall and the other Hugonot Lords coming on a sudden, should take him away suddenly as by force, and carry him back to the camp; giving out, that he had not violated his promise, but that he was constrained by those of his party to observe his first oath, and the confederacy a little before so solemnly contracted. That which made them think of this deceit, was the great commodity of putting it in execution; for the Queen, to meet with the Prince, being come to Talsy, six miles from the Army, where she was accompanied only with her ordinary guards, and the Courtiers, the Prince could not fear the being stayed by force; and



and the orhe other Lords of his party might go thither and return, without any danger or impediment.

So it was punctually effected as they had resolved amongst themselves. For the Prince, accompanied with some few attendants, went to the Queen, with great shew of humiliation; and was received with much familiarity. But whilest he raised difficulties, and interposed delayes in subscribing the conditions, which by order from the King and the Council were proposed to him by *Rubertette*; and whilest Monsieur de *Lansac*, a man of sharp wit and understanding, sent by the Queen, perswaded him to perfect the specious promise he had made; the Hugonot Lords arrived, who had licence to come to salute the King and the Queen; and seeming greatly offended that the Prince had abandoned them, made him as it were by force get on horseback. And though the Queen, angry to be so deceived, loudly threatned every one of them, and the Bishop of Valence, *Lansac*, and *Rubertette* indeavoured to perswade the Prince to remain at Court, without any further mention of leaving the Kingdom; yet the desire of command and interest of rule prevailing, without more delay, the Queen not having time to use force, he returned the same day, which was the 27 of June to the Hugonots Camp, reassuming, to their great content, the charge of Captain generall in this Enterprife. Thus all hopes of peace being cut off, the war was kindled, and began between the two Factions under the name of ROYALISTS and HUGONOTS.

The Prince of Condé returneth to his Army.

ROYALISTS and HUGONOTS.

The Treaty of an agreement being broken, which the Queen, with wonderfull policie keeping things from coming to an issue, had continued many months; the Prince of Condé, desirous to abolish the infamy of breaking his word by some notorious famous action, determined the same night to set upon the Kings Army in their own quarters. Two things chiefly encouraged him to so bold a resolution: the one, that the Duke of Guise and the Constable were absent, whose valour and reputation he esteemed very much: the other, that at that time a peace being in a manner concluded, and published, many were gone from their Colours, and the greatest part of the Cavalrie, for commodity of quarter, were scattered up and down in the neighbouring Villages; by which means the Army was not a little diminished and weakned.



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weakned. These hopes moved him to venture upon this attempt, though it appeared a new thing to undertake the surprisall of a Royall camp within their own trenches. But he was necessitated also to try the fortune, though doubtfull, of a battell; knowing, that the Kings Swisses were within a few dayes march; and when they were joyned with the rest of the armie, he should not be able, being far inferiour in number, to keep the field; but he constrained to withdraw his forces to defend those forts he was possessed of; a matter, through the little hope of succours, both difficult and dangerous. Wherefore hee desired to do something whilest he had time, to free himself from that necessity which he saw would fall upon him. With this resolution he departed when it was dark, from la Ferté d' Ales, where he lay; and the Armie being divided into three Squadrons, the first of Horse led by the Admirall, the other of Foot under the conduct of *Andelot*, and the third mingled both with Horse and Foot, which he commanded himself, he marched with great silence and expedition to assault the enemies camp about midnight.

The Hugonots  
through the  
faults of their  
guides, march  
all night with-  
out advancing.

But fortune frustrated his design; for though the way were plain through a free open country, yet the guides that led the first Squadron, either through treachery or amazement, or else through ignorance, losing their way, they so wandred up and down, that the next morning at break of day he found that he was advanced but little more then a league from the place whence he set out over night, and still two great leagues from the Kings camp. Notwithstanding, necessity compelling to attempt the greatest difficulties, the Commanders resolved to pursue their design, and with the same order to perform that in the day which they could not effect in the night. But Monsieur d' *Anville*, who with the light horse quartered in the front of the Kings Army, having presently advertisement by his Scouts of their coming, had by shooting off two peeces of canon, given notice thereof to the camp that lay behind him. Whereupon the souldiers & Gentlemen running from all parts to their Colours, he going before to make good the high-way, that they might have time to put the Army in order, having divided his Horse into divers little Squadrons, began to skirmish fiercely with the first Troops of the Hugonots. By reason whereof they being  
forced



forced to march flowlier and cloſer together, often making halts through the heat of the ſkirmiſh, and not to diſorder themſelves in the face of the Enemy, the King of Navar had more commodity of time to get his men together, and to order them for a Battell. So the Princes Army ſtill advancing, and the King of Navar ranging his men in a Battalia upon the plain, but with the camp behind them; at the laſt about noon both Armies faced one another, that there was nothing between them but a little plain, without any manner of impediment. But though the Ordnance plaid fiercely on both ſides, yet no body advancing to begin the battell, it was perceived, the Commanders were not of opinion to fight. For the Prince, who thought to have ſurpriſed the Catholicks on a ſudden, before they could either get together, or put themſelves in order, ſeeing them all together, and drawn out in excellent order for a Battell, and not believing that his men, who were but newly raiſed, would be able to ſtand againſt the Kings Foot, that were all choice old ſouldiers, had more mind to retreat then to fight. And the King of Navar, who knew, that within a few dayes his forces would be increaſed, would not in abſence of the other Catholick Lords, expoſe himſelf without any provocation, to the hazard of a Battell. Wherefore after they had ſtood ſtill facing one another at leaſt three hours, the Prince retiring more then a league backwards, quartered with his Army at at Lorges, a little Village in Beauſſe, and the King of Navar drew off his men, but in much better order, to the place where they encamped before.

The Armies  
face one ano-  
ther, and re-  
treat without  
fighting.

The ſame evening arrived from Chafteadune at the Army the Conſtable and the Duke of Guiſe, being ſent for in great haſte; and cauſing all the guards to be doubled, they commanded quite thorow the Quarters, at every hundred paces great piles of wood to be made; which being ſet on fire, if the enemy came to aſſault them by night, the ſouldiers might the better ſee what they were to doe, and the Canoneers how to point their Ordnance. Which orders being known to the Prince of Condé, and finding that the enemy was not to be ſurpriſed; after he had ſtayed three dayes at Lorges, the ſecond day of July in the morning he roſe with all his Armie, and went to take Baugency, a great walled Town, and with the pillage thereof to reſreſh his ſouldiers,

T

which



1562 which were in great want of money, and not over-abounding with victuals. Nor was the enterprize of any great difficulty; for the wall being battered with four peeeces of canon, brought thither for that purpose, and an assault given in another part by the Regiment of Provençals, at a certain breach they made by sapping, it was taken the same day, and sackt, with great slaughter of the inhabitants.

Whilest the Hugonots assaulted Baugency, there arrived at the Kings Army ten Cornets of German Horse, led by the Rhine-grave; and six thousand Swisses, under the conduct of *Jerosme Freulich*, a man for experience and valour of great esteem among his own Nation. With which Forces the Catholick Lords designed without any delay to set upon the enemies Army. But the Prince of Condé being advertised of the arrivall of those forraign supplies, having slighted Baugency, that the Catholicks might make no use of it, in great haste retired to Orleans, absolutely quitting the field, without making any other attempt.

In Orleans it was no longer possible to keep the Army together; partly through want of money to give the souldiers their pay, without which, being shut up in the Town, they could not possibly live; partly because the Nobility that followed the Warre as Voluntiers, having spent what they brought with them, could no longer subsist. Wherefore having called a Councel, the chief of the Hugonots determined to turn this necessity to their best advantage. For not being able to resist the Kings Army with the Forces they then had, nor to remain shut up within those walls; they took a resolution to separate themselves into divers places, and to defend those Towns and Fortresses which they held in other parts of the Kingdom; in this manner subsisting as wel as they might, untill they could have such aids from their friends and confederates, that they might again meet the Enemy in the field.

The Protestants of Germany are Lutherans.

Their chief hopes of Succours were from the Protestant Princes of Germany, (so they call those, who separated from the Catholick Church, do follow the opinions of *Luther*) and from *Elisabeth* Queen of England, not only an adherent to the same Religion, but also desirous, through the ancient Maximes of that Nation, to have some footing in the Kingdom



Conditions  
offered by Q.  
Elisabeth of  
England to the  
Hugonots.

Kingdom of France. The Princes of Germany had already freely promised them their aid; and there wanted nothing but only to send Commanders and Money to conduct and pay the Souldiers. But the Queen of England proposed harder and more difficult conditions, without which she denied to afford them any Succours. For she offered to imbrace the protection of the confederates, and to send into France an Army of 8000 Foot, with a great train of Artillery, at her own charge, and to maintain it there till the War were fully ended; that at the same time with her Fleet man'd with Land-forces she would invade the coasts of Normandie and Brit-tanie, to divert and divide the Kings Forces; but upon these terms, That the confederates should promise in recompence, to cause Calais to be restored to her, (a strong place situated upon the narrow sea in Picardy, held many yeers by the Kings of England her predecessors, and at last recovered by the Duke of Guise in the Reign of Henry the Second.) But because the Hugonots were not Masters of that place, she demanded that in the mean time they should consign to Her Havre de Grace, a Fortresse and Port of lesse consequence upon the coast of Normandie; and that they should receive her Garrisons into Diepe and Rouen. These conditions seemed to many intolerable, and not to be consented unto through any necessity whatsoever; knowing the infamy and publick hate they should undergo, if they made themselves instruments to dismember the Kingdome of such important places, and bring into them the most cruell implacable enemies of the French Nation. But the Ministers, who in all deliberations were of great Authority, and in a manner revered as Oracles, alledged, that no consideration was to be had of worldly things, where there was question of the heavenly Doctrine, and propagation of GOD's word. Wherefore all other things were to be contemned, so as Religion might be protected, and liberty of conscience established.

The Prince of Condé and the Admirall being desirous to continue their Commands, and necessitated by their own private affairs to pursue the enterprize, were of the same opinion: so that their authority overcoming all opposition, after many consultations, it was at last concluded, to



1562 satisfie Queen *Elisabeth*, and by all means to accept the conditions propofed. To which effect they prefently difpatched Monsieur *de Briquemant*, and the new Vidame of Chartres, with Letters of credit from the Prince and the confederates to confirm the agreement in England. *Andelot* and the Prince of Portian, with fuch a fumme of money as they could get together, went to follicit the levies of the Germans; The Count *de la Roch-foucault* went to Angoulême; The Count *de Montgomery* retired into Normandy; Monsieur *de Soubize* to Lyons; the Prince, the Admirall, *Genlis*, and *Bouchavanes* ftayed to defend Orleans, and the places adjacent. But many of the Commiffioners for the confederacie which was treated with England, not being able to indure fuch difhonourable conditions, began to forfake them: amongst which, Monsieur *de Pienne* went over to the Kings Armie, and the Sieur *de Morvilliers*, chosen by the Prince to be Governour of Rouën, that he might not be forced to admit an English Garrifon into a Town of fuch confequence, leaving that charge, retired into Picardy to his own houfe.

That *Montgomery* who killed *Henry* the fecond.

Whileft by thefe means the Hugonots indeavoured to provide themfelves with forces, the Catholicks defigned to make an attempt upon Orleans, as the chief fource and feat of all the War. But in regard it was exceedingly well provided for defence, and furnifhed with munition of all kinds, they knew it was an enterprife of great difficulty. Wherefore firft, to cut off from it the hopes of fuccours, they refolved to take in the places round about; that fo they might afterwards with more facility ftraighten it with a fiege; or being deprived of fuccours, affault it by force. For which purpofe they raifed their Camp the 11 day of *July*, and the D. of Guife leading the Van, and the King of Navar the Battalia, whileft every one of both fides expected to fee them fetled before Orleans, they leaving that Town on the left hand, and paffing fixteen leagues farther, on a fudden affailed Blois; which though it were full of people, beautified with one of the nobleft Castles for a Kings houfe in the whole Kingdome, and fituated upon the fame fide of the River of Loire; yet it was not fo fortified that it could hope to make any long refiftance againft the Kings Armie. Wherefore, after the fouldiers which were in guard faw the



the Canon planted, being terrified with the danger, they passed the River upon the Bridge, and throwing away their Arms, fought to save themselves by flight: which though the Duke of Guise knew, who with the Van-guard was nearest to the wall, yet being more intent to take the Town then to pursue those that ran away, whilst the Citizens dispatched their Deputies to capitulate, he sent a party of foot to make an assault; who finding the breach forsaken that was made by a few Canon shot, took the place without resistance; which by the fury of the Souldiers, (their Commanders not forbidding them) was miserably sackt.

From Blois the Army marched towards Tours, a much more noble, populous and ancient City, wherein the name of the Hugonots first took vigour and force; but the people, who for a few daies at the beginning of the Siege made shew that they would stand resolutely upon their defence, when they perceived the Trenches were made, and the Artillery planted, of their own accord cast out the Commanders, and rendered the place; saving their goods and persons; which conditions were intirely observed.

Blois taken and pillaged by the Kings Army, and Tours rendered at the first Assault.

In the mean while, the Mareshall de St. André with the Rear of the Army went another way to besiege Poitiers, a City likewise famous for antiquity, great and spacious, where the Catholikes thought they should find a strong resistance. But it fell out to be a work of much lesse difficulty then they imagined. For the Mareshall having battered it two daies together with his Artillery, and made an assault upon the Town, rather to try the resolution of the defendants, then with any hope to gain it; the Captain of the Castle, (who till then had shew'd himself more violent then any other of the Hugonot party) suddenly changing his mind, began to play from within with his Canon upon those who stood ready to receive the Assault: by which unexpected accident the defendants losing their courage, not knowing in such a tumult what way to take for their safety, as men astonished, left the entry of the breach free to the assailants; who not finding any resistance, entered furiously into the Town, which by the example of Blois, was in the heat of the fight sackt, and many of the people put to the sword.

Poitiers taken and sackt.

The Catholikes having thus in a few daies taken those Towns



1562. Towns which from Poictou and Touraine backed and succoured Orleans, and stopt the passage for supplies from Guyenne, Gascoigne, and other places beyond the River; it remained, that turning backwards, and passing to the other side, they should take in Bourges; so to cut off those ayds that might come from Auvergne, Lyonoise, and other Provinces joyning to Daulphiné. Bourges (anciently called Avaricum) is one of the greatest and most populous Cities in France; a residence for Students of all sorts, but especially famous for the Civill Law. This Town being within twenty leagues of Orleans, and by reason of the Traffique of Wooll, as also through the great concourse of Scholars, much replenished with strangers, was at the beginning possessed by the Hugonots; and afterwards, as an important passage for the Commerce of those Provinces that being nearest depended upon it, diligently guarded and fortified; so that now foreseeing a Siege, Monsieur d'Yvoy Brother to *Genlis*, was entered thereinto, with two Thousand French foot, and four Troopes of horse, a Garrison both in consideration of it self, and for the reputation of the Commander, esteemed sufficient to make a long defence; and indeed with these forces at the first coming of the Kings Army, which was the tenth of August, the defendants shewed such fiercenesse and confidence, that they not only valiently defended the walls, but continually sallying out night and day, vext the Camp with hot skirmishes; in one of which advancing just to the Trenches, though they could not do so much hurt as they intended, yet they killed five Captains, with many Gentlemen and common Souldiers; and Monsieur de *Randan*, Generall of the foot, was so grievously wounded, that notwithstanding the great care that was had of him, he died within few daies after.

In the mean while, the Admirall issuing out of Orleans, over-ran all the country about with his horse; and having had intelligence of a great quantity of Artillery and Munition that was going from Paris to the Army, he set upon it in the night at Chasteaudune, where after a long dispute, having defeated the convoy which was of four companies, he brake the greatest peices, and burning the Engins that belonged to them, carried the lesser to Orleans, together with such Munition as could be saved from the fire and pillage



lage of the Souldiers. But the Duke of Guise being very intent upon his businesse at Bourges, after he had so far advanced the Trenches, that he began to batter the Wall, and with divers Mines had thrown down many bastions that the Hugonots raised to defend the weakest parts thereof; Monsieur d'Yvoy not answering the opinion that was conceived of him, began to hearken to propositions of agreement which were proposed to him from the Camp. Wherefore the Duke of Nemours being gone with a safe conduct to treat, upon the last day of August he delivered up the Town upon these conditions, That he and all his that were with him should have a pardon for what was past; that the Souldiers should be free to go where they pleased; yet with this Obligation, neither to bear Armes against the King, nor in favour of the Hugonots; that the City should not be plundered, and the inhabitants enjoy a liberty of conscience in all points conformable to the Edict of January. Which capitulation, though it were afterwards performed, Yvoy not being able to bear the hate and ignominious reproaches that were cast upon him by his accusers, retired himself to his own private house; and St. Remy and Bri-chanteau, men of known courage went over to the Kings service.

Bourges rendered upon Conditions.

In the mean while, matters in the State were drawn into another course contrary to the former. For the resolution of the Hugonot Lords being known not only to introduce forraigne power into France, to which end they had sent two of their principall men into Germany, but also to alienate Havre de Grace, and to put Diepe and Rouen, places of such importance upon the frontiers of the Kingdome, into the hands of the English, who in all times had been bitter enemies to the crown; there was not only a generall hate conceived against them, but the Queen her self, who till then had earnestly endeavoured a peace, and formerly supported that faction as a counter-poize to the Guises (for she never believed that they would ever fall into such pernicious deliberations) now with an incredible hate, and through fear that the English might be brought in to settle themselves in these places; resolved sincerely to unite her self with the Catholike party, and to make a War in good earnest upon the Hugonots: desiring to make it clear to all the world,



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The Heads of  
the Hugonot  
Faction are  
declared Re-  
bels.

\* *Toquesaint* an  
allarum Bell,  
used as the  
ringing of the  
bels backwards  
with us.

world, that she held no intelligence with them; (contrary to that which was beleived at the first) esteeming it a double losse and a double shame, that the English, who by her husband were victoriously driven out of France, should get footing there again during the time of her government. Wherefore stirred up with an implacable displeasure against the Hugonots, being so perplexed in minde that she could find no rest, she determined with her self, not to interpose any further delaies or impediments; but to endeavour with all her force their finall oppression. And for a preamble to what was to be done, having brought the King solemnly to the Court of Parliament in Paris, after grievous complaints made by the high Chancellour of the insolences of those his Subjects, who not content to over-run and spoil their Country, and to usurpe all the Offices and Regall power, had perfidiously conspired to bring in the English and Germans to the destruction of his Kingdome, caused *Gaspar de Colligny* late Admirall of France; *Francis d' Andelott*, with *Odett de Chastillon*, his Brothers, and namely all other notable persons of that party to be declared Rebels; depriving them of their Charges, Honors, Nobility, Goods, and Revenues, as confiscate to the State. And because the Hugonots with their riots laying desolate Cities and Provinces; destroying the Churches, throwing down Monasteries, and filling all places with rapine and Bloud, were become so outrageous, that it was impossible longer to suffer them; they were likewise declared publike enemies to the King and the Crown; and authority granted to the people at the ringing of the \* *Toquesaint* to rise up in arms against them, and to kill or take their persons and deliver them over to Justice. The Prince of Condé was not at all mentioned; but, making use of that art first invented by the Hugonots, it was spread abroad both by report and in writing, that he was by the violence of the other Confederates withheld by force, and against his will remained in that Army; the Rebels making use of the Authority of his person, though he were in his heart averse to all their proceedings.

After which busineses, the Queen publickly bewailing her self that the Hugonots had abused the Clemency which she had shewed in supporting them, and oftentimes in favouring



vouring them also ; and desiring to make it appear how zealous she was against them, and by any means to expell foreign forces out of the Kingdom ; went her self in person with the King to the Army before Bourges ; where she shewed a manly courage , in going up and down in the Camp, though very much anoyed by the Canon from the Town ; and with a singular constancy animated the souldiers and Commanders to performe their duties. But Bourges being taken, and all waies of succours cut off from Orleans , the Catholikes intended without any other delay to besiege it, if the Queen had not proposed , That it was better first to recover Rouën, being so principall a City, of so large an extent, and lying so opportunely to invade the bosome of France, before the English had established themselves there , by making the Fortifications stronger then they were at the present. For the Confederacy between the Hugonots and Queen *Elizabeth* being already concluded ; the English had passed the sea, and received Havre de Grace into their possession , and placed Garrisons in Diepe and Rouën.

The English received by the Hugonots to Havre de Grace Diepe and Rouën.

The opinions in the Kings Council were very divers. Some thought it most expedient first of all to make an attempt upon Orleans, and to cut off at one blow the head of the Hugonot faction. For the chief of that party being suppressed, who were in the Town , and the Magazine destroyed, all the rest would be overcome with ease & facility. But the K. of Navar and the Q. more intent to cast out the English then any thing else, thought, that Rouën once taken and the aids of England cut off from the Hugonots, Orleans would be more easily reduced, which for the present they thought very difficult and a work of much time ; by which the English would have the commodity to confirm their possession, & perhaps make themselves Masters of all the Province of Normandy , where the Duke of Aumale had so inconsiderable a force, that he was not able to make head against them. This opinion at last through the Queens inclination prevailed ; and it was resolved without any delay to go upon that design.

The Situation and Commodities of Rouën are admirable. For the River Seine, upon which it stands, rising out of the Mountaines in Burgundie, and distending it self through the plaines of the Isle of France, after it joynes with the Matrona commonly called Marne , and by the confluence of many



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\* The Author  
is a little mi-  
staken in his  
Cosmography;  
for Diepe  
stands just o-  
ver against  
Rye.

other little streames, is made deep and Navigable, passeth through the midst of the City of Paris, and then running with an impetuous torrent quite through Normandy, falls with an exceeding wide channell into the Ocean; which ebbing and flowing, and continually filling and feeding the River with salt water, affords spacious room for Vessels of any burthen to ride. On the right hand of the mouth, where the River at last falls into the sea, over against England stands Havre de Grace, a secure, large Port, which with modern fortifications, being reduced into the forme of a Town by King *Francis* the First, serves for a defence against the incursions of the English. But in the mid-way between Havre de Grace and Paris, neer to the place whether the salt waters flow, mingled with the fresh, about twenty two leagues from the Sea, stands the City of Rouën upon the River, grown noble, rich, abundant, and populous by the commerce of all Northern nations. From one side of the fortresse of Havre de Grace upon the right hand, a tongue of land advancing many miles into the sea, makes as it were a spacious Peninsula, which the common people call the Country of Caux, and in the extreamest point and promontory thereof is Diepe, placed\* directly opposite to the mouth of the Thames, a most famous River in England. These places which lye so fitly to damage France, and to be supplied by their Fleets, the English had made themselves Masters of. For though at Diepe and at Rouën French Governors were chosen by the council of the confederates; yet the Garrisons kept there by Queen *Elizabeth* being very strong, they could so curb them, that all the rest was absolutely at their dispose.

The resolution being taken to besiege Rouën, the King and the Queen marching together with the Army, in 14 daies arrived at Darnetall, at which place lesse then two leagues distant from the City, the whole Camp lodged the 25. day of September. The chief Commanders of the Army, considering that the body of the City is defended on the one side by the River, beyond which there is nothing but the Faux-Burg *S. Sewer*, and on the other side by *S. Catherins* mount, upon the top of which is placed an ancient Monastery reduced into the form of a moderne fortresse; they thought it best to make themselves Masters of the Mount: it appearing very difficult to make any attempt or assault upon the Town

it



it self, if they did not first gaine the Fort without, which flanked and commanded the entrances on all parts. Upon this deliberation, *Sebastien de Luxembourg* Seigneur de *Martignes* made Colonel General of the Foot in the place of *Randan*, advanced the night of the 27th of September, and late down under *St Cathrins* Mount, in the great high way that goes towards Paris; Which being hollow almost like a trench covered them in great part from the shot of the fort.

The Count of *Mongomery* who commanded in the Town in chief with 2000 English and 1200 French Foot, 4 Troops of Horse, and more then 100 Gentlemen of quality, besides the Citizens, having foreseen, that the enemy must of necessity first take the out-workes, besides the old fortifications on the top of the Mount, had raised half way up the hill a Half-moon of earth; which having the fort behind, and fronting upon the campagne, might not only hinder the ascent, but also flank the walls of the Town, and force the Catholike Army to spend much time and lose many men in the taking of it. Nor was the effect contrary to what he intended. For though *Monsieur de Martignes*, leaving the direct way, and ascending in a crooked line, advanced by help of the spade between the Fort and the Half-moon to gaine the top of the hill; yet the work proceeded with much difficulty and great slaughter of the Souldiers; who the more the Foot advanced with their gabions and trenches, were so much the more exposed to the Canon planted upon the Fort, to the annoyance of the Musket shot, to the fury of the fireworks, and other inventions, with which they within very resolutely defended themselves. To these main difficulties was added the quality of the weather which being in the beginning of Autumne, as it alwaies falls out in those parts, was very rainie: so as the waters continually falling from the top of the hill into that low place where the Army lay, it was no small inconvenience unto them. Likewise the great Sallies the Hugonots made night and day were not of little moment. For though they were valiantly sustained, so that the success thereof was not very doubtfull; yet they kept the whole Army in motion, and in work. Nor were their Horse lesse diligent then the Foot in their Trenches; insomuch as many times the Siege was interrupted and hindered.

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Considering these so great impediments, it would have proved a tedious painfull businesse, if the negligence or arrogance of the defendants had not rendered it very short and easie. For *Jean d'Hemery*, *Signeur de Villers*, who afterwards married a Sister of *Henry Davila's* that wrot this History, being upon the guard in the trenches with his Regiment, observed, that about noon there was very little stirring in the Fort, and that they appeared not in such numbers upon the Ravelins as at other times of the day. Wherefore having sent for a Norman souldier called Captain *Lewis*, who two daies before was taken prisoner in a Sally they made out of the Fort, he asked him as by way of discourse, what was the reason that at certain houres so few of the Hugonots were to be seen upon the Rampart? The Souldier not concealing the truth, without looking farther what the consequence thereof would be, told him that they within had so little apprehension of the Catholike forces, and despised them in such a manner, that they used every day, for recreation, and to provide themselves of necessaries, to go in great companies to the Town; and that through custome and for convenience, they made choice of that time of the day. By which words *Villers* apprehending an opportunity to surprize the Fort, acquainted the D. of Guise and the Constable with his design; who not being wanting to so good an occasion, secretly causing ladders to be provided, commanded, that at the hour appointed, when they saw least stirring, they should on a suddain assault *St. Catherins Fort*, and at the same instant the Half-moon also, so much the more to divide the enemies forces.

*Martignes*, whose place it was to have a care of the businesse, chose the same *Villers* to make the assault upon *St. Catherins*, and *S. Coulombe* a Colonell of Foot likewise for the Half moon; and having without noise put all things in a readinesse, at the time prefixed with a Canon-shot gave the Signall to fall on. Whereupon *Villers* with his men instantly running up the steep of the hill, fastened his ladders to the Walls, before the enemy could possibly have time to make use of their Canon or small shot to keep them off. But yet those within, though few in number, couragiously presenting themselves at the assault, there became a hot bloody conflict with short weapons, in which as the manner is, the valiantest falling



falling at the first encounter, the defendants were so weakened, that they could scarce longer resist. On the contrary, *Villers* being supplied with fresh men, and aided by *Martignes*, began to get the better of the enemy; and though grievously wounded with a pike in the face, and a musquet shot in the left thigh, yet continuing the fight, he at last planted the Kings Flag upon the Keep of the Castle. Whereupon, two great Squadrons of Foot that were appointed for a reserve running to his assistance, in a short time they made themselves Masters of the Fort, before the defendants could be succoured either by the Town or their companions. The same success had the assault made upon the half Moon, and in a short a time; but the Catholics gained the Bastion with loss of much blood; and the defendants not having means to retreat, died all valiantly, fighting to the last man.

The Fort of  
Rouën taken.

St. *Caterines* Mount being taken, there remained still without the walls, the Faux Bourg of S. *Hilarie*, well fortified, and a good Garrison placed in it by the Hugonots. Against which having planted their canon, by reason the works were of earth, it wrought little effect; notwithstanding the Catholick Commanders caused a fierce assault to be made upon it; which proving likewise vain by reason of the strength of the Ramparts, and valour of the defendants; at length changing resolution they planted twelve great pieces in the middle of St. *Caterines* hill: from the advantage of which place they began with great noise and slaughter to batter the houses and rampiers which the enemies had raised; by the fury whereof the whole Faux Bourg being in a manner beaten down, and the Catholics ready to renew the assault, those within having fired the houses that were left, retired safe into the Town, which was now naked of all defence but the walls only. But the defendants by their frequent sallies, and divers assaults made upon them, losing many of their men, the Count of Montgomery having recourse to the last remedy, sent to desire Succours of the English at Havre de Grace, though he saw plainly it was a thing of exceeding great difficulty for them to effect. For the Kings forces having taken possession of Quilbeuf and Harfleur, two places in the midway between Rouën and Havre de Grace, upon the River, they placed there divers pieces of canon to hinder the passage of Ships or other little Barks, which holpen by the Flood  
that

1562 that enters there with great force, mount the stream to Rouën. Notwithstanding, the English, desirous by any means to help their friends, retolved to expose themselves to the worst of danger; and stealing up the River in the night, in great part avoided the violence of the canon, which being shot at random in the dark, did them but little hurt. Wherefore by the advice of *Bartolomeo Campi* an Italian Engineer, the Catholicks caused divers vessels laden with stones and gravel, and fastned together with chains, to be sunk in the River; which so stopped and pestred it, that neither the enemies Ships nor Gallies could pass: only some small Bark drawing but little water, with much adoe got safe into the Town. But this supply being insensible, and Rouën still in necessity, there appearing no other way possible to succour it, the English resolved to make their last attempt; and being come in the night with a good number of Vessels to the bar, though through the fury of the canon and fire-works, part of them perished, and others returned back; yet in one place the chain being broken, three Gallies and one other Vessell got through, which carried 700 men, munition and money for their present relief.

In the mean while the rains of Autumn still increasing, by reason whereof the Catholick Army that lay in a low dirty place, suffered very much, yet the Commanders not disheartned by the little supplies that were conveyed into the Town, pressing the siege, began to batter from *St. Hilaries* gate to the gate *Martinville*; between which advancing with their trenches, they had pierced the counter-scarfe. The second day so much of the wall was thrown down in the middle of the curtain, that the Squadrons might easily march on to the assault; and already *Sarlabous*, *Villers*, and *Sancte Coulombe's* Regiments that were to keep the first front, prepared themselves for the onset; when the King of Navar, being gone into the trenches to discover how things stood, received a musquet shot in the left shoulder, which breaking the bone, and tearing the nerves, he presently fell down upon the place as dead. This accident put off the assault for that day; for being carried to his own quarter, before they looked to his hurt, all the other chief Commanders went thither, and being afterwards dressed with great care in presence of the King and Queen, his wound, by reason

*Anthony of Vendosme K. of Navar shot in the shoulder.*



reason of the great orifice the bullet had made, was judged by the Physicians to be mortall. So as between that time and the Councell which was called thereupon, the day was so far spent, that the assailants, without any farther attempt, were sent for back to guard the trenches.

Yet this slackned not the siege: For besides the care of the Duke of Guile, and the Constable, who from the beginning had in effect the charge of the Army, the Queen also assisted her self in person; who by her presence and speeches adding courage to the souldiers, caused the battery still to be continued in the same manner; till with 2000 shot there was such a large breach made, that they went on in very good order to the assault: which being begun with great fierceness by the assailants, and received with no lesse resolution by the Hugonots, continued with great slaughter on both sides from twelve of the clock at noon till the evening; the Catholicks not being able to make themselves Masters of the wall. The night after the assault, those of Diepe indeavoured to put succours into the Town: to which purpose the *Sieur de Corillan* being advanced into a wood not far off, with 400 Fire-locks, he thought by the benefit of the night to delude the guards, and to steal in at the gate that answers to the lower part of the River. But being discovered by *Monsieur d'Anville*, who with his light Horse scoured the fields, he was with little difficulty defeated and routed, and the Town remained hopelesse of any aid. Wherefore having already so many daies sustained such hot skirmishes, and the violence of the canon, and it being therefore known, that they within were reduced almost to nothing; the twenty sixth day of October in the morning about break of day, the Catholicks, not to lose more time, went very fiercely, but in good order, to make another assault: which they of the Town, through weariness and weakness, being not able to withstand; *Sancte Coulombe*, he that took the Bastion upon the mount, was the first with his men that passed the breach, and entred into the City, right against the *Celestines* street, though mortally wounded, and falling upon the place, within three dayes after he ended his life. At the same time *Villers* Regiment forced their passage at another breach; and *Sarlabous* entred at the street of *S. Claire*, but not without some difficulty, by reason of a barricado of cask that

Rouën taken  
by the Catho-  
licks, & sackt.

1562 that was made in the way. After these that were the first, entred furiously the whole Army, and with great slaugther of the souldiers and inhabitants, sackt the Town, in the heat of their anger sparing no persons whatsoever; but putting all to the sword, both armed and unarmed. Only the Churches and things sacred, by the great diligence and exact care of the Commanders, were preserved from violence.

The Count of *Montgomery*, when he saw things in a desperate condition, and the Town reduced into the power of the enemy; getting into one of the Gallies that brought the succours, wherein he had before imbarqued his wife and children, passing down the River through all the Catholicks canon, saved himself in Havre de Grace, and from thence without delay passed over the sea into England. There saved themselves with him Monsieur *de Columbiere*, and some few of his servants; all the rest being left to the discretion of the Conqueror, came to divers ends. Captain *Jean Crose*, who had introduced the English into Havre de Grace, being fallen into the Kings hands, was as a Rebel, drawn with four Horses. *Mandreville*, who from being the Kings Officer, carrying His Majesties money with him, became a follower of the English, and *Augustin Marlorat*, who from an *Augustine* Frier, turned to be a *Hugonot* Minister, were both condemned to be hanged. Many were slain, and many remained prisoners in the Army, who afterwards redeemed themselves for a ransom.

The City continued 48 hours at the mercy of the souldiers; the third day the King making his entry at the breach together with the Parliament and the Queen his Mother, who in the heat of the sack sent all her Gentlemen and the Archers of her guard, to take care that the women which fled into Churches might not be violated, there was an end of the slaughters and rapines committed by the Army, which being drawn out of the City, quartered in the neighbouring Villages.

In the mean while, the King of Navar through the pain of his wound finding no rest either in body or mind, would by all means imbarque upon the River to go to *S. Maure*, a place neer Paris, whither by reason of the wholsomnesse of the air, and privacie, he used often for recreation to retire himself; and nothing prevailing that the Physicians could  
say



say to the contrary, he caused himself to be carried into a boat, accompanied by the Cardinal his Brother, the Princes *de la Roche-sur-yon*, and *Ludovico Gonzaga*, with some few servants, amongst which some were Catholicks, and others Hugonots, and the principall among them *Giovan Vincenzo Lauro* then a Physician, by birth a Calabrian, who was afterwards Bishop and Cardinall. But he was scarce arrived at Andeli, a few leagues from Rouën, when through the motion of the journey his feaver increasing upon him, hee began to lose his senses, and in a short time after died.

The King of Navar died.

He was a Prince, as of high birth, so of a noble presence and affable behaviour; and if he had lived in other times, to be remembred amongst the most famous men of his age. But the sincerity and candor of mind with which he was indued, and his mild tractable disposition in the distractions of a Civill war, held him all his life time in care and pain, and many times doubtful and ambiguous in his deliberations. For on the one side, being drawn by the headlong violent nature of his Brother, and spurred on by the ardor of his Faction, in which he was the principal person; and on the other side, restrained by his love of justice, and a natural inclination disposed to peace, and averse from civil broyls; he appeared many times fickle in his resolutions, and of a wavering judgement. For at the first he was reckoned and persecuted amongst those that sought to disturb the quiet of the Kingdom; and afterward was seen head of the contrary Faction, bitterly pursuing those that were up in arms. And for matters of Religion, sometimes through his wives perswasion and *Beza's* preaching, inclining to the *Calvinists* party; sometimes through the generall opinion and the Cardinall of Loraine's eloquence, to the Catholick Religion; he became mistrusted by both parties, and left behind him an uncertain doubtfull report of his believe. Many were of opinion, that being in his heart a *Calvinist*, or rather inclining to that which they call the Augustan Confession, yet neverthelesse his vast insatiable Ambition withdrew him from that partie, which, perceiving the Prince his Brother through his high spirit and resolution, was of much greater reputation amongst them, made him chuse rather to be the first among the Catholicks, then the second among the Hugonots. Hee



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died in the two and fortieth yeer of his age, and in such a time when experience had made him so wise, as would perhaps have produced effects very contrary to the common opinion that was conceived of him. He left behind him his Wife Queen *Jeane*, with the title and relicks of the Kingdom of Navar, and only two children, *Henry* Prince of Bearne then nine yeers old, and the Princessse *Catarine* an infant, who remaining at Pau and Nerac with their Mother, by whom they were very carefully brought up, at the same time received deep impressions of the Hugonot Religion.

Now whilest so much bloud was spilt on both sides at Rouen, *Andelot* with great pains and diligence raising the aids of the Protestant Princes of Germany, had gotten together a great company of Horse and Foot; and in the Territories of Strasbourg being joyned with the Prince of Porcien, who brought with him a Convoy of 200 Horse of the French Gentry, he considered the best he could what course was to be taken to joyn his Forces with the rest of the confederates.

The Mareſhall of *S. André* being sent upon the Frontiers with thirteen Troops of *Gens d' arms*, and two Regiments of Foot to hinder his passage, lay upon the way which by Rheims and Troye leads directly out of Germany into France: and *Francis* of *Cleves* D. of Neuers, who was Governor of Champagne, staid with all the forces of the Province between Chazalon and Vitry, to stop the other passage from Lorain to Paris. But *Andelot*, considering if he were encountred by the enemy, he could not long keep his men together for want of mony; & if he prolonged his journey, he should not come soon enough to succour his friends already reduced to an extreme point of necessity; resolved rather to contend with the difficulties of the passage, and impediments of the ways, then the opposition of the enemy. Wherefore to deceive the Catholicks, making shew to keep the ordinary way, and having marched so two dayes, till he came to the confines of Lorain, he raised his Camp silently in the night, and taking the way on the left hand, through rough places full of swift and rapid streams, marcht with exceeding diligence out of the great Roads, till he came into Burgundy; and from thence, notwithstanding the continual rain & dirt which in that country is every where very deep



deep, preventing even Fame it self, brought all his men, though toyled and weary, to Mountargis; where at last he joyned with the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, having led 5000 Foot and 4000 Horse so many leagues, excepting from the injury of the weather, safe from all other disasters.

This so powerfull and seasonable supply took off in great part the grief and terrour the Hugonots were stricken into for the losse of Rouen. But their hopes were exceedingly diminished by a defeat given at the same time to the Baron of Duras; who being a man of great dependences, had raised a great number of men in Gascoigne and the adjacent Provinces, so as they amounted to five thousand Horse and Foot; with which force indeavouring to make his passage between the Catholick Towns to succour his party at Orleans, being set upon in the way by Monsieur de Montluc, and Monsieur de Burie, who commanded for the King in those parts; the most of his men were cut off, and he himself with some few Horse escaped with very much difficulty. The Hugonots in divers places received many other, though not great losses; by which misfortunes the reputation of the Faction every where diminishing, the Prince and the Admirall resolved to undertake some notable Enterprize, to recover their lost credit; and so much the rather, because being straightned for money, they knew not how to maintain their Germans, if they did not feed and pay them by the pillage of the Country. But what the Enterprize should be, they agreed not between themselves. For the Prince, measuring all things by the greatnesse of his own thoughts, had a mind on a sudden to assault Paris; perswading himselfe, that in such a multitude of people, there must needs be many favourers of the Hugonots party, and many others inclined to his name; who when an opportunity was offered, would presently shew themselves. He believed farther, and sought to perswade, that the Kings Army, being imployed in Normandy, could not come soon enough to aid that City; by the invasion and taking whereof, they should not onely get great store of provisions of Arms, Munition, and Artillery, of which they began to be in no little want; but also have it in their power, with the contributions of so rich and numerous a people,



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to furnish themselves abundantly with money ; by means whereof, they should both gain a great reputation, and an exceeding advantage over the contrary Faction.

The Ministers adhered to this opinion, through the bitter hate they bare to the Parisians, ever constant reverencers of the Catholick Religion, and implacable enemies to their preachings. But the Admirall, *Andelot*, and the more experienced souldiers, esteeming the enterprize rather impossible then difficult, dissuaded them from it ; alledging, that the Mareshall of Brissac, the new Governor, had cast out all those who were suspected to depend on their party ; wherefore there was no reason to hope for any motion among that people, so united together for the preservation of the Catholick Faith ; and that the Kings Army, having had good successe at the siege of Rouën, and secured Normandy, would have time sufficient to aid that City, from which it was but eight and twenty leagues distant ; whereas they on the other side were to passe four and thirty leagues, through places infested with the enemy, which would very much retard the expedition of their march ; And what Artillery, what provisions for war had they, wherewith they designed to assail Paris ? a City of so vast an extent, and by nature so replenished with people, who through custome were ever armed, having but four pieces of Battery, and very little quantity of munition ? How should they draw on their Army to an Enterprize which would prove of such length, not onely without money, but also without means to sustain and nourish their men ? That it would be better to recover the places neer about Orleans, and open the way for provisions and supplies, nourishing the Army with the pillage that was neer at hand and secure, then to hazard themselves upon an attempt that would infallibly prove vain. But these reasons took no effect : For the Prince perswaded by his own will, and the consent of the major part of his adherents, resolved to venture all upon this enterprize. Wherefor the Army being mustred together, and such provision of victuals made as the present necessity would permit, it moved without further delayes that way.

In the mean while, after the taking of Rouën, the Town of Diepe, having cast out the English Garrison, rendered it self to the King : the same did Caën and Talaise, Towns



Towns in the lower Normandy, which largely extends it self upon the coasts of the Ocean beyond the bancks of the River; nor was there any place that remained in the power of the enemies, save only Havre de Grace, which the Queen had resolved to set upon with the whole Army; that so they might be absolutely freed from the fear of the English. But newes being come of the arrivall of the Germans, and that the Prince with great preparations moved with the Camp through Beaufse, (so they call that country which lies between Orleans and the Isle of France) the Queen with the Duke of Guise and the Constable, in whose hands remained the power of the Government, resolved, putting off the Siege of Havre de Grace, to bend their course to meet with the Hugonots Army. Wherefore having left Monsieur de *Villebon* Governor of Rouen, and the Rhyne-Grave with his Horse to secure the country of Caux, and hinder the English from making in-roads into the country, the King and the Queen, with all the remainder of the Army marched along the Seine towards Paris.

The Prince marching very close through the enemies country took without much difficulty Piviers, Monlhery and Dordane; and having given the pillage thereof to his Army, went on with all possible expeditions to Paris. But Corbeil a little inconsiderable Town upon the River of Seine interrupted his journey. For four Companies of French Foot being, contrary to the Princes expectation, entered thereinto, it made such a resolute defence, as held his Army play many daies to no purpose, being through anger rather than mature deliberation, obstinately bent whatever hapned to take it. But the Mareshall of S. Andre following *Andelot*, though at a distance, with an intent to get into Paris, having by another way gotten before him, he was constrained to raise the siege with losse of time and credit, besides the totall ruine of the principall designe, which depended wholly upon expedition. For having spent many daies there in vain, the Catholike Commanders in the mean while discovering his intent, had with the King and Queen in person brought the whole Army unto the Walls of Paris; and with much ease and commodity fortified the Suburbs, and distributed their men in very good order to their severall Quarters. The Prince lodged the

The Prince of Condé going to besiege Paris, amuzeth himself before Corbeil, by which means he fails of his principall designe.



twenty third day of November at La Sauſſayea Nunnery, who in that terror had abandoned it; and the twenty fourth day at Ville-Juif, two leagues from the Suburbs of Paris. But the twenty fifth day in the morning, though much fallen from their hopes, yet resolved to try their fortune, the Army being put in a readineſſe advanced to aſſault the Faux-Bourg of *S. Viſtor*. This attempt at the firſt ſeemed very ſucceſſefull. For 600 light Horſe that were ſent out to ſkirmiſh and diſcover the proceeding of the enemy, when they ſaw all the Army come reſolutely towards them, ran away in ſuch a headlong manner, that many doubted they fled rather through treachery then fear. With which unexpected tumult the Foot being diſordered who guarded the Ramparts of the Faux-Bourg, they began already to think of retiring themſelves into the City; and the people full of terror and confuſion cried out to ſhut the Gates, and abandon the Suburbs. But the Duke of Guiſe coming thereupon, ſo ſettled all things with his preſence, that there was no more to be feared for the preſent, or the future. In this occaſion, *Philip Strozzi* iſſuing out with 1200 Foot to back the Horſe, gave a notable teſtimony of his valour; for being abandoned by his men, and finding himſelf ingaged in the miſt of the Hugonots Army, he retired under the ruines of a broken Wind-mill, being a place, by reaſon of the height, of ſome advantage, and there ſo reſolutely defended himſelf, that it was not poſſible by all they could do, to drive him from thence; but he alone made it good againſt a multitude of the enemies that uſed their utmoſt endeavours to take that Poſt. The Prince nevertheleſſe, not amuſing himſelf therewith, but encouraged with the ſucceſſe of their firſt encounter, fiercely aſſailed the Faux-Bourgs in divers places; and for the ſpace of two hours that the fight endured, not only the Art and diſcipline of the Captain appeared, but alſo the readineſſe and courage of the Souldiers; notwithſtanding, finding every where a gallant reſiſtance, and the Canon upon the Ramparts continually beating and galling upon his flank, he was conſtrained to draw off the Army for that time from the Walls, that he might have day enough to take up convenient Quarters. The weather was rainie, and the ſeaſon cold; wherefore the Souldiers, not being able to lye abroad, the Army being devided into four parts, *Monſieur*



*de Muy* and the Prince of Porcien lodged at Gentilly; *Genlis* at Monteriau; the Prince and the Admirall at Areveil, and *Andelot* with the Germans, at Cachan. There making many fires on high, and a great number of Canon shot, they endeavoured to strike a terror into the people, which might stir up some commotion in the Town; and yet notwithstanding, the City which is inhabited, as the report goeth, by 800000 persons, from the beginning of those disorders to the last, remained in such quiet, that the Professors in the University never discontinued their Lectures, nor the Judges forbore to sit in the Courts of Justice.

In Paris were 800000 Inhabitants, yet during the Siege neither the Lecturers nor the Lawyers discontinued their Lectures or Audiences.

The third day the Prince, having put his men in order, advanced into the middle of a plain, inviting the Catholike Army to a Battle. But in stead of fighting, the Queen, desirous of a peace, to rid the Kingdom of forraign forces, or else by a Treaty of Accommodation to slacken the first heat of the Hugonots, to whom she knew nothing was so pernicious as delays, sent first *Monsieur de Gonnor*, and afterwards *Rambouillette*, and the Bishop of Valence, to treat with the Prince of an Agreement; which in a few daies advanced so far, that first the Constable, and afterwards the Queen her self coming to a parley with him, it was hoped a peace would follow; such large reasonable Conditions being proposed on the Catholike party, that the Hugonots themselves knew not how to refuse them.

But the Prince and the Admirall, not knowing how to take off their minds from the hopes of rule and domination of France, and the Ministers never ceasing to demand liberty and security; they could not agree upon any reasonable Conditions that were offered unto them; and the manifest desire that they saw in their adversaries to obtain a peace, as a sign of weaknesse, increased the ardor and obstinacy of the ignorant. Whereupon the Treaty having continued till the seventh of December, and the Hugonots not being able for want of Money or Means to nourish their Army to continue still in the same Quarters, the Treaty being absolutely broken, they resolved (to go off, with the best reputation they could) the night following to assault with 4000 men the Faux-Bourgs of *S. Germaine*, guarded by the Regiments of *Champaigne* and *Picardie*, which were counted not so good men as the rest, and being far on the  
other



1562 other side from the enemy, not so carefully guarded. But advice thereof was given to the Duke of Guise, who thinking to assault the assailants in the flank, caused all the Cavalrie to stand armed and in readinesse from the beginning of the night till next morning; and in the mean while, with great diligence visiting the guards, kept the Foot awake, and under their Arms. Yet there was no need thereof; for the assailants, partly through the great compasse they were to make, that they might not be discovered, partly through the darknesse of the night, which is alwaies full of errors, so spent the time, that they came not before the Faux-Bourg till break of day. By reason whereof, finding, besides, that the Catholikes were ready couragiously to receive the assault, they retired for that day, without making any triall of their fortune.

The night following they had the like designe upon the Faux-Bourg of *S. Marceau*: but that was hindered by the deliberation of *Genlis*, who either perceiving, as he said himself, the wicked intentions of the chief of the Hugonots, or else offended, as others said, that the Prince made but little accompt of him and his Brother after the rendering of Bourges, went over the same night with all his men into the City: by which accident, the Hugonots being very much troubled, and believing for certain, that he who was present at the deliberation had discovered the plot, they not only feared that their deligne upon *S. Marceau* would prove vain, but also that it might produce some sinister event. Wherefore they resolved, the same night to raise the Camp. To which purpose, whilst the Catholikes in readinesse expected the assault, and the Duke of Guise thought on a suddain to fall upon one of their Quarters; they being risen in great silence without any noise either of Drum or Trumpet, first the carriages marcht away towards *Beaussé*, after which many hours before day followed the Germans; and lastly the Prince and the Admirall, having fired Arcueil and Cachan where they lay, and many other neighbouring Villages, departed in great haste as soon as the light began to appear; taking the same way with the rest of the Armie, not upon any certaine designe, but onely with the best commodity they could to get food for their men.



In the mean while, the Catholike Army was exceedingly increased. For whilst the time was artificially delayed in the Treaty, the Infantry of Gascoigne led by Monsieur de *Sansac* arrived by the way of Mance: and the King of Spain, desirous also to have the Hugonots suppressed, had sent the King a supply of three Thousand Spanish Foot. So that, not to keep such a great force idle within the Walls of the City, the Kings Army the day after moved the same way that the Hugonots had taken; the Constable commanding as Generall, but with the Authority and assistance of the Duke of Guise; and the King with the Queen Mother resolved to remain together at Paris.

The Hugonots, having three daies after taken and pillaged the Castle of *S. Arnoul*, were uncertain what resolution to take. For long to maintaine the Army was altogether impossible, through the want of Money; having no revenue but their rapines; and for the insatiable importunity of the Germans, who never ceased begging or demanding their pay; and to meet the enemy, and give him Battell, being much inferiour in Foot, Artillery and other Provisions, appeared too rash and desperate a resolution. The Prince was of opinion, since the chief of the Catholikes with the whole Army had left Paris, and followed him into *Beauffe*, to returne thither with the same expedition that he departed; hoping he might enter the City upon a suddain, and seize upon the persons of the King and the Queen Mother, before they could recover any succours from the Army. But this proposition being made in their Councell was rejected by all the rest; considering the enemy would follow them so close, that he would come upon them either whilst they were making the assault, or else (supposing their design succeeded) whilst they were sacking the City; in either of which cases their Army would be manifestly ruined.

At the last, after many discourses, the Admiralls opinion was approved off; who advised, That they should depart as secretly as they could with all the Army into Normandy. For if the Catholikes followed them not, they might make a prey of that so fertill and rich a Province, where they should have Commodity to



1562 raise Monies and recruit their Forces; and if they did not follow him, notwithstanding they should have such a great advantage, that if they marched with any expedition, they might arrive at Havre de Grace before they could be overtaken; and there being joyned with 6000 English, provided with twenty pieces of Canon, store of Munition, and 15000 Duckets, which Queen ELIZABETH, according to the Articles of Agreement, sent to their aide; they might with such an addition of strength, either hazard a Battell, or continue the War with such Counsell as should then be thought most expedient. With this determination, leaving all their unnecessary carriages and Horses in the Castles of Beaufle, they marched away out of the Territories of Chartres the fourteenth day of December in the close of the evening, to get cleare of the Enemy before he should be advertised of their departure; and so with great diligence, tooke the way of Normandy.

The Catholikes knew not of the Princes rising till the day after; and to have certain intelligence how they bent their course, staied till the evening of the sixteenth in the same place; so as the Hugonots got in a manner three daies march before them. But passing through places full of Rivers and other impediments, in the worst season of the year, they were necessitated to lose much time; whereas the Catholikes, taking the way over the Bridges through the Towns which all held for their party, made a more easie and expedite journey. The Admirall with the Germans led the Van, that they might be provided with the most convenient Quarters, and to feed and content them with the pillage of the Country; having nothing else to satisfie their wonted complaints and frequent mutinies. The Prince followed with all the Infantry in the Battell. The Count de Roch-fon-cault and the Prince of Porcien, with the greatest part of the French Cavalrie, brought up the Rear: and so the Army was disposed with the best advice that could be. For the Germans preying upon the paisants that were yet untoucht, more easily supported the want of pay; and the French cavalry marching behind all the rest, were more ready to sustain the charge of the Catholikes if they should be overtaken. But the Prince passing near Dreux, entered into hope  
by



by some means or other to possesse himself of it : and therefore confounding the Orders that were given, without making the Admirall acquainted with the designe, hastned his march with such diligence, that his Battell was become the Van ; the Rear of Horse, that followed with the same expedition, was placed in the middle ; and the Germans being left behind, contrary to the order given, made the Rear. In the mean while the enterprize of Dreux proving vaine, the Admirall greivously offended at this lightnesse, thought it best to stay a day in the place where he was, that the Army might recover the order it was in before. Which delay having given time to the Catholikes to overtake them, brought by consequence both Armies into a manifest necessity of fighting a Battel.

Dreux is twenty six leagues distant from Paris, situated upon the confines of Normandy, joyning to those plains which were anciently called the plains of the Druids ; and on the one side of it runs a little River, which being foordable in all places, is by those of the Country commonly called Eure. This River the Hugonots had passed the nineteenth, and being lodged in the Villages adjoyning, expected to continue their march the morning after with like haste as before. But the Catholikes Army following them without staying any where, and a shorter way, arrived the same night at the River ; and lodged in the houses thereabouts ; so that there was nothing between both the Armies but the Current of the water. Yet by reason of the Shrubs and many Trees that grew upon the banks, they could not see one another, though they were so neare. It is most certaine, that the Prince, who lodged next the River, lay there with such negligence, ( a fault which hath ever proved fatall to the Hugonots ) that without placing the wonted guards or sending out Scouts, or any other care whatsoever, he took his rest all night, and knew not of the Catholikes coming till next morning very late. But the Constable quite contrary, being a practised, experienced Captain, very well knowing the advantage he had, and making use of the enemies carelesnesse, passed all his Army over the river the same night by moon-light, without any obstacle

Negligence  
the ordinary  
defect of the  
Hugonots.



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or impediment, and going on a league forwarder upon the place where the enemies were lodged, posselt the way by which, following their design, they were of necessity to passe. There, between two little Villages, the one called *Spinal*, the other *Blainville*, which stood by side the great Road, he placed his men with great commodity and no lesse silence.

The Army was divided into two parts; the first the Constable led, the other the Duke of Guise; but they disposed their Squadrons in such a manner, that in the Right wing of the Constables were the Swisses flankt by the Regiments of Fire-locks of Brittanie and Picardie; and in the Left wing of the Duke of Guise, the Germans flankt with the Gascon and Spanish Infantrie; and both the wings closed and sheltered with the houses of the Villages, having *Spinal* on the right, and *Blainville* on the left hand; and besides the defence of the houses, they placed their carriages and Artillery on each side; for the enemy being stronger in Horse, they doubted to be compassed in, and charged in the flank. The maine body of Cavalrie being divided into little Troops of Lances, that they might use them the more conveniently, and were placed betweene the Squadrons of Foot; which in a manner flankt and covered them; and only the light Horse taking their station out of the Battalions, were drawn up at the point of the Right wing where the Champagn began to open it self, and with a large front possessed the passe of the great Road. But the Duke of Guises Battalion, which was in the Left wing, though it was nearest to the enemy, yet was it so covered with a number of Trees that it had in flank, and the houses of *Blainville*, that it could hardly be perceived by the Hugonots: and on the contrary, the Constable having his light Horse ranged upon the Champagn was easie to be discerned afar off; and by the largeness of their Front, might well be taken for the whole body of the Army.

The day being come, and the Admiral, who was farthest from the River, beginning according to the order given to march, on a suddain the Constables Squadrons appeared; and being assured by his Scouts, that they were the Catholikes, exclaiming against the negligence of his Officers, he



he turned about, saying aloud to them that were next him, The time is now come that we must no longer trust to our feet, as we have done hitherto ; but like souldiers, relie upon the strength of our hands : and having sent word to the Prince, that the enemy was arrived, he caused his Division to make a halt, that the rest of the Army might draw up to joyn in a body upon the champagne. The Prince, though he were advised by many to turn to the left hand, to recover a Village thereby, that he might either prolong, or else wholly avoid the necessity of fighting ; yet the neernesse of the enemy inciting his naturall fiercenesse, he resolved rather to make a day of it without advantage in the open field, then to be afterwards forced to disband the Army without making triall of his fortune. So hastning his march, he joyned with the Van in the middle of the plain ; and having with great diligence put his men in order, continued on his way, with an intention not to provoke the Catholicks, and to pursue his journey ; but if he were provoked by them, not to refuse the Battell.

The Hugonots marching in this manner, and not having discovered the Squadrons of the Duke of Guise, (who causing his Foot to set one knee to the ground, and his Horse to retire into the street of the Village, stood as it were in ambush) passed on without perceiving they left a part of the enemies force behind them, and came up to the place where the Constables Battalia was drawn up : who perceiving the great advantage he had, (for the Duke of Guise fetching a little compasse about, (they having inconsiderately ingaged themselves) might set upon them in the Rear) commanded the signall to be given to the Battell with fourteen peeces of Canon that were placed on the outside of the left Wing. Whereupon the Prince, though his light Horse were somewhat disordred, therewith putting himself in the head of his Division, led them on with great animosity to assault the Battalion of the Swisses, which in a manner fronted him. The first that fell in upon them were Monsieur *de Mui*, and Monsieur *de Avaray* with their Horse ; then the Prince charging himself, and by his example the Baron of *Liancourt*, the Count *de Sault*, Monsieur *de Duras*, and the other Captains *de Gens d' Armes*, the whole force of that Battalia was turned upon the Swisses : some charging them in the Front, others in  
the

1562 the Flank, with all the earnestnesse and violence that might be; believing, that if they were routed, the victory would infallibly incline to their side.

But the Swisses, charged and compassed in on every side by such a number of enemies, valiantly charging their pikes, received the shock of the Cavalrie with such a courage, that though divers of their pikes were broken, and many of them trodden under foot by the horses; yet they stood firm in their order, repulsing and abating with exceeding great slaughter the fury of the enemy.

At the same time the Count *de la Roch foucault* and the Prince of Porcien, who brought up the Reer, entring fiercely into the Battell, first fell in upon the light Horse, which made but weak resistance; and afterwards upon the Regiments of Picardie and Brittanie that flankt the Swisses on that side; and the Firelocks being broken and routed, they likewise assaulted the same Squadron in the Reer; where though the danger and losse of blood were great, yet they found a resolute and hard encounter. For the Swisses standing in a close order, made a Front every way, and bravely resisted on all sides; so that two *Tertia's* of the Hugonots Armie were fruitlessly imployed in the same place, being obstinate to break the Battalia of the Swisses, to whom (if they had been abandoned by all the rest of the Armie) they must either voluntarily have yeelded, or at least retired with much losse.

The Battell of  
Dreux.

But the Admirall, who led the Van with better conduct and more advantage, had in the mean while charged the Constables Cavalry, and having in the first encounter killed his son *Gabriel de Momorancy* Sieur de Monbrun, and lad upon the ground the Count *de Rocheforte*, who likewise remained there dead; (though on all parts it were valiantly fought) yet he began to make the Catholicks yeeld ground; and thereupon the German Horse coming up in two great Squadrons, armed with pistols, with a new and furious assault mingled themselves in the conflict, and absolutely disordered the whole Battalion of the Catholicks; so that being defeated and routed, they manifestly ran away. There the Constable fighting valiantly, and seeking to keep his men from flight, being compassed in by the multitude of the Germans, (who if they can once find a breach open, easily overthrow



throw any body of men) his horse falling under him, and being wounded in the left arm, was at length taken prisoner. The Duke of Neuers, Monsieur *de Givry*, and many other Gentlemen and Cavaliers being fallen dead by his side.

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The Constable taken prisoner, and his son with many others killed.

The Duke of Aumale and Monsieur *d' Anville* were neer the Constables Battalion with two Squadrons of Lances; who moving to succour that party which they saw already began to yeeld, came boldly on to rush into the fight: but those that were chased by the Admirall and the Germans fled in such haste, that over-running their own men, they disordered the Duke of Aumale's Squadron; who being thrown down, and his horse falling upon him, was maimed on the left leg; and Monsieur *d' Anville* retiring out of the tumult of the run-awayes, to avoid (seeing nothing was to be done) the like incounter, was constrained to return back to the same place from whence he came. So all the Constables Cavalry being routed, and the French Foot that were with him defeated; onely the Swisses, beset on all sides, but standing firm in a close order and doubled Battalia, having beaten back and destroyed the German Foot, who were so bold as to assault them, though they had lost their Colonell and the most of their Captains, made still a very obstinate resistance; and the report is most certain, that the valiant resolution, even of the meanest souldiers of that Nation was such that day, that many of them, when their pikes were broken and their swords lost, fought resolutely with stones.

The Constables Division being broken, the Swisses onely with exceeding gallantry sustain the fight.

But the Duke of Guise, when he saw the left Wing wholly routed, and knew the Constable was taken prisoner; there being now no danger to be over-run by the fugitives who ran away scattered in the champagne, and perceiving the enemy was disordered and wearied with the fight, gave the signall to his Squadrons to move; and putting on his arms, in few words encouraged his men, shewing them, that they had a great advantage to fight with an enemy already wearied out and scattered, who because they had routed the Constables Cavalrie, thought themselves secure of the Victory. He had the Spanish Foot on the right hand, and the Gascons on the left; which bending in the form of an half Moon, covered his Horse, that for the more security were placed in the middle; and about an hundred paces before  
all



1562 all the rest, marcht the forlorn hope of Foot, led by Monsieur *de Villers*, the same that took *S. Katherines* Fort at the siege of Rouen: which being resolute old souldiers, were placed there to sustain the first shock of the enemy. In this order, but composedly and quietly, with their Squadrons closed together, he marched with great fiercenesse to the Battell; and being in the head of his Cavalry, seemed to make but little account of the victorious Army of the Enemy.

On the other side, the Prince and the Admirall, not perceiving that they had left the Catholick Van behind them, and beleiving they had gained an intire Victory; when they saw such a great force come upon them, rallying their men, and joyning again with the Reiters, (who when they found they could not break the Battalia of the Swisses, were in pursuit of the enemy) came separately to the Front; but with a diverse event, and diverse resolution. The Prince seeing the Forlorn hope in his way, which, despising all danger, set upon him, filling every place with death and confusion; and the Gascoigne Musquetiers, which entred couragiously into the fight, playing upon him in the Flank, before he could bring up his men to charge the Horse, was so shaken and disordered, that his Division was with much ease dissolved and overthrown, and himself, invironed by Monsieur *d' Anville* (who through grief of his Fathers imprisonment, fought desperately) being wounded in the right hand, and all covered with sweat and bloud, finally remained prisoner. On the other side, the Admirall, seeing the fiercenesse with which the Spanish Foot, powring out their small shot, came to charge him in the flank; and that at the same time the Marshall *de S. André* with divers companies of Lances which were yet fresh and intire began to move towards him; and finding his men and horses through wearinesse could scarcely be kept in order; he went not up to the Front of the Battalia, but wheeling about, and skirmishing lightly, indeavoured to rally his men which were scattered in the field; watching an opportunity to retreat in the best order and with the most reputation that he could. Notwithstanding, making divers charges, and fighting continually with his pistols, he sustained a long time the fury of the enemy; especially, after that the Marshall, being mortally wounded, left the field.

But

The Prince of Condé thinking hee had won the Battel, being charged afresh by the Duke of Guise, is taken prisoner.



But at last, being charged by the Duke of Guise, who after the Prince was taken, advanced with divers Troops of his *Gens d'Armes*, to environ him; and the Foot arriving on all sides, that with their shot destroyed his horses; all hope of rallying his men being lost, he resolved to save himself in time; and getting as many of his men together as the enemies pursuit would permit, in great haste made towards the woods; and without staying or taking breath, with his horses tired and men wearied, in the close of the evening came to Neufville.

The Hugonots  
lose the day.

At the beginning of the disorder *Andelot* was retired to the same place; who by reason of a quartan Ague, being unable to endure the Fight, having gotten to an eminent place, when he saw the Duke of Guise's Troops move, after, as he thought, the Kings Armie was utterly defeated; he asked what men those were; and answer being made, that they were the Duke of Guise's, which had not yet fought: he said many times, that this taile was impossible to be flea'd; and setting spurs to his horse, thought to secure himself without expecting the issue of the Battell. Both the Brothers then being come to Neufville, they indeavoured to get together those relicks of the Armie that had escaped the Enemy; which following the example of the Commanders, came scattering in. So the night coming on, through the darknesse whereof they could not be pursued; the Prince of Porcien, the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault*, and the Germans, who led the Constable prisoner, all met in the same place; where with a great applause of every one, the Admirall was declared Generall of the Hugonots Armie. Who, not to expose himself to the inconveniences of the night, stayed there till next morning break of day; when having put those few men that were left in order, he marched with great diligence towards Orleans; seeing the passage to Havre de Grace was already possessed and cut off by the Enemy, who lodged just in the middle of the great Road.

The Admirall  
made General  
of the Hugo-  
nots.

The Duke of Guise remaining Master of the Field, together with all the enemies Artillerie and Carriages, and having received the French Infantry to mercy, which



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The two bitter  
enemies Con-  
dé and Guise  
sup and lie to-  
gether in the  
same bed.

after a little resistance yeelded themselves at discretion ; being overtaken by the night, lodged very inconveniently upon the place at Blainville ; whither the Prince of Condé being brought to him, it is very remarkable , that those two Princes, formerly and in the present Battell such mortall enemies , reconciled by the variety of fortune, supped together at the same table , and for want of carriages, and through streightnesse of lodging, lay together all night in the same bed. For the Duke of Guise using his Victory modestly , receiving the Prince with all demonstrations of honour, offered him part of his. In which the patience of the Conquered in the desperate estate of his present defeat, was no lesse considerable then the modesty of the Conquerour in the prosperity of his Victorie.

The first newes that came to Paris, was of the defeat and imprisonment of the Constable , brought by those that ran away at the beginning of the Battell ; which filled the Court with great sadnesse and infinite feare ; but a few hours after arrived there Monsieur *de Losse*, Captain of the Kings Guard, dispatched by the Duke of Guise ; who bringing such a contrary relation, with the assurance of a Victory, dissipated their grief for particular losses, in which the greatest part of the Kingdome had a share ; for besides many Lords and Cavaliers of great esteem and reputation, there were slain on both sides 8000 persons.

Various were the opinions and discourses of men concerning this battell. For many accused the negligence of the Prince of Condé, when having the enemy so neer, hee beleevved hee was still far off ; which necessitated him to fight against his will : Many blamed the haste they saw in the Admirall to retire ; beleevving that if he had vigorously charged them when the Mareshall *de Saint André* was killed, he would have routed and defeated that part of the Catholick Horse, and put his party in a condition to recover again their losse. And on the other side, there wanted not those, who making a sinister interpretation of the Duke of Guise's proceedings, were of opinion, that he might at the beginning coming behinde the Enemy, have



have rendred the Victory more easie and more secure, without expecting first the disaster of the Constable, and the slaughter of the Horse and Foot; but that being desirous of the Constables ruine, and to remain sole Arbitrator of the Catholick Faction, hee had craftily suffered the Enemy to rout the right Wing, on purpose to assume all the glory and command to himself. To which notwithstanding, he and his partisans made answer, That he moved not at the beginning, first to let the enemies passe, and then to avoyd the blind fury of them that ran away, by which he might have been disordered as were the Duke of Aumale and the Constables Sonne himselfe; but that hee had patiently expected an opportunity to accomplish the Victorie with security; which by an inconsiderate haste would have proved uncertain and dangerous. Howsoever it were, it is certain, that as the Duke of Guise gained all the glory of the day; so the reputation of the Hugonots, rather by accident then any reall losse, was in great part diminished. The Duke remained in the same place three dayes after; as well to put in order and refresh the Armie, as to provide for the wounded men, and the buriall of his dead: and being by the King and Queene declared Generall of all the Forces, of which charge he took possession with the Victorie, not to give the enemy time to recover himself, directed his course towards Orleans.

The Duke of Guise made Generall of the Kings Forces.

In the mean while, the Admirall with a great part of his Forces, and particularly the German Horse, which received but little hurt in the Battell, was returned into Beauffe; where granting a Warlike liberty to gain and assure the affections of the souldiers, he at last brought them to Beaugency, to take such resolution as was most expedient for the present necessity. There a Councell being called of all the French Lords and German Commanders, it was disputed with great variety of opinions, what in that change of fortune was fittest to be done. It was not to be doubted, but the Duke of Guise pursuing his Victory, would come directly to besiege Orleans, which in the bowels of France was the chief seat and foundation of the War. Wherefore it was expedient to think how to defend that Citie, and also to provide for it in time a fitting supply;



1562 which being very hard to be done, by reason many already wavered in their affections, and the fortune and reputation of the Hugonots declined in all parts of the Kingdom; the two Brothers of *Coligny* boldly took upon them the charge of taking care for both. For *Andelot* proffered himself, with the German Foot, and part of the French Horse to defend Orleans; and the Admirall, laying before the Reiters (so they call the German Horse) the booty and riches of Normandy, with the neer succours of England, perswaded them to follow him into that Province; where whilest the Duke of Guise was in person imployed in such a difficult siege, they might have opportunity to joyn with the English, receive the monies sent by Queen *Elisabeth*, and bring all their succours together: with which forming a great body of an Army, they should be able afterwards time enough to succour and relieve the besieged.

1563 With these Counsels the heads of the Hugonots directed their Actions. But the Duke of Guise, not to lose by delays the fruits of his Victory, at the beginning of the yeer put all things in readinesse to besiege Orleans; having sent for the great Canon from Paris, with all other provisions necessary for so great a work; at which siege, as well to hasten the issue thereof, as not to trust wholly to any one person, the Queen resolved to be present; and having past over with exceeding patience the sharpest and most incommodious season of the yeer, came with the King to Chartres; and staying there some few dayes, at the last arrived at the Armie; lodging with much incommodity in the adjacent Villages. At the coming of the Kings Armie, Piviers, Estampes, and all the other places thereabouts were already rendred: after the taking of which, the Duke of Guise, having gotten all his men together, drew towards the Town the fifth day of *February*, and encamped between the *Faux-burg d' Olivette*, and the Town of *S. Aubin*; a convenient Quarter, and being placed upon the River of *Loire*, abounding with provisions. There were in Orleans, besides *Andelot*, who commanded all the rest, *Monfieur de St. Cyr* Governour of the City, the *Sieurs de Avaret, Duras, and Bouchavanes*, fourteen Companies of Foot, partly Germans, and partly Gascons, and five Troops of French Horse, consisting for the most part of old experienced souldiers:



**souldiers** : and besides these, the Citizens, refusing neither labour nor danger for the defence of their Town, being divided into four Squadrons, with wonderfull readinesse hazarded themselves upon all services.

Orleans is divided, though not equally, by the River of Loire; for on one side stands the whole body of the City, and on the other lies only a great Faux-Bourg vulgarly called the Portereau. The Portereau is joyned to the City with a fair Bridge, at the enterance whereof towards the Faux-Bourg are two Forts, called the Towrelles, which hinder and shut the entry of the Bridge; at the other end whereof is the Gate of the City strengthened with good Walls, but without any Rampart defended with a high square Tower built after the ancient fashion, of a great thicknesse. The Walls of the City were in themselves of little strength; but the defendants had repaired and made them more defensible. Amongst other things, they fortified also the Portereau, raising two great bastions before it, which might entertain and keep off the enemy for a time from the Town. The one being right against the place where the Catholikes encamped, was guarded by four Companies of the Gascons; and the other which was farther off, was kept by two Companies of the Germans. The Duke of Guise upon very good reasons thought it best to begin the Siege on that side. First that his men, being conveniently lodged, might the better support the incommodities of winter; then, because, esteeming it in an easie matter to take the works of the Portereau, he designed to make use of the commodity of the River to assaile and batter the Walls of the City with a great number of Barks covered with Gabions and full of other Warlike instruments, which would in wonderfull manner facilitate the assault. Besides on that side those within had neither Rampart of earth within the Wall, nor any allarum place capable to receive a body of men. Wherefore the next morning the whole Army advanced in very good order within sight of the Town; Monsieur de Sippierre leading on the first Divisions of the Catholikes with 600 horse and two Regiments of Foot, with which force he easily beat back again into the Faux-Bourg those who to shew their courage sallied out to skirmish. Whereupon his men being heartened with such good successe at the beginning, he caused a fu-

rious

The Siege of  
Orleans sustained by *André delort* with the  
reliques of the  
Hugonot Army.



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rious assault to be given to the Bulwark guarded by the Gascoignes; at which the Duke of Guise coming in, and making shew to draw all the forces of his Army to that place, at the same time sent *Sansac's* Regiment to surprize by Scalado the other held by the Germans; who being amazed with the suddenesse thereof, made so little resistance, that the Bulwark being taken, the Catholikes entered the Faux-Bourg before any body perceived there was an attempt made upon that part. By which means the assailants having already made themselves strong within the Rampart, and all the Army that stood in order marching to them, the defendants were constrained to abandon the Suburbs of the Portereau; but not without great terror and confusion: in which *Duras* being slain, with many other persons of remark, they were so closely pursued by the Catholikes who came up to them on all sides, that if *Andelot* himself, fighting valiantly with a great Squadron of Gentlemen, had not withstood them, they had in that fury entred the Towrells. But he standing at the entry of the Bridge all covered with Armes, and bravely assisted, they were with much difficulty at length repulsed; and the Ports of the Towers and the City being shut, that bloody conflict ended with the day. The Faux-Bourg being secured, the Army approached to the Towrells; which proving very hard to be taken, by reason of the strength of the place, the Duke of Guise notwithstanding with Gabions, Trenches and Engins of War so far advanced the work, that he found, they could not long maintain that Poste; though from the Canon planted in certaine Islands in the middle of the River, those upon the banks received much molestation and damage.

In the mean while, the Admiral with his Reiters and some few French Horse, having left all their carriage and baggage at Orleans, passing the Loire at Georgeau marcht with such expedition, that the Marshall of Brissac, who indeavoured to lye in their way, could by no means stop them in any place, or hinder them from passing into Normandy; which Province the Reiters, slaughtering, fireing, pillaging and destroying all things both sacred and prophane, over-ran without resistance; there being no forces in that Country which were able to hinder their incurfions. So passing through all places like a horrible and fearfull tempest, they came at last  
to



to the coasts of the Ocean at *S. Sanveur de Dive*. There the Germans not knowing in what part of the world they were, and seeing the sea grow furious and intraged with the tempestuousnesse of the weather, and no news at all appearing of the succours so often promised from England, began fiercely to mutiny; demanding with clamour and threats the arrears of their pay, and calling upon the Admirall to observe his promise: who coming out of his lodging, and shewing them with his finger the swelling of the sea, and the impetuous contrary winds, excused with the perversenesse of the weather, and the season, the delay of their expected supplies. But the Germans not to be appeased with any thing, he could hardly obtain of them the patience of a few dayes; though to satisfie their greedinesse, he gave them free licence to plunder all, as well friends and adherents, as adversaries and enemies. Wherefore destroying with barbarous cruelty all the tract of that Country which with wonderfull fertility and richnesse of the inhabitants extends it self along the Ocean, he stayed so long expecting about the sea coasts, that at length the storm ceasing, they descryed from *Havre de Grace* the English ships, which brought with them both the 150000 ducats, and the two Regiments of Foot, besides fourteen peeces of canon, with all manner of munition proportionable. The English under the conduct of the Count of Montgomery and Monsieur *de Colombiere*, being received with incredible joy, and the Reiters satisfied for their arrears; the Admirall having sent for the Count *de la Roch-foucault* and the Prince of Porcien, who brought succours out of Brittany and the neighbouring Countries, making in all 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse, put himself in order with great diligence to go to the succour of his Brother with all the speed that was possible; hoping, either by force or art to make them raise their siege from that place. But the Duke of Guise having already, though with losse of much blood, taken the Towrelles, the defendants were reduced to great straits; nor could the Admirall have arrived soon enough to succour the besieged, if other stratagems and means had not been used to deliver them from that imminent danger.

There was among the Hugonots Faction one called *John Poltrot Sieur de Mereborn*, of a noble Family neer Angoulême.



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*John Poltrot* faignes to forsake the Hugonot party, leaves Orleans insinuates himself into the Duke of Guise's Court, and whilst the Duke gives order for an assault, shoots him in the shoulder where of he dies.

goulesme. This man being of a ready wit, and by nature subtile, having lived many years in Spain, and afterwards embracing *Calvins* opinion, being made cunning by the preachings and practises of *Geneva*, was esteemed by all (as he was indeed) fit to undertake any great attempt. Wherefore being known to all the Heads of the Hugonot faction as a proper instrument for any such designs, which are the daily effects of Civill Wars, he was perswaded, as they say by the Admirall and *Theodore Beza*, to endeavour to kill the Duke of Guise; the one proposing to him infinite rewards and acknowledgements; the other laying before him, that by taking out of the world so great a persecutor of their faith, he should merit exceedingly of God. Which perswasions working upon *Poltrot*, faining to have abandoned the Calvinists party, he went to be a Souldier in the Kings Army; and there insinuating himself likewise into the Duke of Guises Court, watched an opportunity to put in execution his purposed mischief. So the 24 of February in the evening, being the Feast of *S. Mathias* the Apostle, the Duke having given order for an assault, which the day after, he intended should be made upon the Bridge of Orleans; and retiring unarmed to his lodging, which was little lesse then a league from the Trenches, *Poltrot*, lying in wait on Horse back upon a swift Jennet, and seeing him come alone discoursing with *Tristan Rostine* a Servant of the Queens, discharged a Gun at him, laden with three bullets, which all three hit him on the right shoulder, and passing through the body, laid him upon the ground for dead. At which suddain accident, his Gentlemen, who, not to seem to hearken to what their Master said, rode a little before, runing to help him: *Poltrot*, aided by the swiftnesse of his Horse, saved himself in the neighbouring Woods; and the Duke being carried to his lodging, shewed at the first dressing very little hopes of life. At the newes of this sad accident, the King and Queen Mother, with all the Lords of the Army, went presently to see him; but neither the diligent care nor remedies that were applied taking any effect, the third day after his hurt he died, with great demonstrations of Religion and Piety, and discourses full of constancy and moderation.

He was a man of mature wisdom, singular industry, and sprightly valour; warie in Councell, quick in execution, and



and most fortunate in conducting his designs to their intended ends. For which qualities, he was reputed by the generall consent of all men, the chief Captain of his time. Likewise by the merit of his own Actions, he acquired the title of Defendor and Protector of the Catholike Religion; and dying, left the glory of his name to be celebrated and renowned to all posterity.

The murtherer, as if he had bin besides himself, either through conscioufnesse of the fact, or else through fear that he had to be pursued from every part; not finding the way to Orleans, wandred all night in the waies & woods thereabouts, and at last in the morning, neither he nor his horse being able to bear themselves longer upon their legs, he fell into certain companies of Swisses that were in guard at the Bridge d' *Olivette*; by whom being taken, and carried before the Queen and the Lords of the Army; First he confessed voluntarily the whole plot of the fact; and afterwards, being put upon the torture, ratified the same confession: wherefore being led to Paris, he was by sentence of the Parliament publicly quartered.

*Polaret taken and condemned.*

The Admirall and *Theodor Beza* indeavoured, by large writings scattered in all parts of Christendom, to clear themselves of the suspition: but the common opinions of men, confirmed not only by reason, but from the mouth of the delinquent, refuted all their excuses; and the memory of it stuck close to his posterity, till the consummation of their revenge. The proceedings of the Queen Mother were much different; to whom a Hugonot Captain commonly called *la Motte* having offered himself to find a means to kill *Andelot*; She causing him to be apprehended by her Guards, sent him bound to the same *Andelot*, that he might punish him as he pleased himself. Which though some interpreted sinisterly; beleiving, that the Queen had either discovered a treacherous intent in the assasine, or else that she hoped to win *Andelot*, by such a kindnesse, in gratitude to deliver up Orleans, which they found hardly to be reduced by force; yet it is certain, that the greatnesse of the Queens mind made it generally believed, that she used no dissimulation in so generous an Action: and surely there are few examples of the like in any of our modern Stories.

*A Hugonot Captain offering to kill Andelot, the Queen sends him to the same Andelot.*

After the death of the Duke of Guise, an Accommodation

A a

followed



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followed without difficulty, the treaty whereof was never intermitted in the greatest fervour of the War. For the Queen being freed from the King of Navar and the Duke of Guise, the one of which through his nearness to the Crown, and the other by reason of his immense power and great esteem amongst men, was alwaies suspected by her; She desired by a domestick quieting the troubles of the Kingdom, to drive out the forraign forces before they settled themselves. Neither had she now any jealousies of the Prince of Condé or the Constable. For they had so offended each other, that she beleived it was impossible that they should ever be sincerely reconciled. Besides, the Constable being grown decrepid with age, had neither force nor thoughts to aspire to the Government; and the Prince of Condé, though in the quality of first Prince of the Bloud, for things past, and particularly for the Agreement made with England, was become odious to the whole Kingdom, except only those that followed the Hugonot party. Wherefore thinking it most expedient for the present, to settle a peace, that with their united Forces they might without diversion attend the recovery of Havre de Grace, the alienation of which place into the hands of so powerfull Enemies more then any thing else troubled the Queen; that those things might be effected, and the Reiters expelled the Kingdom, (who without regard destroyed the Country, and with unheard of cruelties oppressed the people) She was inclined to grant very large Conditions. Also this other consideration was no small motive to perswade an agreement; that the Duke of Guise being dead, and the Constable prisoner to the Enemy, there was no captain of like Authority and esteem, who having the command of the Kings Army, could in any degree equall the Admirals warinesse or the fiercenesse of *Andelot*. For the Duke of Aumaule Brother to the late Duke of Guise, though he were a man of great courage, yet he was not esteemed answerable in Counsell or wisdom. Besides he was for the most part held unfortunate in the War; and which imported most, he was at that time, by reason of the hurts he received in the Battell, unfit for labour; and the Mareshall of Brissac, though a Captain of great experience, and known valour, had not such an Authority as was requisite for a Generall of the Kings



Kings Army, composed of the chief Princes and principall Lords of his Kingdom. To these was added one reason more, that made it very necessary to desire a peace : For the devastations of a civill War had so wasted, broken, and hindred the Kings Revenues ; and the excessive expences which the beginning of a War brings along with it, had so exhausted the publick Treasury ; that they were not only unable to pay the interests of those debts contracted by the former Kings ; but the Queen was constrained to make them greater, having received in the time of her necessity, a considerable Summe from the great Duke of Tuscany, and 100000 Duckets from the Republick of Venice. Wherefore, having not wherewithal to continue the War, she thought it wisdom to lay hold on the advantage of the present conjuncture.

On the other side, the Prince of Condé seeing himself prisoner to the enemy, to obtain his liberty, ardently desired a Peace ; and *Andelot*, being reduced to a necessity of yeelding, thought it would be more for his reputation to be included in a generall accord, then to deliver up the Town upon a capitulation made only by himself. The Admiral was of a contrary opinion ; who neither trusting to the Kings reconciliation, nor the Queens promises, and knowing he was inwardly hated and detested ; chose for the best, rather to continue the War now the chief Leaders of the adverse party were gone, then to expose his person to the danger of a suspected and dissembled Peace. But he being absent, and the accommodation treated at Orleans, where the Queen was in person in the Camp, and the Constable prisoner in the City ; whether also came about the same businesse Madam *Eleonor* wife to the Prince of Condé ; without having any regard to the opinion of the Admirall, the Peace was concluded and established upon these Conditions ; That all those that were free Lords over the Castles or lands that they posselt, not holding of any but the Crown, might within their jurisdictions freely exercise the Reformed Religion ; and that the other Feudatories, who had not such dominion, might do the same in their own houses, for their families only ; provided, they lived not in any City or Town. That in every Province certain Cities should be appointed, in the Faux-Bourg whereof the Hugonots might assemble at their devotion. That in all other

Conditions of  
Peace concluded at Orleans  
the 18 of  
March, 1563.



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Cities Towns and Castles, in the City of Paris with the jurisdiction therof, and all places whatsoever where the Courts resided, the exercise of any other but the Roman Catholike Religion should be prohibited. Yet every one to live free in his conscience, without either trouble or molestation. That the Professors of the pretended Reformed Religion should observe the holy-daies appointed in the Roman Kalender; and in their Marriages, the Rites and Constitutions of the Civill Law. That all the Lords, Princes, Gentlemen, Souldiers and Captaines should have a full Pardon for all delinquencies committed during the time or by occasion or ministry of the War; declaring all to be done to a good end, without any offence to the Royall Majesty; and therefore every one to be restored to his Charges, Dignities, Goods, Priviledges and Prerogatives. That the Germans should be sent, and have safe Conduct out of the Kingdom; and that it should be in the Kings power to recover all his places, Towns and Castles, from any persons whatsoever that presumed to withhold them from him.

This Capitulation being published in the Camp, and in the Court, the eighteenth day of March the Prince of Condé and the Constable came out of prison; *Andelot* delivered the City of Orleans into the Queens hands; the Nobility no lesse wearied with the toyls then expences of the War, very willingly departed; and the Reiters being conveyed to the confines and satisfied for their pay, returned to their own houses.

The Eight Parliaments of the Kingdom, but particularly those of Paris, Tholouse, and Aix, those three being alwayes more averse then the rest to the Hugonot party, refused to accept and register the Edi& of Pacification. But the Cardinall of Bourbon and the Duke of Monpensieur appearing in the name of the State at Paris; at Tholouse, the the Vicount *de Joyeuse*; and the Count *de Enzé* at Aix; they laying before them, that the King thought it most convenient for the quiet of the Kingdom and the welfare of his Subjects, that the Pacification should be accepted and approved; at last the Articles were published: yet still reserving a power in his Majesty, whensoever he should think fit, to correct, or revoke it. There was no lesse resistance amongst the enemies and Hugonot Ministers, seeing the Edi& of



of *January* so straightly moderated; and it was exceedingly relented by the Admirall, who had conceived a great hope to overcome the War. But the Prince of Condé being pleased it should be so, and the Nobility greedily concurring with him, they were forced to comply for the present; though in the mean while contriving among themselves new and more dangerous revolutions.

The Peace being agreed on, and published: the Queen, not giving herself leisure to breath, having sent the Army into Normandy under the command of the Marehall de *Brissac*, went thither in person; designing, without delay to reduce Havre de Grace by force, and to order matters by her own presence and directions. Whereby, besides that she was secured from the Arts and Treacheries of the great ones, and her Councils were more effectually directed to their proper ends; She also gained the affections of the souldiers to the King, who being brought up amongst the Armies, and present at all Councils and Actions, was replenished with generous lively thoughts; daily learning by experience the practicall part of governing his Kingdom.

*Charles* was of a magnanimous and truly Royall nature; of a sharp ready wit; and for the Majesty of his aspect and gravity of manners in so tender an age, not only esteemed, but greatly revered by those that were about him. On the other side, the English which were to the number of 3000 in Havre de Grace under the command of the Earle of Warwick, failed not, carefully to provide for and fortifie themselves; hoping by the strength of the place to be able to make a bold resistance, untill the arrivall of their Fleet, which was coming with great preparations, not only to succour that place, but also to land men, and to infest the borders of the lower Normandy, and all the coasts towards the Brittain Sea. But the Queen having summoned them by an Herald, within the term of three daies to deliver up the Town, which contrary to the Articles of Peace they had unjustly usurped; that short time being expired, the Army was brought before it, and Batteries raised in divers parts.

Not many daies after, the Constable arrived at the Camp; whose presence added a greater vigour to the assiegents; and however the paines and directions was divided between him and the Marehall de *Brissac*, all the Authority and command remained



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Havre de  
Grace deli-  
vered up upon  
conditions.

remained in the Queen ; who lodging in the Abby of Fecan, rode every day to the Army, solliciting the advancement of the siege in such a manner, that one of the Towers which stood at the entry of the gate being already taken, and Colonnell *Sarlabous* with a good number of Foot lodged therein, the defendants were reduced to great extremities; which daily more and more increasing by reason of the heats, it being then about the middle of July, the Town was infected with such a grievous Plague ( to which the English through the temper of their bodies and manner of diet are exceeding subject ) that a horrible mortality consumed in few daies the greatest part of their men. Wherefore the Earle of Warwick, not being able longer to resist the force of the Army, and the anger of heaven, at length, upon the 17 day of July, agreed to render himself upon these Conditions; That he should freely deliver up Havre de Grace into the hands of the Constable for the use of the most Christian King; with all the Artillery and Munition belonging to the French; and all the Ships and Merchandize taken or seized upon since the War began. That all the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty without ransom; and that the English within the term of six days should transport their arms and baggage, without receiving any impediment whatsoever.

The Capitulation was scarcely confirmed, and Hostages given on both parts, when the English Fleet, consisting of 60 Ships, and well furnished with men, appeared at sea, steering their course with a very favourable winde directly to the Haven. But the Earl of Warwick, thinking it dishonourable not to stand to his Capitulation, gave notice to the Admirall of the Fleet, that the Town was already rendred. Wherefore casting anchor till he had received the souldiers of the Garrison aboard, when they were all imbarked, he set sail again, and without making any other Attempt returned into England.

The Queen having with such facility dispatched the strangers, she presently applyed all her indeavour to pacifie the troubles of the Kingdom, and to reform things in the Government. Her intention was, since the King was in the fourteenth yeer of his age, to cause him to be declared past his Minority, and capable to govern of himself; knowing that such a Declaration would take away from the Princes of the



the Bloud and other great Lords the right of pretending or aspiring to the Government ; and that through the Kings youth, and the absolute authority her counsels had over him, she should still continue in the same power and administration of the Kingdom. But this design was opposed by the opinions and authority of many Counsellors and Lawyers, who disputed, That the King could not be freed from the Government of his Tutors, nor have the rule put into his own hands, nor be declared out of Minority, if he had not fully finished and altogether accomplished the time prefixed of fourteen yeers ; of which he yet wanted many months. With the *Archives* of the Crown that are kept in the Monastery of Monks at S. Dennis, amongst the Acts of the Court of Parliament, there is a Constitution of *Louis the Fifth* King of France (he that was surnamed the Wise) made solemnly in the Parliament of Paris in the yeer of our Salvation 1363, sealed by the High-Chancellor *Dormans*, and subscribed by the Kings Brothers, the Princes of the Bloud-royall, and a great number of the chief Barons and Lords of the Kingdom ; by which it is declared, That the Kings of France may in the fourteenth yeer of their age assume to themselves the Government and Administration of the Kingdom : But it is not cleerly specified, whether this constitution be of force at the beginning, or else at the end of the fourteenth yeer. For which reason many Counsellors, particularly those of the Parliament of Paris, (perhaps knowing they had greater power during the minority of the King, and therefore desiring to enlarge the time of exercising it) affirmed, That it could not be said the Pupill was come to the age of fourteen yeers, if he had not fully accomplished them ; nor could by any means, before that time, free himself from the obligation of a Minor. On the other side, the High-Chancellor *de l'Hospitall*, a man of profound learning, and those that favoured the Queens intentions, alledged, That in matters of honour and dignity, they were not to count the minutes of time, as is usuall in the \* Reintegration of Pupils ; the Laws having an aim to be gracious in the favour of those in minority, to whom it was a benefit to have the time prolonged, before they be settled in their estates. But in conferring honours, it was matter of advantage and favour to abbreviate the term, and cut off delays ; that the space of a few months

\* Livery made to Wards.



1563 was of no moment for the confirming the judgement and understanding of a man ; and that the Laws prescribe the age of fourteen yeers for a man to remain in his own power. These their reasons they proved with the same testimony of the Imperiall Laws, by which all Christian Potentates are governed, and with the clearest and most famous Expositors of them ; who in the distribution of Honours and Offices, have, by a common rule practised in civill right, ever reckoned the yeer begun, and as they say, *inchoatus*, for the yeer ended and finished. But because the Parliament of Rouën had ever shewed it self more obedient to the Kings commands then all the rest, and in the late restitution of the City the particular Counsellors thereof had received many speciall graces and favours from the Queen ; they resolved to make this Declaration passe in that Parliament, rather then expose themselves to the contradiction of the Counsellors of Paris, who had gotten a custom to take upon them to moderate by their sentences the Royall Decrees. So the King and the Queen, after the reduction of Havre de Grace, returning with great reputation to Rouën ; the 15 day of *September* they went solemnly with all the Court Lords and Officers of the Crown, to the Parliament ; where, in the presence of the Counsellours, the King took upon him with the wonted ceremonies, the free absolute Government of the Kingdome.

In matters of  
favour the yeer  
begun is taken  
for the yeer  
ended.

After much op-  
position *Charls*  
the Ninth is  
declared out of  
minority by  
the Parliament  
of Rouën.

The Parliament of Paris exceedingly resented, that a businesse of such great weight should be decided and determined in any other seat then theirs, which hath the preeminence of all the rest, and is ordinarily held as a general Councell of the whole Nation. But the King being already declared out of his Minority, and by nature of a manly masculine spirit, was much the more offended, that the Parliament of Paris presumed to interpose in matters of Government, which belonged not to them ; and sharply admonished the Counsellors, that they should busie themselves to do justice, to which they were deputed, and not meddle with the affairs of State, which depended wholly upon his will and arbitrement. By which admonitions the Counsellours being somewhat mortified, they accepted and published without farther contest the Declaration of his Majority.

The King having assumed the power of the command in  
name



name and appearance, the Queen (whose counsels were of more authority then ever) turned all her thoughts to quiet and pacifie the Kingdome, which (like the sea when the Storm is newly past) after the conclusion of the Peace remained troubled and unquiet. It was no longer necessary to keep the parties divided, and balance the force of the Factions, since on the one side the Kings Majority had removed all pretences of affecting the Administration of the Government; and already his Authority, partly by such notable Victories, partly by taking the power into his own hands, was so confirmed and established, that the past suspicion ceased of the machination and treachery of the great ones; who, it was doubted, aspired, by casting the Pupils out of the Royall Seat, to transerre the Dominion of the Crown upon themselves: and on the other side, the death of the King of Navar and the Duke of Guise, had so notoriously weakened the Catholick Faction; and the rash proceedings of the Prince and the Admirall had so abated their credit, and diminished their followers, that the power of both parties being suppressed, discords quieted, and civill dissentions removed, the Kingdome might easily reassume that forme in which the preceding Kings had so many ages past enjoyed it. Upon this, the Queen bent all her intentions, (having devised together with the King, and the High-Chancellour *de l' Hospitall*, who by their secret counsels wholly mannaged the affairs) to try all means possible to draw the Prince of Condé from the protection of the Hugonots Faction; to appease the Admirall and *Andelot*; who being full of suspicion, stood as it were retired from frequenting the Court: and having in this manner deprived that party of Heads and Protectors, by little and little, without noise or violence, to eradicate and destroy them; so that at the last, as in former times it hath hapned with many others, it should fall of it self, and be extinguished as it were insensibly. By these arts, dissimulations, warinesse and dexterity, they hoped so to work, that the Kingdom should be settled again in that sincerity of quiet, to which by violent sharp means, by force and the sword it was very difficult and dangerous to seek to reduce it.

For the effecting these ends, it was necessary to have a



1563 peace with England ; to renew the confederacy with the Commonalty of the Swisses ; and to maintain a good intelligence with the Protestant Princes of Germany ; that the Hugonots might be deprived of such support, and stranger Nations of pretences to come into the Kingdom, from whose invasions they had lately freed themselves with such infinite labour, danger, and prejudice both publick and particular. To this purpose an Overture of a Treaty was made with Queen *Elisabeth*, by *Guido Cavalcanti* a Florentine, who was conversant in the affairs, and understood the interests of both Kingdoms. To the Protestant Princes of Germany they sent *Rascalone*, a man formerly employed in that Country by the Duke of Guise, to quiet and gain the Protestants ; with power besides, to treat of divers things that concerned the mutuall interests of both Nations. And to the Republick of the Swisses went *Sebastian de l' Aubespine* Bishop of Limoges, to renew the ancient Capitulations made with the Father and Grandfather of the present King. But with the Prince of Condé they used all subtile arts to convert him sincerely to his obedience. For the King and the Queen receiving him with great shews of confidence, and respecting him as first Prince of the Bloud, presently conferred upon him the Government of Picardie, the taking away of which was the first spark that kindled in him a desire to attempt alterations in the State, and entertaining him as much as could be at the Court with Playes, Feasts, and all manner of pastimes, sought to make him in love with the ease and pleasures of peace ; and in some measure at least to forget the fiercenesse of his nature. To these practices being added the death of *Eleonor de Roye* his Wife, a woman of an unquiet nature, and that continually spurred him on to new undertakings, the Queen perswaded *Margarite de Lustrac*, widow to the Mareshall *de S. André*, who was left very rich both by her Father and Husband, to offer her self to him in marriage ; believing, that the Prince by this match supplying the necessity of his fortune, and living at ease and in the splendor belonging to the greatness of his Birth, would not easily be induced hereafter to involve himself in new troubles, which had already proved so disastrous and dangerous.

But to separate and withdraw him from the friendship



ship of the *Chastillons*, whose conversation, it was plain, stirred his thoughts to innovations; they indeavoured by the same Court-flatteries to make him beleieve, that the losse of the Battell of Dreux proceeded from the cowardise and treacherie of the Admirall and *Andelot*, who either too carefull of saving themselves, or envying the valour with which he began to conquer, fled a great deal too soon, leaving those alone that fought courageously, and principally him, in the hands of the Enemy; which things being prest home and instilled into him, might distract his mind, and put him in diffidence of his ancient friends and confederates. But he being exceedingly enamoured of *Limeville*, one of the Queens Maids, whom (she not seeming to take notice of it) he enjoyed, having besides the hope of so rich a match that was offered him, these two considerations contributed more to the pacifying of his naturall fiercenesse then all the arts that were used to withdraw him from the adherence of the Admirall and the other Brothers of *Chastillon*; who, not trusting in the Queen, nor believing she could ever have any confidence in them, could by no means be secured; but continually practising to raise new hopes in the Hugonots, stood upon their guard at a distance from the Court.

The common peace and the Queens intentions were not more opposed by the Hugonots, then the Catholick party intent to revenge the death of the Duke of Guise, and impatient to see a toleration of Religion.

*Francis* Duke of Guise, by his Wife *Anne d' Est* Sister to *Alphonso* Duke of Ferrara, left three male children, *Henry* Duke of Guise, a youth of singular hope and exceeding expectation, *Lodowick* destined to the Church and the dignity of Cardinall, and *Charles*, first Marques, then Duke of Mayenne (he who in the late Warrs maintained the Catholick League against *Henry* the Fourth). These sons, who neither for greatnesse of mind nor courage degenerated from their Father, though they were very young, yet being upheld by the fiercenesse of the Duke of Aumale, and the authority of the Cardinall of Lorain, their Uncles, boldly attempted to make themselves the Heads of the Catholick party: and therefore indeavoured to gain credit in the world, and to promote new motives to maintain the ardor of the Faction. For which cause

*Francis* Duke of Guise left his widow *Ann d' Est* sister to the D. of Ferrara with three sons, *Henry* D. of Guise, *Lodowick* that was Cardinall, whom *Hen.* the Third caused to be murdered, and the D. of Mayenne, who was afterwards Head of the Catholick League.



1563 having assembled a great number of their kindred and servants, they went together all clad in mourning to the King, demanding very earnestly, and with great clamour, of the people of Paris (who ran in multitudes to this spectacle) that justice might be done upon those who had so brutishly caused their father to be murdered, whilst in the service of God and the Crown loyally and gloriously bearing arms, he laboured for the good of the Common-wealth. To which demand the King not being able to make other answer, then that in due time and place he would not fail to do exemplary justice upon those that were found guilty of so hainous a crime; the Brothers of *Coligny* became more diffident then before, and were brought as it were into an inevitable necessity again to arm their Faction, that they might be able to withstand the powerfull enmity of the Guises.

The Councell  
of Trent breaks  
up in Novemb.  
1563, in the  
Papacy of Pi-  
us Quartus.

But if all arts were used to raise the Catholick party, the endeavour was yet greater to suppress the Calvinists. For the Cardinall of Loraine, knowing that the interests of his Nephews being united and mingled with the cause of Religion, they would gain greater honour, and render themselves more strong and powerfull; as soon as the Councell of Trent was broken up, which hapned this present yeer in the month of November, he went to Rome, and perswaded the Pope *Pius Quartus* (who was ill satisfied with the Peace concluded in France) that he should presse the King & the Queen-Mother to cause the Counsell to be published and observed in their Kingdom: promising, that his Nephews, with the whole house of Lorain, and the greatest part of the French Nobility, would be ready and united to cause declaration thereof to be made, and sufficient afterwards by force to suppress the followers of the Hugonot Doctrine. The Pope was solicited to the same effect by the Catholick King, and the Duke of Savoy, being entred into a jealousy, that the neernesse and introduction of the Hugonots might indanger their States, seeing the Low Countries belonging to King *Philip* were already infected, and not onely Savoy, but even Piedmont also exceedingly pestered with them; where through the neighbourhood of Geneva, they had sowed the seeds of their Heresie. Wherefore they both desired, that this dangerous fire kindled in so neer a Country, might without further delay, be extinguished. Nor was it a difficult matter to perswade the

Pope



Pope to be earnest in a businesse which more then any thing else concerned the greatnesse of the Apostolique Sea, and the Authority of the Papacy. For which reasons, they resolved to joyn together to send Ambassadors to the King of France, to exhort him that he should cause the Councell to be published and observed; with proffers of Forces and Aid to expell and extirpate Heresie out of his Dominions. This Embassie, (which to give it the more credit, was sent in the names of them all) exceedingly troubled the King, and the Queen-Mother. For though they concurred with the Pope and the other Princes, to irradiate and suppress the Hugonot Faction, which they knew to be the source of all the troubles; yet they judged it not agreeable to their interests, to do it tumultuously, and with such a noise on a suddain; nor to precipitate their deliberations; which being designed with great wisdom, were not yet come to maturity. And they took it wondrous ill, that the Catholick King, and much more the Duke of Savoy, should presume as it were by way of command to interpose in the Government of their State: Besides, that this so pressing sollicitation put them in an evident necessity, either to alienate the Pope from them, and with publike scandall and ignommy of their names to separate themselves from the obedience of the Apostolique Sea; or else to discover the designs, with which proceeding leasurably, they had determined without the hazard of War to attain (by the benefit of time) to the same end: but if they were by this means discovered, whilst they endeavoured with their uttermost skill to conceale them, it was evident, that the knowledge thereof coming to the Hugonots, not only a Civill War would be kindled again in the bowels of the Kingdom, but a way opened for stranger Nations to invade and spoil the best parts of France; as the example of the past War had sufficiently proved. For which reason, there being no other way but by art and dissimulation to render this negotiation of no effect, they received the Ambassadors privately at Fountain-Bleau, (a house remote from the concourse of people) that by the little Ceremony used at their reception, their businesse might be thought of lesse consequence. Afterwards they endeavoured by delaying their Answer and dispatches, to make the Negotiation antiquate it self, and by degrees fall to nothing: And lastly, sought by ambig-

The Pope, the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy send Ambassadors to Charles the ix to sollicite the publication of the Councell.



1563 ous speeches, capable of diverse interpretations, to leave the Ambassadors themselves doubtfull of their intentions: concluding in the end, that they would forthwith send Ministers of their own to the Pope and the other Princes, to acquaint them particularly with their resolutions.

1564 The Ambassadors being thus dispatched away at the end of January in the year 1564 the King and the Queen resolved to visite all the Provinces and principall Cities of the Kingdom; meaning by this progresse, to advance those designs which was the only end they aimed at for the present. For coming to a Parley with the Duke of Savoy in Dolphine, with the Popes Ministers at Avignon, and with the Catholick King, or else with the Queen his wife upon the Confines of Guienna, they might communicate their Counsels to them without the hazard of trusting French-men (who either through dependence or kindred, had all the same interests) to have them revealed to the Hugonots. So that in this manner preserving the Amity of the Pope and the other Catholick Princes, they might by common consent have leisure enough to bring their projected designs to maturity. They thought it also no little help to have the opportunity to treat in person with the Duke of Lorraine, and by his means, with the Protestant Princes; with whom they hoped to make so firme an alliance, that they should not need to fear they would any more shew themselves in the favour of the Hugonots, or interpose in the affairs of their Kingdom. From this journey arose another benefit of great importance; that by visiting the principall Cities, and informing themselves particularly what condition they were in; they might take order to secure them with new Forces, or the change of Magistrates and Governors, so that at another time they might not apprehend their revolt. Besides this, they hoped, that by appeasing the tumults and satisfying the complaints and grievances of the people, the King would greatly augment his authority, and so gain the affections of his Subjects, that by degrees they would turn to their ancient loyalty which by nature and custome they used to pay with such devotion to the persons of their Soveraignes. The voyage was also requisite in regard of Queen *Jeane*. For she, after her husbands death, being wholly abandoned to the worship and belief of the Hugonots, had by publike Edicts, and with open violence



lence, taken away the Images out of the Temples, banished the Priests, possess the Churches, and thrown down the Altars; commanding that all the People subject to the Principality of Bearne should live according to the Rites and Ceremonies of *Calvins* Religion. At the noise of which proceedings, the Catholick King, either watching all occasions to conquer the reliques of the Kingdom of Navar, or else through an apprehension that the infection of Heresie coming so neer might penetrate into his Country of Spain, made great complaints thereof to the Pope; advertising him without further delay to provide against so great an inconvenience. And the Pope moved not only by the advice and exhortations of the King of Spain, but also the open prejudice the interests of the Apostolique Sea received thereby; first, kindly admonished the Queen by the Cardinall of Armagnac, a near kinsman and ancient dependent upon that family, not to introduce such an intolerable innovation; and afterwards, seeing those admonitions profited nothing, sent out a Monitory; whereby he required her, to desist from persecuting the Catholick Religion, and to return within the Term of 6 moneths into the bosome of the Church; or else threatned, when the time was expired, to expose her to the Ecclesiasticall censures, and grant her country to those that could first conquer it.

1564  
The Queen of Navar causeth Churches to be ruined, and expelleth the Priests. Whereupon the Pope sends out a Monitory against her, which is opposed by the King of France.

The King of France openly declared himself against the Monitory; alleadging, that the States of *Jane* being held directly of him, the Pope could not through any fault in her, who was simplie a Feudatarie, make a grant of them; but that they devolved immediately upon him, as the Supream Lord. By which opposition the vehemency and ardor of the Pope being somewhat abated, Queen *Jane* continued so much the more resolute by new Lawes, and the promulgation of new Orders, to banish the Catholick and establish *Calvins* Religion. But the King, not willing that any Act of his should give the Spaniards a colorable pretence to intermeddle with businesses on this side the mountains which separate France from Spain; or whilst he was busied with the insurrections of his Subjects, that such a large passage should be opened to enter into his Kingdom; gave order to the Parliaments of Tholouse and Burdeaux, that they should oppose the attempts of the Queen of Navar; pretending that she could



1564

The Principality of Bearne holds not of the Crown of France.

The King and the Queen make a general visitation of the whole Kingdome.

The Queen treats with the Protestants of Germany.

could neither make new Lawes nor introduce a new Religion in those States without the consent and permission of the King of France, who was the chief Lord. Which though it were true of Nerac, Oleron, and the County of Bigorre; yet it was not so for the Principality of Bearne, that had bin many times brought into controversie; and alwaies declared independent upon any but the King of Navar. But the state of the present affairs, and the apprehension of the future, to prevent the growing disorders, caused these disputes to be revived, which had bin so long buried and decided. Wherefore the King and the Queen thought it very materiall in visiting all parts of the Kingdom to passe likewise upon those Confinnes, to try whether they could alter Queen *Jane* in her opinions; or if they could not effect that, to bring away her Son Prince *Henry*, that being first Prince of the Bloud he might not be brought up in the Doctrine of the Hugonots, whereby to prepare new protection and support for the men of that faction. These be the reasons that moved them to undertake this voyage. But not to discover to those upon whom they had designs, what was the end or secret intention of this visitation; they made shew, and were content every body should think, that the King, only through a youthfull vanity to shew himself in all parts of the Kingdom, and to taste severall delights in severall places, desired to make this progresse; and that the Queen consented thereunto through an ambition to let the world see the magnificence of her Government, and through a desire to visite her Daughter the Queen of Spain. Wherefore with an apparance much different from their inward designs, they made publike and plentifull preparations of sumptuous Liveries, of all manner of things for severall kinds of huntings, for stage playes, and Royall entertainments; with a great train of Courtiers fitted for pompe and delights. Which things when they were ready, not farther to delay the businesse in hand, as soon as the season of the year would permit, they went through Brye and Champagne to the City of Bar; (placed upon the Confinnes of Loraine) whither came to receive them the Duke himself, with the Dutches *Clandia* his wife the Kings Sister and Daughter to the Queen. There, by *Rascalone* and the Ministers of the Duke of Loraine the Queen began to treat of an interview with the Duke of Wirtembergh, the chief of  
the



the Protestant faction in Germany, believing if she could treat in person with him and the other Princes of the same Religion, by her Arts to draw them to such a confederacy with the Crown of France; that they should not need for the future to fear any opposition from them. But the Duke of Wittembergh, through the infirmities of age, refusing to come, they began, (though with lesse hope) by way of Treaty to perswade him and the other Princes to receive pensions from the King, with honourable Title and other large Conditions; conceiving, that in reason they would rather desire to have certain Stipends and assured Conditions from the King, then the uncertain promises and vain offers from the Hugonots. Notwithstanding, the Count Palatine of Rhine, *Wolphangus* Duke of Deux-ponts, and the Duke of Wittembergh, inclining to favour the Hugonots, though more for the common interest of Religion than any other consideration, refused to accept pensions of the Crown of France; and only with good words promised in generall, not to send any Aids to the Faction of the Malecontents, except in case they were molested in their liberty of Conscience. On the contrary, *John William*, one of the Dukes of Saxon, and *Charles* Marquesse of Baden, either through emulation of the other Princes, or else moved with the profit proposed, accepted the Kings Stipends; promising to serve him in his occasions with a certain number of men, and to bear Armes against all his Enemies.

From Bearne the King continuing his visitations came to the City of Lyons, in which the Hugonots had so great a party, that in the last War it was one of the first that rebelled, and the last that returned into obedience. Wherefore considering the importance thereof, the neighbourhood of Geneva, and Germany, with other conditions of the place, it was resolved in the Councell to build a Cittadell between the Rhosne and the Saone (two great Rivers that run through the Town) whereby to bridle the people and secure the City from the treachery of its neighbours. The foundation of which Fortification being laid then in the presence of the King, it was afterwards brought to perfection by the diligence of *Monsieur de Lossé*, newly put into that Government by the discharge of the Count *de Sant*, who had rendered himself suspected by favour-

Lyons the first that rebelled, and the last that returned to obedience.



1564

An Interview  
between the  
King and the  
D. of Savoy.

ring the Hugonot party. From Lyons the King being come to Valence in Dolphiné, he caused the City to be dismantled, and built there a new Fortresse; that Town having ever been a great place of receipt for those that were in rebellion. But being arrived at the Castle of Roussilion, *Filibert Emmanuel* Duke of Savoy came thither post to meet him; with whom having treated of such things as concerned both States, this Prince was sufficiently informed of the Kings intentions, and of the way designed to free himself without noise or danger, from the molestation of the *Calvinists*. So that being fully perswaded and satisfied, he promised such aids as could be sent from those parts.

The King  
meeteth with  
the Popes Mi-  
nisters at A-  
vignon.

From Roussilion the King went to Avignon, immediately under the jurisdiction of the Pope, where *Fabritio Serbelloni* the Governor, and the Bishop of Fermo Vice-Legate, received him with very great solemnity: and *Lodovico Antinori*, one of the Popes trusty ministers a Florentine, being according to the Queens desire come thither, they began to confer about businesses of common interests. There the King & the Queen gave an Answer to the Popes Embassie, which they would not trust to the Embassadors; shewing, that they were ready to extirpate Calvinisme, and to cause the Councell to be observed in their dominions; but to avoid the introductions of the English, with the incursions of the Lutherans of Germany, and to effect their purpose without the danger or tumult of new Wars, in which so many thousands of souls perished, and the Christian countries were miserably destroyed, they had deliberated to proceed warily, with secret Stratagems, to remove the principall Heads and chief supports of that party, to reduce the Prince of Condé and the Brothers of Chastillon to a right understanding, to fortifie such Cities as were suspected, re-establish the Kings Revenues, gather monies, and make many other provisions; which could not be had but by the progresse and benefit of time, that they might be able afterwards to work their ends with more security, without those dangers and prejudices which a too precipitate haste would plunge them into, with little hope of good successe. By the apparence of which reasons the Pope being perswaded, who was by nature averse from cruell Counsels, and the effusion of Christian blood in Civill dissentions, he consented, that the publication of the  
Councell



Counsell should be deferred till such time as they had brought their designs to maturity. 1564.

It was now the beginning of the Year 1565 when the King continuing his voyage through the Province of Languedock, and celebrating the Carnivall with youthfull pastimes, arrived at Bayonne, situated in the Bay of Biscay and upon the Confines of Spain; just in that place where ancient writers describe the *Aquæ Augusti*. The Queen of Spain being come to this place, accompanied with the Duke of Alva and the Count *de Beneventa*, whilst they made shew with triumphs, turnaments, and severall kinds of pastimes to regard only their pleasures and feasting; there was a secret conference held for a mutuall intelligence between the two Crowns. Wherefore their common interest being weighed, and considered, they agreed in this, That it was expedient for one King to assist and aid the other in quieting their States and purging them from the diversity of Religions. But they were not of the same opinion concerning the way that was to be taken with more expedition and security to arrive at this end. For the Duke of Alva, a man of a violent resolute nature, said, That to destroy those innovations in Religion, and insurrections in the Common-wealth, it was necessary to cut off the heads of those Poppies, to fish for the great fish, and not care to take Frogs (by these conceptions he expressed himself:) for the winds being once allaid, the billowes of the common people would be easily quieted and calmed of themselves. He added, That a Prince could not do a thing more unworthy or prejudiciall to himself, then to permit a liberty of conscience to the people; bringing as many varieties of Religion into a State as there are capritious fancies in the restless minds of men; and opening a door to let in discord and confusion, mortall accidents for the ruine of a State: and shewed by many memorable examples, that diversity of Religion never failed to put subjects in Armes, to raise grievous treacheries and sad rebellions against superiors. Whence he concluded at the last, That as the controversies of Religion had alwaies served as an Argument and pretence for the insurrections of Male-content; so it was necessary at the first dash to remove this cover, & afterwards by severe remedies, no matter whither by sword or fire, to cut away the roots of that evil; which by mildnes &

*Charles the ix. and the Queen Mother come to an interview with the Queen of Spain at Baionne.*



1565

sufferance perniciously springing up, still spread it self and increased.

On the other side, the Queen fitting her deliberations to the customes and disposition of the French, desired to avoid as much as was possible the imbruing of her hands in the bloud of the Princes of the Royall Family, or the great Lords of the Kingdom; and reserving this for the last resolution, would first try all manner of means to reduce into obedience and the bosome of the Church, the Heads of the Hugonots; who being withdrawn from that party, they should likewise take away, though not by the same means, the fuell that nourished the fire of Civill dissentions. She said, that she well knew the inconveniences that were derived from a liberty of conscience; And that it would have been indeed expedient, to have provided against it by severity at the beginning, when it was newly planted; but not now, that it had taken root, and was grown up: that the motives of Religion are so universall and efficacious, that where they once take footing, it is requisite to tolerate many things, which without that necessity would not be endured; and to make a long various navigation to that Port, where they could not arrive by steering a direct course: shewing withall, that in the Government, they were to do what they could, not all that they would; and in matters of conscience, it was requisite to proceed with great dexterity: for they are fires that flame out with too much violence. Wherefore it was necessary to slacken them by degrees, and secretly to suffocate them, before by breaking out they filled all places with desolation and ruine: and by so fresh an example as the late War, demonstrated unto them, how near the Kingdom of France was to be dismembred and ruined, not only by the English, but also by the Germans. In which regard she thought it most requisite, as much as was possible to avoid the necessity of a War. The opinions were thus diverse by reason of the diversity of circumstances, the variety of customes, difference of interests; and above all, the different quality of the natures of men rendred the matter diverse, and administred different counsels: notwithstanding they disagreed not in the end. For both parties aimed at the destruction of the Hugonots, and the establishment of obedience. Wherefore at last they made this Conclusion;

that



that the one King should aid the other either covertly or openly, as was thought most conducing to the execution of so weighty and so difficult an enterprize: but that both of them should be free to work by such means and counsels as appeared to them most proper and seasonable; praying to God, that severity and clemency (ways so different) might nevertheless succeed to the same end.

The interview at Bayon being ended in this manner, and Queen *Elisabeth* departed to return into Spain, the King, following his voyage, went towards the Territories of the Queen of Navar; whom not being able to perswade to return to the Rites of the Catholick Church; yet he required, that in all places where Masse had been forbidden, it should be restored; and that the priests should be re-established in their possessions. He obtained of her further, that She with her children should follow the Court; which seemed no hard condition: not that she was affectionate to the Kings person, or approved the manner of the present Government; but there being at that time a matrimoniall processe depending before his Majestie, between the Duke of Nemours and *Frances de Rhoan* her Neece (whom, being of the same Religion, she exceedingly loved) it seemed necessary for her to be present at the discussion of a businesse in which she was so much concerned. Being therefore resolved to follow the Court; the King, the more to invite her to stay there, made great shew of kindnesse both to her children and herself: but his having seen with his own eyes through all the Provinces of Aquitan the Churches destroyed, the Altars profaned, Images thrown down, Monasteries burnt and destroyed, and even the bones of the dead raked out of their graves and thrown up and down the fields; made him inwardly conceive such an hate against her, and against all the Hugonots; that he ceased not afterwards to persecute them most severely, untill the rage which was kindled in his brest against them were fully satisfied. But the generall visitation of the Provinces being ended, and desiring to remedy the disorders which they had discovered in divers parts by the complaints of the people; he caused an Assembly of the most eminent persons of the eight Parliaments of the Kingdom to be summoned for the yeer following to meet at Moulins, in the Province of Bourbonnois, there to give such orders as should seem most

The King not being able to perswade the Q. of Navar to change Religion, moves her to restore the Masse and Priests to their former liberty.



1565 most proportionable to the present affairs. His Majestie designed in so noble a presence of his chief subjects to reconcile the Houses of *Guise* and *Chastillon*, which were so bitterly incensed against each other; their private enmity drawing along with it by consequence, the division of the people, and dissention in the Kingdom. He thought by this occasion to get the Prince of Condé and the Admirall to come to Court, to work by some fit means to separate them from the commerce and protection of the Hugonots, to take them off by a present certainty from future machinations, to make every one taste the benefits of peace, with the advantage of publick and private repose; and by this way to deprive that party of their Authority and Conduct, that they might be able afterwards more easily to restrain and suppress them.

But all these attempts were in vain. For the Admirall, who had laid down his arms unwillingly; and *Andelot*, who only to free himself from the Siege at Orleans, consented to a peace; were more intent then ever to contrive new matters; and neither trusted the Kings demonstrations, nor the Queens dissembling; nor beleev'd they could ever be sincerely reconciled with the Guises. And the Prince of Condé, alwaies voluble, and of vast thoughts, satiated with the delights and pleasures of the Court, despising the marriage with the widow of S. *André* as unequall to him in birth, had taken to wife *Mary* sister to the Duke *de Longeville*, and was more then ever united with the Lords of *Chastillon*. So that what the Queen built up with her art, the disposition of the Prince, and the subtilty of the *Chastillons* threw down. There was no lesse disorder threatned from the dissention that arose in the Constables Family; which being kindled before, brake forth now with greater violence. For *Francis* Marshall of Momorancy (his eldest son) drawn by neer nesse of kindred, and a certain ill understood ambition, which inclined him (though with a minde and understanding much inferiour) to imitate the Admirall; more then ever openly declared himself for the Lords of *Chastillon*; professing for their sakes a passionate enmity to the Guises. And on the contrary, *Henry d' Anville*, in respect of his wife (who was Neece to Madam *Valentine*) allied to the Duke of Aumale, and pult up by being newly created Marshall in the place of *Brissac* lately deceased; through emulation also of his Brother



ther, cleerly depended upon the Catholick party, and the friendship of the Princes of Lorain. By reason of which discord, they not onely divided the followers of their Family, but also held the judgement and counsell of their father in great suspence; seeing they manifestly prepared, the one to side with the Hugonot party, and the other to foment the resolutions of the Catholicks; by their private contentions augmenting the publick distractions.

It hapned at the same time the more to incite the animosity of the parties, that the Cardinall of Lorain returning from Rome, and offering to enter Paris with a certain guard of armed men, as he had power to do by a *Brevet* (so they call it) from the King, sealed by the High Chancellor, and subscribed by the Queen; the Marshall of Momorancy, after the death of Brissac made Governor of that City, first injuriously forbad his entry, and afterwards in a tumultuous manner put him out of the Town; pretending he knew not that the Cardinall had a Licence from the King and the Councell. In which tumult the Admirall, who was neer, seeking an occasion of new stirs, and burning with a desire to appear the Arbitrator, and as it were the Oracle of France, ran thither, accompanied with a great train, and appearing in the Parliament, a thing not usually done, except in great necessity, but by the King himself, or by his authority; gravely advertised the Counsellors, promising his care to pacifie the uproars of the people, and to free them from so imminent a danger. Which kind of proceeding exceedingly offended the King and the Queen; it appearing to them, that those people presumed too evidently to counterpoise the Royall Authority. But the end at which they aimed made them artificially dissemble their displeasure. With these seeds of discord ended the year 1565.

At the beginning of the year following, the King and Queen being really intent, though inwardly exasperated, to put an end to the troubles of the Kingdom rather by the arts of Peace, then the violence of War, went to Moulins; where those that were summoned met from all parts at the Assembly; in which the complaints of the people being proposed and considered, and the abuses introduced; according to the advice of the High Chancellor, there was a long punctuall decree formed, in which was prescribed a form of Government,

The Assembly  
at Moulins, &  
the Decree  
made there.



1566 vernment, and a manner of proceeding for the Magistrates, taking away those corruptions and disorders that use to give the subject just cause of complaint. At the same time the King, insisting upon the pacification of his subjects for the generall peace of the Kingdom, a reconciliation was intended between the Houses of *Guise* and *Chastillon*; at which appeared on the one side the Marechal of Momorancy with the Chastillons; on the other, the Cardinals of Lorain and Guise: but with such backwardness in both parties, that there was little hope of sincere intentions, where there appeared so much disorder, and such an adherence to private interests. For on the one part, the Duke of Aumale, Brother to the Cardinals, had absolutely refused to be present thereat; and *Henry* Duke of Guise, yet in age of minority, came thither, only not to displease his Tutors; but carried himself in such a grave, reserved manner, that it clearly appeared, though his Governors brought him against his will, when he was once come of age, he would not forget the death of his father, nor observe this peace, to which he could not, being then so young, remain any way obliged. But on the other part also the Marehall of Momorancy, not induring so far to humble himself, denied to speak certain words appointed by the Queen and the Councill for the satisfaction of the Cardinall of Lorain; nor would ever have been brought to it, if he had not been forced by his Father; who if he refused, threatned to disinherit him: and the Chastillons opposing by their Actions this seeming Agreement, ceased not to calumniate and make sinister interpretations of the proceedings of the Guises. At the last they were brought together in the presence of the King, where they embraced and discoursed, but with a generall belief, even of the King himself, that the reconciliation could not long endure; which within a few dayes proved so indeed. For the Duke of Aumale arriving at the Court, denied expressly to meet with, or use any act of salutation or civility to the Admirall, or the rest of his Family. On the contrary, in the Queens presence he said, that the Admirall laying to his charge that he had hired one to kill him, he should think it a great happiness to be shut up with him in a chamber, that he might hand to hand let him know, he had no need of help; but that he was able to determine his own quarrels himself. And because the Queen  
being

An interview  
between the  
Princes of  
Guise and the  
Chastillons;  
but no reconciliation.



1566.

being moved therewith, answered, That they might meet in the field; the Duke replied again, that he came thither with fifty Gentlemen, but would return only with twenty; and if he met the Admirall, he might perhaps make him heare more: and in this fury hee would have left the Court, if the King had not laid an expresse command upon him to stay. After which new exasperations, *Andelot* seeking all occasions of new scandals, publickly charged the Duke of Aumale in the Councell, that he had set one Captain *Attin* to murder him: to which the Duke replied with great shew of resentment, It was necessary to lay hold of *Attin*; who not being found culpable in any thing, was at last released. Both parties ceased not mutually to persecute each other both in words and deeds, each of them accusing their adversaries, that they went about to raise men, and had an intent to disturb the quiet of the Kingdom. Which (though diligently inquired into) proving but vain surmises, at length it was thought the best way to continue the peace, that the Lords of both parties should absent themselves from the Court, where daily new occasions arising of contestation between them, the things already quieted were disturbed and subverted. To this end, and to give example to the rest, the Constable with the Mareshall *d'Anville* his son, taking publick leave of the King and the Queen, went to their Castles in the Isle of France. So the great Lords following the same resolution, within a few dayes after they all departed; and particularly the Prince and the Admirall, went severally to their own houses; and the Duke of Aumale being left Heire to Madam *Valentine* his Mother-in-law, who died about that time, retired himself to Anet, a place of pleasure which shee had built. There remained at the Court only the Cardinall of Lorain, whom the King imployed in all busineses of importance; and the Mareshall of Momorancy, whose government of Paris the Queen meant by some slight or other to take away; that so powerful a people might not be under the command of a person that was inclined to innovations; and that the chief support of the Kings Authority for the present might be put into such hands as depended absolutely upon himself.



1566

At this same time happened the distastes and departure of the Queen of Navar from Court. For sentence being given by the King against *Frances de Rohan*, by which the contract of marriage betweene Her and the Duke of Nemours, though subscribed by their owne hands, was made voide; and he having concluded to marry *Anne d'Este*, widow to the late Duke of Guise; Queen *Jane*, after infinite, but vaine-attempts in favour of her Neece; at the last, (just as they were Marrying in the Kings presence) caused one whom she had hired with promise of Reward to interpose, and make a Protestation in the name of *Frances*: but he being taken and imprisoned, without interruption of the Marriage, and finding her designs took no effect; equally offended withall, thinking herself injured and despised, she resolved to leave the Court, and retire into Bearn: designing in her mind, to raise new and more dangerous troubles. She took for occasion and pretence of her departure, That she could not be suffered a free exercise of her Religion. For the King being advertised by the Popes Nuncio, and divers others, of the great resort of persons of all sorts to her lodging, to hear Hugonot Sermons; and knowing the Parisians were greatly scandalized thereat; he one day sent his Provost *de l'Hostell* (as they call him) to seaze upon her Minister: and though he were not taken (for the Provost gave him secret notice, that he might be gone) yet Queen *Jane* esteeming it as an huge affront, and having made many complaints thereof to the Queen, pretended that this was the cause of her departure. But the Court was full of joy and feasting for the Marriage of the Duke of Nemours and Madam *de Guise*; besides, many other Weddings that were celebrated, made the Carnivall appear indeed a time of pomp and pleasure; that custome of the Nation giving a testimony to those who govern, That to lead a merry pleasant life, is a way in some measure to mitigate the fiercenesse of mens minds, by reason of such great dissentions then amongst them not a little intaged.

Provost *de l'Hostell* (called now *adaves* *le grand Provost de l'Hostell*) is the ordinary Judge of the Kings Household; his power extends to all unprivileged places within six leagues of the Court.

The Feasts were continued with great solemnity for the marriage of Prince *Lodovico Gonzaga*, before contracted, and now consummate. This second son of *Frederick* Duke  
of



of Mantua coming, when hee was but a youth, to the Court of France; by the advantage of his birth and noblenesse of presence, but much more for quicknesse of his wit and Courtly behaviour, got a great reputation: which continually increasing, by giving upon all occasions large testimonies of his valour, there was not any that surpassed him either in the Kings favour, or generall esteem of the Court.

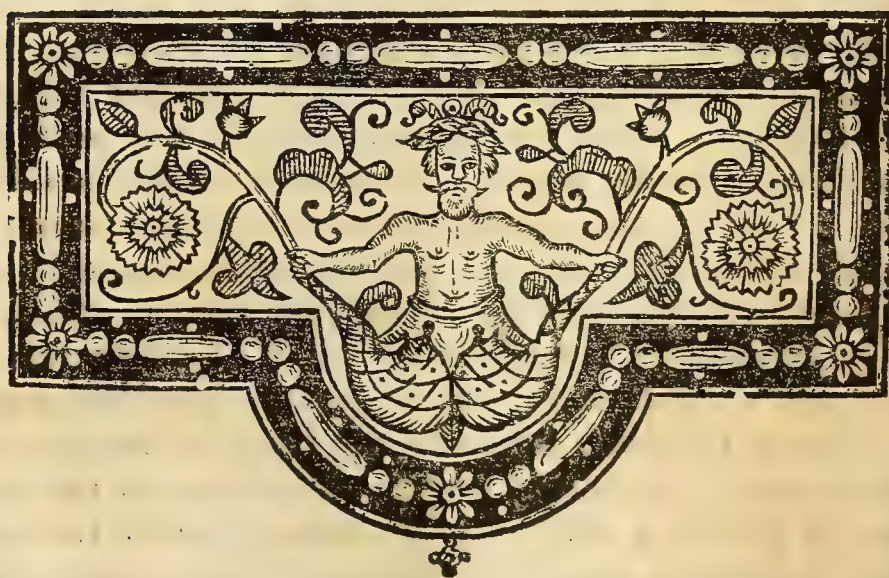
It hapned, that as the young Cavaliers of France used to court some Ladie whom they pretend to marry, this Prince, full of modesty and prudence, passing by those which flourished in beauty or wealth, and were therefore sought after by many, made his addresses to *Henriette de Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of Nevers, a Lady of great discretion and wise behaviour; but neither for beauty nor portion equall to many others in the Court. But the Prince liking her, and shee esteeming his affection; after her Brother was killed in the Battell of Dreux, and she, as eldest daughter remained Heire to the State; with a rare example of gratitude, declared freely, that shee would not chuse an Husband amongst any of those that newly pretended; but what-ever came of it, would marry the Prince *Gonzaga*. For shee had sufficient testimony, that hee, being her servant when she was poor and forsaken, loved her person; whereas all the rest could not deny, but that they sought her at the present, onely in regard of her fortune. So this greatnesse of mind being approved of both by the King and the Queen, the Marriage followed without delay, and at this time was solemnized: After which was celebrated the Wedding of the Prince *Dolphine*, Sonne to the Duke of Monpensier, who married the onely Daughter and Heire of the *Marques de Meziere*; which was an unequall match for Birth, but she brought him forty thousand Francks yeerly Revenue; and having been before promised to the Duke of Mayenne, second Son to the late Duke of Guise, those of the Hugonot Faction hoped that this Alliance would breed discord between the Houses of Monpensier and Lorraine. But the Cardinall and the Duke of Aumale, with the rest, who knew how much it concerned them not to

1566.  
Lodovico Gonzaga Son to Frederick D. of Mantua married Henrietta de Cleve sister to the late D. of Nevers who was killed in the Battell of Dreux. This was Father to Charles Duke of Nevers, now Duke of Mantua.



1566 break friendship with a Prince of the Bloud, and for estate the most considerable amongst them, wisely dissembled this injury; seeing it was impossible to hinder the match already concluded. After these principall ones, many other lesser Weddings following, the Court seemed in appearance altogether turned to pomp and delights; but nourished inwardly the pestiferous seeds of long discords and bloody Warres.

*The end of the third Book.*







THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Fourth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**He Fourth Book relates the occasion of the Second Civill War: the suddain rising of the Hugonots to take the King and Queen-Mother prisoners, who were at Monceaux a place of pleasure in Brye: their fright, flight, and retreat; first to Meaux, and afterwards to Paris: the deliberation of the Hugonots to besiege that City, and famish it; to this purpose they take the Towns about it, burn the Mills, go close under the Gates, and possesse themselves of the Bridge at Charenton: the Queen promotes a Treaty of agreement, which is drawn out in length by many parlies; but takes no effect: Foot and Horse come to the King from all parts; so that having gotten a great Army, the Constable issueth out of the City to make the Enemy retire: the Battell of S. Denis followeth, in which the Hugonots are routed, and the Constable is killed: they take the way of Champagne to meet with Aides sent them out of Germany; and in the place of the other, the King maketh Henry Duke of Anjou, his Brother, Generall of the Army: Supplies arrive out of Flanders,



1566

*Flanders, sent by the Catholick King, and from Piedmont, and divers other places: the Duke of Anjou pursueth the Hugonots to fight with them before they joyn with the Germans; he overtaketh them neer Chalons, but through the discords and impediments put in by his Counsellors, the Battell is hindered: The Hugonots passe the Meuse, and joyn with Prince Casimir, and the other German Supplies. They return with new courage and force into Champagne: The Queen-Mother goeth to the Army to remedy the disorders; where it is resolved, not to fight with the Hugonots who were grown so powerfull, but to draw out the War in length: wherefore the Armies go on, both the same way: this counsell troubleth the Prince of Condé and the Admirall, unable through want of Money to keep the Army long together: They resolve to besiege Chartres, whereby to provoke the Catholikes to Battell: The danger of Chartres, bringeth on a new Treaty of Peace, which at last is concluded: the Armies are disbanded; but the Hugonots restore not all the places that they held; and the King dismisseth neither the Swis-ses nor the Italians; whereupon new differences arise; the King seeing the Conditions ill performed upon which he promised a Pardon, giveth order to apprehend the Prince of Condé and the Admirall, who with a good guard were retired to Noyon in Burgundy, upon advice given, they fly and save themselves at Rochel; raise an Armie, make themselves Masters of Xaintonge, Poictou, and Tourain: the King sendeth the Duke of Anjou with all the Armie against them: the Armies draw neer each other at Jaseneuil, but fight not: they march towards Loudun, but the contrariety of the season hinders their fighting: both Armies, overcome with cold, retire; and being infected with sicknesse, suffer a great mortality: they return into the field in March: The Hugonots passe the river Charente; break the Bridges, and stop the passages: the Duke of Anjou finds a stratagem to passe the river; the Battell of Jarnac follows; in which the Prince of Condé is slain, and the Hugonots are defeated. The Admirall causeth the Prince of Navar and the Prince of Condé, son to him that was killed, to be declared Heads of the Faction; and by reason they were young, the direction of the War remaineth in him; hee divideth all his forces to defend the Cities belonging to his party. The Duke of Anjou pursueth the victory, and layeth siege to Cognac; but finding it strongly defended, raiseth the Camp, and  
takes*

takes divers other Townes. A new Army of Germans cometh into France in favour of the Hugonots, under the command of the Duke of Deux-ponts; he marcheth towards the Loire; taketh la Charité, and there passeth the River. The Duke of Deux-ponts, Generall of the Germans, dieth of a Feaver; and Count Mansfield succeeds him in his command. The Prince and the Admirall go to meet the Germans: the Duke of Anjou, that he may not be incompassed by them, retires into Limosin: the Hugonot Forces joyn; follow the Kings Army; skirmish hotly at Rochabeille: through the barrenesse of the country the Hugonots are forced to retire. The Queen-Mother cometh to the Camp: it is resolved to separate the Kings Army, to let the Enemies Forces consume with time: the Army disbands, and the Duke of Anjou retires to Loches in Touraine.



Hill these things were in agitation at the Court, all other parts of the Kingdom groaned under severall afflictions, and frequent insurrections. For the Hugonots arrogating to themselves a much greater liberty then was granted them by the Edict of Pacification, endeavoured in many places

without any regard of the Magistrates, by tumults and violence to extend it to the uttermost: and on the other side the Catholikes desiring to have that power which was permitted them restrained, sought by often complaints, and sometimes by force of Armes to molest them: whereby in the midst of peace, the War was in a manner kindled again in all parts.

These distractions in the Provinces, not only troubled the Parliaments, which were wholly imployed how to remedy the disorders that proceeded from matters of Religion, but also the Kings Council, together with the whole Court, where all the weight of the businesse falling at last, there arise many obstinate disputes between the Protectors, and Favourers of both Factions, the Mareshall of Momorancy, and the Admirals adherents labouring to obtain an enlargement, or at least a confirmation of the liberty granted to the Hugonots, and the



1566

the Cardinall of Bourbon, but much more the Cardinall of Loraine pressing that the Catholicks might be satisfied in their desires, and the liberty of the other suppressed. Wherefore the contestations so encreased when any thing of this subject came to be handled, and the minds of men were so sway'd by passion, that it was thought necessary to appoint the Duke of Anjou the Kings second Brother, though yet a Youth, President of the Councell, and to make an order that no business concerning Religion should be debated, if the King or the Queen were not present: nor was this sufficient, for the persons engaged on both sides accustomed now to a liberty of speech as well as of action, all reverence due to the Royall Majesty being laid aside, appear'd exceeding violent in their disputes, shewing clearly that they were more inclined to the interests of the Factions, then either to the publick peace, or preservation of the Commonwealth.

Notwithstanding the Queen still remained constant to her own rules, and the King persisted in the resolution already taken to dissemble with all possible patience and sufferance, the insolencies that were committed, and to endeavour that policy rather than force might at length put an end to these evils. And therefore by plausible declarations sometimes in favour of one party, and sometimes of the other, they sought so to appease both, that things might not come to a manifest rupture, but that by prolongation of time, those wounds might be heal'd which were yet open and fresh bleeding: for this reason the King bestowed many favours upon the Admirall; and his dependants and followers got more then the Courtiers themselves, for this cause the Prince of Condé was suffered to enjoy such an absolute power in his Government of Picardy, that shewing a dislike to have the Marshalls of France in their ordinary visitations of the Frontiers to visit that Province, the King gave the Marshall *d'Anville* particular order not to go thither: and in this consideration, the complaints brought in continually against the Hugonots were passed over, as also the resentments of the Catholicks put up with silence, that so these discords might be buried in oblivion, and the troubles cease of themselves.

At the same time the Constable, who through age, and indisposition of body desired to retire himself, made suit to the

the

the King, that he might surrender his office to his Sonne Memorancy, which the Queen by reason of his humor and inclinations absolutely disliking, the King was perswaded by her to return Answer, That having already designed whensoever the Constable left off, or could no longer exercise his charge, to make the Duke of Anjou his Brother Lieutenant Generall, it was not at all necessary to think of any body to supply that place; neverthelesse not wholly to distaste the Constable, nor by this refusall absolutely to lose his Sonne, they were content to admit Memorancy into the Councell of the Affairs, a thing which he had sought after before, but could never compasse; and besides gave him 30000 Francks to pay his debts, though it were in a time when Money was exceeding scarce. And though the Constable very much troubled to receive a repulse, was not altogether satisfied with these other demonstrations, yet at last he gave over his suit: but such was the inconsideratenesse of the Prince of Condé, being governed rather by violence then reason, that as soon as he heard mention of surrendering the Constables Office, he openly pretended to it for himself, without any consideration of the Memorancies his Allies; which not only rendered the Kings deniall excusable, who being sollicitated by two such powerfull pretenders, made choice of his Brother as a mean between both, but also made an absolute breach between him and the Constable, and in some measure took off Memorancy, who was before so much inclined to favour his proceedings.

To this good successe the Queen indeavour'd to adde the reconciliation of the Cardinall of Chastillon, who being oppenly a Hugonot, and the Pope solliciting by the Bishop of Ceneda his Nuncio in the Court of France, that he might be commanded to lay by his Cardinals Hat, and quit the Ecclesiasticall preferments that he held, the Queen with diverse excules alwaies putting off that businesse, by offering the Cardinall a liberall recompence in temporall revenues, and preferments, sought by fair means to effect that which could not be done by force. But these delays (which as the instances were greater from Rome) still increased, together with the favour that was showne at Court to the Bishops of Uzez and Valence, whom the Pope as Hereticks



1566

*Pius Quintus*  
who succeeded  
*Pius Quartus*  
requires that  
the Cardinals  
of Chastillon  
be deprived of  
his Cardinall  
habit, and Ec-  
clesiastical pre-  
ferments, be-  
cause he fol-  
loweth the be-  
leif of *Calvin*,  
which being  
delayed, for  
that, and other  
things, he is  
displeased  
with the  
Queen.

had degraded from their Bishopricks, and many other such like things made *PIUS QUINTUS* newly succeeded to *PIUS QUARTUS* in the Apostolique Sea, conceive a very hard opinion of the Queen, which was yet more increased by a rumor spread abroad by her ill-willers, that she had sent a Gentleman expressly to Constantinople to perswade the great Turk to send an Army against the Christians, that so being busied in their own preservation, they might not persist to think of, or interpose in the affairs of the Kingdom of France, which opinion, though it were not grounded upon any reason, yet it being generally beleived for a truth, that there was a Gentleman sent to Porta, the Pope, little satisfied in other matters, was not alone moved therewith, but also the Republique of Venice, the Senate there thinking it not only a thing pernicious to all Christian Princes, but very contrary to what they expected from the Queen in gratitude, whom they had so readily assisted in her greatest extremities with their Counsell, and much more with supplies. Insomuch that the Nuncio made many complaints of it at the Court, and the Venecian Ambassador by order from the Senate demanded, and had an Audience to the same purpose both of the King and Queen, at which he modestly desired repayment of the 100000 Duckets, which in curtesie were lent by the State for the service of the Crown, alleadging this reason, That the Turk (as report went) coming so neer them, they were necessitated to make use of what they had, and to Arme themselves for their owne security.

The Queen being troubled at these rumors, and the ill opinion that was conceived of her, and desiring above all things to preserve the freindship of the Princes in confederacy with France, but especially the Pope and State of Venice, because upon them she had grounded many hopes, thought it necessary to send the Chevalier *de Seurre* expressly to Rome to clear her of those jealousies, which businesse he knew so well how to manage, laying before the Pope all those reasons that *Ludovica Antenori* had represented to his predecessor, that his Holinesse though he were of a difficult scrupulous nature, remained fully content and satisfied. She omitted not to performe the like Ceremony with the VENETIAN State,



State, the amity and wisdom of which she alwaies made great account of; having for that purpose dispatched away one of her Gentlemen; who with the Leiger Ambassador at Venice was to negotiate that businesse, but he falling sick upon the way, and dying afterwards at Milan, the Ambassador took the whole care of it upon himself; and at an Audience he had of the Prince in the presence of the Seigniorie which they call the COLLEDGE, He said, That the King his Master had sent a Gentleman on purpose to treat of certain businesse with the Republick; which he was now forced to do alone, for the said Gentleman being arrived at Milan, fell sick there and died; That his Majesty commanded him to say, That the Amity and affection King *Francis* his Grand-Father and King *Henry* his Father alwaies bore to the Republick were very great, but his alone surpassed them all by reason of the great benefits he had received from it, and especially the supplies of Money it sent him in his greatest necessity; that he would not only satisfy the debt, but return the like or a greater curtesie; that his Father by reason of the long War he had, left him many debts, which he might well enough have paid, and gotten before hand with money, if it had not been for the Civill dissentions of his Kingdome; that if they were ceased; yet the expence would not be taken away; for the jealousies that continued would necessitate him still to keep an Army on Foot; that the suspicion of War is worse then War it self; for there is one certain fence against this, but that requireth a vigilance on all sides; that to this was to be added the great scarcity which equally afflicted all parts of his Kingdom, and the tumults in Flanders, which being so neer, obliged him according to the Maximes of State, to make preparations, with great expence, for his own Security: Wherefore he desired to be excused if he did not immediately satisfy the whole debt, that he would presently lay down a third part, and in some time after the rest, and that if the Republick had occasion, he would not only pay what was due, but furnish as much more if it were required; wherefore they might make account of that Money as if they had it in their own Treasury: that the more his MAJESTIE grew in yeares, the more he grew to the knowledge of the love and friendship of the Republick,



1566 and the obligations he had to it, both for his owne particular and his own Kingdom. To this the Duke made answer, That in repayment of the Money the King might take his owne conveniency, for it was lent to serve his occasions.

Then the Ambassadour continuing his discourse, said, That the second thing he had in charge, was concerning a bruit spread abroad that his Majesty had solicited the Great Turk to send his Army against the Christians, which it seemed proceeded from a Letter written by one of Raguze, which was afterwards divulged with additions by the Emperours Ministers, and the Spaniards who were in that City, it being interpreted by them, that the Gentleman the King sent the May before to Constantinople, was to this effect, though the truth were, the occasion of sending that Gentleman, was to sollicite the release of certain Provencall slaves, that the King being desired to call home the Gentleman that was resident there, had granted his request, and established this other in his place, who seemed to like of the imployment; that his Majesty would continue his ancient correspondence with the Turks, just upon the same terms that his Father and Grandfather had done before, without innovating any thing therein, that if he had any businesse to treat with the Turk, or a new capitulation to make with any Prince on Earth, he would never do it without the privity, advice, and consent of the Republick; for he so well knew the amity and affection which that State bare unto him, and the prudence and wisdom thereof to be such, that it would never approve of any thing that should not be beneficiall to France, and all Christendome; that if the Republick would continue as it had done hitherto with the Turk, He would do the same; and if it changed resolution he would follow the like steps, for the King would never separate himself from it but ever go along in all things that concerned their common interest. The Senate was very well content with so ample a Declaration, and desired the Leiger Ambassador to testifie both to the King and Queen their satisfaction therein, by which means all the distastes at Rome and Venice being removed, and the ancient intelligence with both those States confirmed, the whole care was directed to the particular affairs of the Kingdom.

But



But all the pains and industry used to appease the Prince, and to secure the Chastillons was in vain : He knew not how to leave his naturall disposition, nor would these by any means trust to the Arts of the Court, and the Hugonots aiming at such an ample liberty as was granted by the Edict of *January*, could not contain themselves within the limits of the Articles agreed upon at the Pacification : Wherefore following the example of the Catholicks, who by a joint Embassie from the Pope, and the other Princes, solicited the publication of the Councell of Trent ; they procured likewise from the Protestant Princes of Germany to send an Embassie of some eminent persons, who complaining that those of the same Religion with them were very ill treated, should desire the King, that in consideration of those Princes, and for the quiet of the Kingdom, he would permit the Hugonots a full liberty to assemble themselves in all places.

This Embassie sent by the Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Wittembergh, the Duke of Deux-ponts, one of the Dukes of Saxony, the Duke of Pomerania, and the Marques of Baden, many thought it was made at the expence, and with the money of the Hugonots ; for the interests of those Princes were not such, that they should make this Expedition, which was so extraordinary, at this time. However it were, the Ambassadors having first conferred with the Prince, the Admirall, and the rest of that faction, went afterwards to the King, who was returned to Paris, and at their Audience, in a tedious formall narration testified the good will of their Princes, and the intentions they had to continue their ancient friendship with the Crown of France ; after which preamble, they desired first the observance of the Edict of Pacification, and afterwards by little and little expressing themselves more at large, demanded that the Ministers of the reformed Religion, might preach both in Paris, and in all other places of the Kingdom, and that the people might freely in what numbers they pleased go to hear them.

The Protestant Princes of Germany send Ambassadors to the King in favor of the Hugonots, and receive a sharp answer.

The King by nature beyond measure cholerick, and by reason of his long conversation in the War, of a rough behaviour, being now of an age to discern good from ill, was before exceedingly offended, knowing since they came into the Kingdom they had first treated with others besides himself,



1566 self, but afterwards when he heard their demands, he was so out of order, that he could hardly answer them in short, that he would preserve a friendship and affection for those Princes, as long as they did not interpose in the affairs of his Kingdom, as he did not meddle in their States: and after he had recollected himself a little while, said, with manifest shew of disdain, That he had need likewise to sollicite their Princes to suffer the Catholicks to preach and say Masse in their Cities and Towns; and with these words took his last leave of the Ambassadors: Notwithstanding, that they might not remain altogether unsatisfied, and return with this distaste to their Princes, the Queen, to make them some amends for the liberty her Son had used, besides many other honours, gave order they should have great and noble presents.

The Kings anger was wrought to the height by the carriage of the Admirall, who being come to Court in this conjuncture, and fearing to lose his reputation with his party, or else ashamed whilst stranger Princes solicited in the behalf of the Hugonots not to shew himself, the morning after being in the Kings chamber, and seeing there by chance a Declaration published a little before; That at the preachings tolerated in private houses, none should be present but those of the Family, he took occasion to make great complaint thereof; saying, In this manner we are deprived the liberty of admitting a friend who cometh by chance to our houses in a visit, to hear the word of God; whilst on the other side, the Catholicks are permitted to assemble wheresoever they please, without prescribing their number, manner, or any other circumstance of their meetings: at which words, the Constable being present, sharply reprehended his Nephew, and answered, The case is not the same, for the King doth not give a Toleration to the Catholicks; but it is the Religion he himself professeth, which is derived to him by a long succession from his Ancestors: whereas on the contrary, the exercise of the new Religion was simply a grace of his Majestie, for what time, number, or place he was pleased, or should be pleased to grant it them. And the King in choler added, At the first you were content with a little liberty, now you will be equall, within a little while you will be the chief, and drive us out of the Kingdom. The Admirall held

*Charles the IX. sharply answereth the Admirall, and takes a severe resolution against the Hugonots.*



held his peace, but was much troubled in his countenance; and the King in a great chafe went to the Queen-Mothers chamber, where aggravating the businesse, he said in presence of the Chancellour, that the Duke of Alva's opinion was right, that their Heads were too eminent in the State, that no arts could prevail with such subtil Artificers, and therefore it was necessary to use rigour and force: and though the Queen endeavoured to appease him, from that time forward he was so fixed in that belief, that it was not possible to alter or make him of another mind.

Daily some thing or other happened to increase and augment the Kings anger: For the Queen of Navar shewing as much malice as she could, had a little before made a sudden insurrection at Pamiers, a City in the County of Foix, where the Hugonots taking a scandall at a Procession on *Corpus Christi* day, betook themselves to their arms, and falling upon the others that were unarmed, made a great slaughter among the Church-men, and in the same fury burnt and ruined their houses; and by her instigation, with the other principall Heads of that party, strange tumults were raised at Montaban, Cahors, Rhodéz, Perigieux, Valence, and other places in Languedoc and Daulphine; in which, though no great matter happened, no killing of men nor shedding of blood; yet, as it came to their turns, either the Catholicks or the Hugonots were driven out of their Countries, according as the one party or the other was most powerfull in the place, with perpetuall trouble to the King and Queen, who many dayes together were very much in doubt of the revolt of Lyons, where through the great concourse of people that from all parts, but especially from Savoy, fled thither for Religion, the Hugonots were so increased, and raised such commotions, that the City had certainly remained in the power of that party, if *Renato of Birago*, President, who was afterwards Chancellor, and successively Cardinall, had not with great dexterity and courage suppressed those tumults; after which, though the first fury were over, yet the Factions ceased not continually to persecute each other, and in particular, the Hugonots were accused to have wrought a Mine a thousand paces long under the Bulwarks, with an intent, whilst the people were in these distractions, to give fire to it, and surprize the City: and though they excused them-



1566 themselves, by shewing that the cave found under ground was the reliicks of an ancient *aquaduct*; yet the King remained not without jealousies, and sent the President order to reinforce the Garison, and to use all possible diligence to secure the Town; who providing with great care and rigour to hinder the Assemblies of the Hugonots, they were exceedingly offended, and murmured thereat in all parts.

The like suspicion was at the same time had of Avignon, which the Kings of France, through common respects and interests, have ever no lesse then their own, taken into their care and protection. For all those who dissented from the Roman Catholick Faith, being by order from the Pope expelled that Citie, they retired to the adjacent places in Provence and Languedoc, where they practised under hand to surprize it; and so far their designe was advanced, that they had already intelligence to possesse themselves of one of the gates; but the businesse being discovered by the vigilance of the Citizens, the Cardinall of Armagnac, who was Governour there, causing diligent search to be made after the complices, apprehended some of them, and sent *Scipione Vimercato* post to the Court, to render an account thereof to the King, who sent a positive command to the Count of *Tende* Governour of Provence, to Monsieur de Gordes Lieutenant of Dauphiné, and to the Viscount of *Joyeuse* Lieutenant of Lanquedoc, that they should furnish such forces as were necessary for the securing of it; by which means the attempt of the Hugonots at length proved vain; who not being daunted with this ill successe, were still ready to embrace any new occasion, having likewise laid a plot to enter into Narbon: and indeed their practices kept all the Provinces and Fortresses of the Kingdom in perpetuall apprehensions, but especially the King and Queen, who seeing the fire already kindled in so many places, reasonably enough feared the flame thereof would at length burst forth with greater violence, and in some place or other cause a notorious ruine.

The Hugonots were no lesse bold with their pens then their swords; for at the same time a Minister, who was born at Orleans, preached seditiously against the Kings Authority; and had likewise printed a book in which he maintained, That the people of France were no longer obliged to be obedient

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obedient to the King, because he was turned Idolater; and for this reason affirmed, that it was lawfull to kill him; from which impious diabolicall seed afterwards sprang up in other times and in other persons, that pernicious Doctrine, which with such horrible perversion of all humane and divine laws, instructed men, under the pretence of piety and Religion, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their lawfull Kings, by Gods ordinance appointed over them as His Deputies. And perhaps by this Doctrine, which sounded well in their ears, because agreeable to their designs, the Admirall and the rest of his party were perswaded to plot, not only against the Queen-Mother, but even against the person of the King himself; of which (either truly or falsely) he was accused by a Gentleman, who (being imprisoned for another great offence) sought to obtain his pardon by discovering, that he and two other Gentlemen were seduced, and suborned with money by the Admirall to kill the King when they should find a fit opportunity; and though at the first there was not much credit given to what he said, yet being confronted with those whom he named as complices, with unexpected questions he so amazed and silenced them, that the King was put into an exceeding jealousy; yet the proofs not being sufficient for so great a conspiracy, the businesse was passed over with silence, and the Gentleman for his other offences condemned to die.

An Hugonot Minister prints a book, and preacheth that it is lawfull to kill the King.

A prisoner confesseth that he was hired by the Admirall to kill the King.

To this great suspicion was added this other accident, that the Queen-mother going one morning out of her chamber to Masse, there was found at her feet a long letter directed to her self, in which she was threatned, that if she changed not her course, and suffered not those of the reformed Religion to injoy full liberty of conscience, she should be murdered, as the Duke of Guise was formerly, and Maynard, President of the Parliament of Paris; who at the beginning of the tumults about Religion, for having passed a severe Vote against the Hugonots, was killed at noon-day with a shot, it never being known by whom. Wherefore the Queen was admonished to guard her self from the wrath of God, and the desperate resolution of men.

The Queen-Mother is threatned in a letter to be killed.

All these things laid together, and continually multiplying on all sides, exceedingly incensed and exasperated the King,

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who



1566 who as he grew in yeers, conceived still a more inveterate hate against those who obstinately opposed his will; wherefore his nature futing with the Duke of Alva's counsell, and the Hugonots not ceasing continually to offend and provoke him, he was every day in secret consultation with his Mother to find some prompt expedite remedy to extirpate this evill. The Queen remained doubtfull, or rather of a contrary opinion, and much more the Chancellor *de l' Hospitall*, being both of them averse to those dangerous violent proceedings, as altogether disagreeing to the disposition of the French; insomuch that together and apart they earnestly desired and advised the King to be patient, and dissemble his anger; even the Cardinall of Lorain himself, with his Brothers and Nephews, though they were very well pleased to see him so passionate, yet wished he would have kept himself more reserved untill some seasonable fit opportunity had been offered. But there was no end of the complaints of the people; nor of the jealousies and dangers stirred up by the Heads of the Hugonots: all parts abounded with bloudy mournful dissentions; the Prince and the Admirall sometimes leaving the Court, sometimes returning, but ever with some new complaints or pretensions, gave great occasion both of jealousy and offence: and the King being passionate and furious, could no longer indure them; so that at length it was resolved together with policy to imploy force, and to bridle the excessive liberty of the rebellious faction. And the Catholick King sending at the same time the D. of Alva Governor into Flanders, to curb the insolencies of those (who under a pretence of Religion, but truly through the hate they bare to the Spanish Government, had at once withdrawn themselves from their obedience to the Catholick Church and the temporall jurisdiction) the treaty of Bayonne was renewed, and by consent of both Princes an agreement made, that by mutually ayding each other, they should endeavour the suppression of such eminent persons who were the incendiaries to nourish rebellion in their severall dominions.

The D. of Alva went with a great force towards the Low Countries, which in divers places border upon France, so that this occasion served the King and Queen for pretence to arm, who feigning to have great apprehensions of the Spaniards, gave present order to hire a considerable number of Swisses, command-



commanded all the Provinces to have their forces in a readinesse, levied men in Lyonoise, under colour of sending divers companies of French Infantry into the States beyond the mountains, and getting money from several parts, made a bargain with certain Italian Merchants, to furnish 800000 crowns, with a full intent to imploy these preparations to restrain and humble those insolent spirits, who after so many attempts would hardly ever be appeased of themselves, and to put an end to the miserable distractions of the Kingdom.

But the very same reasons that necessitated the King to this resolution, necessitated the Heads of the Hugonots likewise to be vigilant for their own preservation; for having many testimonies of the Kings averlenesse to them, seeing the Pope reconciled with the Queen, who before in shew seemed to favour them, perceiving the Princes of Lorain powerfull at Court, and finding all the policies that were used tended only to their suppression, if at first the restlesnesse of their natures only made them desire to return to arms, they thought it now an unavoidable necessity; and though the passage of the Duke of Alva gave sufficient colour to their proceedings; yet they saw that quite contrary to what was pretended, the King and the Queen-Mother (notwithstanding the High Chancellour opposed it) were resolved not only to furnish victuals and all other commodities for the Spaniards (who in their passage into Flanders were to touch upon their dominions) but also to send provisions into Bresse & Savoy, which wanted them, and could not possibly otherwise have nourished such a multitude of people as were to passe there. Besides this, they had advice that the Count of *Brissac*, Colonel of the French Infantry beyond the Mountains, who entertained five Companies of Foot, every one consisting of 200 men, though he said he was to passe into the Marquisat of Salusses to secure the places in that State, yet he left the greatest part of them at Lyons, and the rest under divers excuses remained in Daulphiné, as places suspected to be at the devotion of the Hugonots: of which to be the more assured, they perswaded *Andelot* as General of the Foot, to desire the charge of those levies, & saw he was refused it. They observed, that no occasion was omitted to restrain the liberty of Religion, and that the injuries the Catholicks did the Hugonots were not so ill interpreted as any the least action of the others. They marked the repulse was given to



1566 *Momorancy* when he pretended to the Constableship, because he inclined to favour them, and that the Marques d' *Elbenf* Generall of the Gallies being dead, his place was presently bestowed upon the Baron *de la Garde*, that Monsieur *de Meru*, *Momorancy's* Brother, might not have time to make suit for it, a man who had ever applied himself to the profession of the Sea, but of the same inclinations with his Brother. They took notice likewise that when the Mareshall *de Bourdillon* died, Monsieur *de Gonnor*, Brother of the Mareshall *de Brissac* deceased, was the very same night chosen in his place, to hinder the pretences of *Andelot* and *Muy*, who had a promise of it before. All these things considered together, they doubted that the King of France holding intelligence with the King of Spain, would at length chastise them for their past insolencies, and force them to live conformable to the Catholick Religion; and though the King sent the Viscount *de Joyeuse* to besiege Pamiers, that had openly revolted, where the Rebels at first sight of the canon abandoned the Town, and fled into the mountains: yet by the advice of his Mother, he still made shew of bearing great respect to the Authority of the Hugonot Lords, excused and palliated the things that were done; and to keep them in their duty untill such time as the Swisses were come, and the other forces gotten together, continued a seeming affection to the Prince of Condé, and the Admirall, withall assuring them, his intention was that they should enjoy a liberty of conscience, and live according to the capitulation, omitting no kind of art that might any way conduce to please or secure them. And the Queen-Mother (upon whose actions the wariest of the Hugonots chiefly cast an eye) to cover with a more profound dissimulation the secret of their Counsels, and to take away the suspicion which some hasty actions, or any the least inconsiderate speech of the Kings might give them, making use of the common report spread abroad, that King *Philip* had resolved to passe himself in person into Flanders; and divulging and making more of it then was yet spoken of, seemed to have exceeding jealousies, and to apprehend that this voyage of his was with some further end then merely to suppress the Gueux, for which the forces of the Duke of Alva were more then sufficient; whereupon she put on such a shew of perplexity, that she made most men indeed believe all those

Gueux, a Sect  
of Hereticks.



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those preparations of men and Money were only for this occasion, which that it might be the more credited, divers of the Lords were sent for to the Court, and making a kind of assembly, whereat many of the Hugonots were present, they entered into a consultation of the means not only how to defend the Frontiers, but also to make an offensive War against the Spaniards, if they found the Catholick King came with any sinister intention; and as it were by the advice of this assembly they resolved to send young *L'Aubespine* the Secretary into Spain, who pretended he went for no other purpose but to dissuade that King from coming, or else by observation to make probable conjectures of the end; and designs of his voyage; but the truth is, he was sent to confirm the former agreement. Withall to be sure that these dissimulations should be well acted on both sides: the Queen dispatched away post Father *Hugo* a Franciscan Frier, who having communicated to the Catholick King the intention of their proceedings, order'd it so, to give the more colour to the jealousies in France, that he should receive *L'Aubespine* without any manner of respect, delaying his Audience, and making no accompt of him, and in all other occurrences shew little confidence or satisfaction either from the King or the Queen-Mother, who on the other side ceased not to complain in publick of the Spaniards, discovering a designe and resolution suddenly to move with their Forces against them; which was so excellently dissembled, that not only the common sort of people who were not concerned in the affairs, but even the Pope himself so far beleived all that was done to be reall, that he very earnestly interceded by his Nuncio to perswade the Queen, that the Catholick King intended nothing at all against the King her Son, and therefore it was not necessary to make such great preparations of Souldiers, who if they were led upon the Confines, might perhaps be an occasion of some mischief, which was not thought on before. The Queen answered the Nuncio with ambiguous artificiall speeches, neither denying nor affirming the War, expressing a mistrust of the Catholick Kings designs, and complaining of him, that he had in no measure answered the confidence she had of his integrity, and the care that was taken, that the insurrections in France might not incourage his Subjects to rebell; but at the same time declared, That the King her Son intended



1566 intended not to violate the League with the Spaniards, nor to resolve upon a War, unlesse he were necessitated and provoked first by them: Which uncertain kind of discourse rather increased the doubts, then any way satisfied concerning the truth.

The Prince of Condé perswades the King to make war with Spain, & offers him a great number of the Hugonots, which more exasperates the King.

The Pope was not alone deceived with these dissimulations, but the Prince of Condé, of a disposition apt enough to receive any new impressions, counselled the King to take this occasion to make War with the Spaniards, offering to bring him a great number of men of the Hugonot Faction, which served only to exasperate the King, who could not be well pleased, that any body should presume to have a greater credit or Authority in his own Kingdom and with the subjects thereof then himself; and though the Queen perpetually desired him to dissemble his passion, and the other Catholick Lords did the same; yet he could not forbear to expresse his displeasure with the Prince, and to reprove him for what he had said, though afterwards he excused himself to the Queen, that he treated him so on purpose to take him off from the hopes of being Constable; for which the Prince at length moving the King himself, the Duke of Anjou, being first thoroughly instructed by his Mother, without expecting the Kings Answer, replied in a disdainfull manner, That his Majesty having promised to make him his Lieutenant Generall, he was not of such a temper, to suffer that any body else should pretend to command the Army but himself; which repulse displeasing the Prince he shortly after left the Court, the same did the Admirall and *Andelot* with much greater reason of discontent; for the Colonels *Brissac* and *Strozzi* having refused to obey the command of *Andelot* Generall of the French Infantry, the Councell through hate of him, determined it, contrary to custom, in their favour.

Neverthelesse the Queen continuing her wonted arts, endeavoured by many demonstrations of kindnesse still to entertain the Hugonot party with hopes, often discoursing of her diffidence in Spain, of the jealousies of the Duke of Alva, of the troubles in Scotland, where there were commotions of great consequence, for which she seemed to take exceeding thought, by reason of the reciprocall intelligence ever held with that Crown, and of the little correspondence with England; for having refused upon the instance of that Queen

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to



to restore Callais, with many more things of the like nature, which all tended to lull the restlesse curiosity of the Hugonots. But it is a hard matter to deceive those who are full of jealousies, and carefull to observe every little accident. The Prince of Condé and the Admirall, who knowing the guilt of their own conscience, put no trust in the flatteries of the Court, calling to mind all the past occurrences, and considering them thoroughly, resolved not to be prevented, but to gain the advantage of being first in Armes. Wherefore, at the beginning of the Summer in the year 1567. six thousand Swisses arriving in the Isle of France under the conduct of Colonel *Fifer*, a man of great esteem amongst his own Nation, the Heads of the Hugonots being come to Valeri shewed their adherents certain secret advertisements which they said they had from a principall person at Court, in which they were advised to stand upon their guard; for the intention of those that governed, was, to seize upon the persons of the Prince and the Admirall, with a resolution to keep the first in perpetuall imprisonment, and presently to put the other to death; then making use of the Swisses and other souldiers, on a suddain to clap Garrisons into those Cities which they thought inclined to the Reformed Religion, and revoking the Act of Pacification to forbid the exercise thereof in all parts of the Kingdom.

At the beginning there were many different opinions amongst them, for divers gave no credit to this advertisement, others were diffident of their own strength, and a great part abhorred the necessity of a War; insomuch that they left Valeri, with a resolution not to proceed any further till they were better assur'd of the truth of their intelligence; but the Swisses being already come into the Isle of France, who at first it was said should stay upon the Confines, and the Cardinall *de S. Croix* from his Bishoprick of Arles arrived at Court, who, the Hugonots suspected, came as Legate from the Pope, to authorize with the Kings consent the observation of the Councell of Trent, the chief leaders of the Faction re-assembled themselves at Chastillon, where the Prince, the Admiral, and *Andelot* perswaded them without further delay to take Armes; which opinion though with some difficulty at length prevailing, they presently entered into a consultation what course they should take in the administration of the War.

The Hugonots jealous of the Kings preparations, resolve upon a War.

Some



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Some thought it best to get possession of as many Towns and places as they could in all parts of the Kingdom, to the end to separate and divide the Kings Forces. Others by the example of the late War thought this advice both unprofitable and dangerous, and perswaded, having made themselves masters of two or three strong places at a reasonable distance one from the other, where the Forces of the Faction might assemble, as soon as was possible to put it to a Battell, seeing without some notable victory they could never hope to bring their businesse to a prosperous end.

But the Admirall who with long premeditation had thoroughly weighed these opinions, placing all his hope in expedition and prevention, proposed a more desperate indeed, but far more expedite way, and advised, that before they were thought of, they should make an attempt on a suddain to seize upon the persons of the King & Queen-Mother, who imagining they had with their arts brought the Hugonots into a stupid security, or else beleiving they could not so soon or so easily bring their forces together, passed their time without any apprehensions for the present at Monceaux a house of the Queens, and at some other places of pleasure in Brye, where they might with much facility be surpris'd and carried away. He made appear to them that by this suddain alteration, they should gain that power, that appearance of reason, and those Forces which in the late War their adversaries had, and through which the victory at length inclined wholly to their side, and concluded, that though the King and the Queen for their security kept the Swisses in the same Province, in a place not far from the Court, yet if they came upon them on a suddain they would not have time to expect their aide; so the King being taken, they might presently set upon the Swisses, who being divided in their quarters would be easily suppressed, and they once defeated, there remained in no part of the Kingdom a body of men together, that could make resistance or hinder the progresse of their Arms. This stratagem wonderfully pleased them all, & without farther dispute they appointed to meet armed with as many horse as they could get the 27 day of *Septemb.* & assigned Rosay a town in the Province of Brye very near Monceaux where the Court remained, for their generall Rendezvous.

Many

Many have reported, and some who in severall occasions were taken in Galcony by Monsieur de *Monluc* and put to their triall, confessed upon the torture, that the chief scope of this enterprize was to murder the King and Queen with all her other Children, that the Crown might come to the Prince of Condé; but so great a cruelty was not generally be-  
lieved of all men.

Now whilst the Hugonots made their preparations in divers places, and whilst their confederates and dependants assembled themselves together, the enterprize was carried with marvelous secrecy; but when they began to move from several parts to the place appointed, the Queen though late, & when it was even ready to be put in execution, had advertisment thereof, who never imagining that the Hugonots could so soon, or with such secrecy unite themselves or make any insurrection, that she should not have notice of it long before, and thinking herself secure through the strength of her Swisses who lay so near, was at this time surprized with danger, when she least dreamt of any molestation, having perhaps too much relied upon those dissimulations and arts which she used to appease the restless minds of the Hugonots, yet not being at all daunted with the greatnesse of the danger, beleiving her preservation depended wholly upon quicknesse, as soon as ever she received the news, she presently with her Son and some few near about them took Horse, and leaving all their carriage and train behind, went in great diligence to Meaux which was the nearest Town, not having time to save themselves in any place that was stronger or better defended. There they sent one Messenger after another for the Swisses who quartered in the same Province but a few Leagues off, and the Marshall de Momorancy was dispatched away to the Hugonots to demand of them in the KINGS Name the cause of their taking Arms.

Momorancy, as is said before, in his heart favour'd the Princes and the Admirals faction; but his natural avernesse to action, the respect he bore his Father, his modesty of mind, and the little satisfaction he received from the Prince of Condé, made him neverthelesse hold with the Catholick party, and therefore he was thought a fit person to serve the Queens design which was to amuse the Hugonots forces till the



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Swiffes were come to Court. And it fell out according to their desire ; for meeting the Prince and the Admirall upon the way, whilst he enformed himself of their reasons for this commotion, whilst he disputed with them the unjustice of the open violence they intended to the Kings person, and whilst they were consulting and debating with contrariety of opinions amongst themselves, what answer they should return the Queen, The Swiffes not loosing any minute of the time, but beginning presently to march with wonderfull speed, as if it had bin to run a race, arrived where the King was, and the Hugonots lost the opportunity of effecting so great a design.

But the Swiffes being already come, and knowing the Hugonots would be there also within a few hours after, the Kings Counsell entered into debate whether it were better to stay in the Town, and abide a Siege, or else endeavour to make a retreat to Paris which was 10 leagues off, and hazard fighting with the Enemy upon the way. The Constable beleiving for certain the Hugonots would set upon them in their march, and thinking it very dangerous having no considerable company of Horse, to fight in such an open champion Country, perswaded all he could, that it was not fit to expose the persons of the King and Queen to such an evident certain hazard.

The Duke of Nemours on the other side, thought it not only dishonorable, but much more dangerous likewise to expect a siege in a little Town, that had no defence but an old broken wall without any provision, or method of War: between which opinions they remained long in suspence, & the Constables advice had at length prevail'd, if Col. *Fifer*, having desired to be admitted to the Kings presence whilst he was in counsel, had not with grave effectual speeches humbly requested his Majesty not to suffer himself to be besieged in such a poor place, by a company of insolent rebellious subjects, but that he would be pleased to comit himself and the Queen his Mother to the fidelity and courage of the Swiffes, who being 6000 strong would with the heads of their Pikes make a way for him through any Army whatsoever of his Enemies; to this speech the Swisse Captains, who staid at the Councell Chamber doore, adding their earnest desires,

fires; the Queen standing up, and with gracious speeches commending their fidelity and vertue, gave order they should refresh themselves those few hours of the night that remained; for in the morning she would freely commit to the protection of their valour, the Majesty and welfare of the Crown of France: At which resolution the aire redounding with the shouts of all those of that Nation, they went to prepare themselves for the next day, and the Lords of the Court were very diligent to put the Archers of the Kings Guard and their own Servants in order.

Presently after midnight, the Swisses with great cheerfullnesse beating up their Drums, went a mile out of the Town to put themselves in order, and the King with the Court taking the shortest way, just at day break was ready upon the place, where the Swisses having received him and the Queen, with the Ambassadors of Forraign Princes, and all the Ladies of the Court into the midst of their Battalion, began to march with such a fiercenesse and bravery that in many years France had not seen so remarkable a spectacle.

They had not marched thus above two miles, (the Duke of Nemours with the Horse of the Kings guard going before, and the Constable with the Gentlemen of the Court following after the Battalion) when they saw some Troops appear of the Hugonots Horse which advanced a good pace to charge them. The Swisses closed their ranks and charging their Pikes shewed such an undanted courage to receive the assault of the Enemy, that the Prince of Condé and the Admiral being come up to the Rear with a party of 600 Horse making caracols and wheeling about the field durst not charge their Battalion, who standing in a very close order, and fiercely shaking their Pikes, shew'd little fear of the fury of their Horse: But the Count *de la Roche-fou-cault* with a Troop of 300 Horse, & *Andelot* with another of 200 being joyned with them, they returned furiously to charge them again in the Rear. At the same instant the Swisses with admirable nimblenes faced about to fight, & the K. with great ardor spurr'd on his horse to the front of the battaile, being followed by the chief Lords of the court, but for the most part without any weapons but their swords, none of them finding in

Colonel Fifer  
with 6000  
Swisses saves  
the King, the  
Queen, & the  
Royall Family  
from a great  
Army of the  
Hugonots, and  
marching in an  
excellent order  
fighting with  
the Enemy,  
conducts them  
safe to Paris.



1567 such haste Arms either defensive or offensive fit for such an occasion. The Hugonots made some shot as if they meant to fall in upon them in good earnest; but seeing the frank resolution of the Swisses, they wheeled off, and caracolled again, and began to keep at a distance. Thus sometimes advancing, sometimes making a stand to receive the charge of the enemy who followed them in the Rear seven Leagues together, they kept on their way with an admirable constancy, till the Hugonot Captains being wearied and seeing they could do no good, partly through the daring courage of the Swisses, partly because their Forces arrived not soon enough at the place appointed, left off pursuing them, and perceiving the night draw on, retired to lodge in the adjacent Villages: which when the Catholick Lords knew, (not to expose themselves the next day to a greater hazard) they resolved, leaving the Constable, and the Duke of Nemours with the Swisses, that the King and Queen should go on towards Paris, which they did with more then an ordinary pace, not without some fear, and very much danger; for if the Enemy had bin advertised thereof and sent but 200 Horse before to lye in their way, they might very easily have taken them. All that were present were exceedingly moved to see the Queen with all her Sons so invironed by their Enemies that in an instant all the Royall Family might have bin lost; and it was great chance it fell out otherwise, nor lesse good fortune that the Swisses had such an addresse; for without them it had bin impossible to escape the hands of the Enemy.

The King being come to Paris was received with great joy of the people even shedding tears through tenderesse, and the Duke of Aumale, who was there before, went with three hundred Horse that he had gotten together to meet the Swisses, who arrived not till after midnight in the Suburbs. The next morning they entered the City with the same order and bravery, being received by the King himself at *S. Martins Gate*, who having highly commended their valour, and made them a donative of a pay, the reward of Conquerours, they were sent back to the SUBURBS where Quarters were provided for them.

The Cardinall of Loraine, of whom the Hugonots had

a principall designe to rid themselves, at the same time the King and Queen marched away, went with a small train out of the great road through by-ways towards his Arch-bishoprick of Rheims in Champagne, and falling unawares into certain Hugonot troops which were gathering together in those parts, leaving his coaches, and losing his baggage, with much difficulty saved himself by flight.

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The Cardinall of Lorraine saves himselfe by flight from the Hugonots.

But the Prince and the Admiral, though they saw the miserable ill successe of their design, which wholly depended upon expedition and prevention, yet they resolved they would besiege Paris, being of opinion that a Citie so replenished with people, and not at all furnished with victuals, would in few dayes be brought to such extremity, that it must be delivered up to them of necessity, for there was not any Army ready that was able to succour or relieve it. To this end they began to possesse themselves of all the passages of the Rivers, by which provisions are conveyed to Paris, fortifying and placing Guards in all the little Towns about the City, which being but weak, and unprovided of any defence, in this sudden commotion were with little delay, and lesse pains reduced into their power; so that being Masters of Montereau, Lagny, S. Denis, the bridge of S. Cloud, Dammartine, and all the places thereabout, the 5 of October they made incursions even to the walls of Paris, and burnt the windmills without the Ramparts, between S. Honore's gate and the port de Temple, with great terror to the Parisians, and extreme offence to the King, who in the heat of passion, could not forbear with threats and rough language to expresse an anger full of revenge. In the mean while, the Queen, upon whose prudence and care the whole welfare of the State depended, employed all her industry to get an Army soon enough together, to raise the enemy from the Siege. To which purpose, besides the generall order given all over the Kingdom, that the Catholicks should take arms, the Colonels Brissac and Strozzi were sent for in all diligence with the old French Infantry, the Sieurs de Sansac, Savigny, Tazanes, and Martignes with the *Gens d'armes*, the Duke of Guise from his Government of Champagne, the grand Prior from that of Auvergne, the Marshall d'Anville with the forces of his Family, and particular orders and letters directed to all the Catholik Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom, to hasten them away,

The Hugonots resolve to besiege Paris, stop the passages whereby provisions are conveyed to the City, make incursions into the Suburbs, and burn the mills.



1567 away, who at the first report of the Kings danger instantly ran together; wherefore, though the occasion were pressing and urgent, yet it was hoped all these aids would arrive before the Citie were reduced to an extreme necessity, which by the help of the Swisses, and readinesse of the Parisians was able to hold out many dayes. But the thing that troubled the Queen, was the great scarcity of money: wherefore having called together the Catholick Princes Ambassadors that were resident at Court, she very effectually recommended to them the present occasions of the State, and desired every one of them to procure some convenient aid from their Masters; nor content with this, dispatched away *Annibal Rucelai* post into Italy to get what considerable Sum he could of the Pope and the great Duke: with *Giovanni Corraro* the Venetian Ambassador, she treated in private with great shew of confidence, to dispose the Senate to lend 100000 ducats: To the Duke of Ferrara she writ very earnestly that he would give her leave to make use of 100000 Francks and more that remained in France to satisfy certain debts; and into Spain sent Monsieur *de Malassise* to the same purpose. But foreseeing the slownesse of their Supplies in respect of the urgency of the present occasions, the King calling together the chief Citizens of Paris, obtained of them 400000 Francks; and it fell out very opportunely, that the Prelats being assembled at the same time in Paris, to consult of the affairs of the Clergy, agreed among themselves to make the King a present of 250000 Crowns towards the present maintenance of the War: besides these provisions which were presently brought in, the King being informed that certain Merchants sent 60000 Reals of Eight into Flanders, and exceedingly offended, that they would not furnish him with any part of it, caused the money to be stopt, which was an exceeding help in so pressing a necessity.

Neverthelesse, the Queen, to protract the time till supplies of men, and other necessary provisions arrived, and to abate the fervour of the Enemy, being constrained to have recourse to her wonted arts, excellently dissembling those so fresh injuries, and the late danger she passed, began to make overture of a Treaty for an Accommodation by Monsieur *de S. Sulpice*, a person in whom she reposed much confidence, and that was not ill thought of by the Hugonots, who

who not shewing themselves altogether averſe from peace, there went to them in a place equally diſtant from both Armies the High Chancellor, the Mareſhall of Momorancy, and *la Vieux-Ville*, Monsieur *de Morvilliers*, and the Biſhop of *Linnoges*; to whom though they propoſed insolent exorbitant conditions, ſuch as Conquerours uſe to impoſe upon the conquered; yet to gain the benefit of time, they artiſtically pun out the Treaty ſtill, giving them hopes of condeſcending to their deſires.

The propoſitions of the Hugonots were theſe; That the Queen-Mother ſhould have nothing to do in the Government; That thoſe who till then had managed the affairs, ſhould render an account to them of their proceedings; That the King ſhould diſband all his Forces; That all ſtrangers ſhould be ſent out of the Kingdom, and particularly the Italians, to whom they attributed the invention of their new impoſitions and \* *gabelles*; That the Ediſt of *January* ſhould be reauthorized, and punctually obſerved with a free exerciſe of the Hugonot Religion in all places, and particularly in Paris: That Metz, Calais, and Havre de Grace ſhould be conſigned to them for their ſecurity; That all taxes ſhould be taken away; That a generall Aſſembly of the States ſhould be called; That juſtice ſhould be done them againſt the Princes of Guife, by whom they ſaid they were perſecuted and calumniated; and other things not unlike theſe; which ſeeming rather ridiculous then matter of hate, chiefly that Article in which they demanded a preſent diſbanding of the Kings Forces, whiſt they had an Army on foot at the gates of Paris, afforded no hopes at all of an Accommodation: yet the Queen ſending every day new perſons to treat, according to her deſigne, drew out the buſineſſe in length, and gained time to free her ſelf from ſo great an exigence. Nor were theſe delayes diſpleaſing to the Hugonots; who thinking it more probable to prevail by a ſiege, then by ſtrength, did what they could to ſtop all the paſſages to the City, hoping rather by famine then force to reduce it into their powers; and in the mean while expected a ſupply of men from their party, which were raiſing with exceeding diligence in all parts of the Kingdom. But theſe aids that were hoped for on both ſides bred grievous and dangerous inſurrections in the Provinces: For in Normandy, Picardy, and Cham-

\* Any kind of impoſition, eſpecially that which is paid unto the King upon ſale of ſalt.



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Champagne (which lie neereſt to Paris, and environ it on all ſides) the Hugonots were aſſembled together in great multitudes, with a reſolution to ſuccour their party, and the Governours did the ſame for the King ; ſo that being kept in play there, they could not go to joyn with the Army before Paris : by which commotions the Villages and Towns were peſtered with ſouldiers, and the wayes ſo broken, that all intercourſe and traffique was hindered and deſtroyed.

The Citie of  
Orleans taken  
again by the  
Hugonots and  
divers others.

At the ſame time the Hugonots poſſeſt themſelves of the City of Orleans and the Fortreſſe, which being ſcarcely finiſhed, and ill guarded, was eaſily reduced into their power. The taking of this place was of very great importance ; for beſides the benefit of having ſo conſiderable a City ſo neer Paris, they found there three Canons and five Culverins, which was very advantagious to the Army, that before had never a piece of Artillery. In Burgundy they took Auxerre and Maſcon, but the laſt not without ſome bloud, for the Catholicks made a valiant reſiſtance. In Daulphiné they got Valence ; Lyons was full of tumults, and the Sieur de Ponſenac taking arms in their favour, brake the wayes, and fomented the commotions within the City. The Count de Montgomery ſurprized Eſtampes, which was of ſo much more conſequence, becauſe neer Paris. In Languedoc, Niſmes and Montpellier were revolted to the Hugonots. Metz, a ſtrong place of very great importance upon the Frontiers of Lorain was upon the point of revolting, Monsieur de Diſans who commanded the Garrifon, having declared himſelf for the Hugonots : whereupon not only the Mareſhall *de la Vieux-Ville* the Governour of that place was conſtrained to leave the Court, but the Duke of Guiſe alſo took a reſolution to march that way. Upon the coaſts of the Ocean they made themſelves Maſters of Diepe ; and in Gaſcony they were ſo ſtrong, that Monsieur *de Montluc* having ſuch an enemy to deal with, could not ſend thoſe aids that were intended to Paris.

Theſe ſtirs that were not without much bloud-ſhed, rapine, and frequent incounters, retarded for ſome dayes both the Kings ſupplies, and the recruting of the Hugonots Army. But the firſt that arrived, were the Kings Forces ; for *Timoleon* Count of Briſſac, and *Philip Strozzi* who commanded the Infantry,

Infantry, though *Andelot* and *Muy* (having left the Camp on purpose, lay in the way to hinder their passage, yet) coasting the country through woods and vineyards, and having carriages to flank them, arrived safe in Paris with four Regiments of Foot; and the Catholik Nobility at the news of the Kings being besieged, came together from all parts in great diligence to the Court.

The King having now no more occasion to dissemble, sent an Herauld to summon the Prince and the rest of his confederates assembled at *S. Denis*, within the space of four and twenty hours to lay down their arms and return to their obedience, or else to pronounce them Rebels and Traitors. At the apparence of the Herauld, who brought the summons in writing, the Prince of Condé in a fury protested, *If he said any thing that toucht upon his honour, he would presently cause him to be hanged*: to which the Herauld, knowing himself backed with the Royall Authority, answered boldly; *I am sent from your Master and mine, nor shall words terrifie me from executing my Commission*; and put the writing in his hand, which being read, the Prince said he would return an answer within three daies; but the Herauld replied with the like boldnesse as before, that he must resolve within four & twenty hours; so that the same Herauld being sent again the next day, carried back an answer in much milder terms then ordinary, the Heads of the Hugonots professing, *They were resolved still to remain his Majesties loyall Subjects, nor to desire any thing but the conservation of their propriety, their Religion, and their lives; and only demanded such conditions as they thought necessary for security of the same, which they would ever acknowledge as testimonies of his Royall favour and goodnesse.*

This kind of proceeding renewed the hopes of an Accommodation; whereupon it was concluded, that the Constable should the next day have a conference with some principall persons of that party; so that going out of the City with about 2000 Horse, when he was in the mid-way toward *S. Denis*, he commanded his Company to stand, and advanced himself, accompanied only by the Marshall *de Cossé*, his son *Momorancy*, and *l' Aubespine* Secretary of State. The same was done by the other side; for the rest staying behind, the Prince, the Admirall, the Cardinall of Chastillon, *Roche-foucault* and *Andelot* came to meet them. The Prince spake very modestly,

Hh

deftly,



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The Constable comes to parley with the Hugonots; the Lye passeth between him and the Cardinall of Chastillon, and no hopes remain of an agreement.

deftly, though he departed not at all from the conditions already proposed; but the Cardinall of Chastillon told the Constable, who perswaded him to rely upon the Kings word, without seeking any further security for their propriety and lives, that they could not trust to the King, and much lesse to him, who had broken his word, and was an occasion of the present calamities, by having counselled his Majestie to violate the Edi&ct of Pacification. Whereupon the Constable gave him the Lye, and so they parted with ill language, no hopes remaining of an agreement. Wherefore the King having called together the Princes, Knights of the Order, Captains of the *Gens d'armes*, and Colonels of Foot, in the presence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Speech full of couragious resolute expressions, in which hee told them, *That there was nothing he desired more then the peace and quiet of his Subjects, which had induced him to grant the Hugonots many things repugnant to his own inclinations, and contrary to his nature; but notwithstanding so many graces and priviledges, some of them abusing his favours, with divers scandalous imputations sought to raise a rebellion in the Kingdom, and were grown so bold in their wickednesse, that they durst conspire against him, the Queen and his Brothers, for which enormous treason he might justly chastise and cut them off; neverthelesse, nothing altering him from his first resolution, on the contrary, to the prejudice of his own Authority, and to the diminution of the Royall dignity, he had sent some of the principall persons in the Kingdom to treat with them, to whom they were not ashamed to make those propositions which were already well known to every body: therefore he had at length determined to have that by force, which he could not obtain by their consents; and that he was confident easily to effect his desires by the assistance of those Lords he saw there about him, who having been ever faithfull to the Kings his predecessors, he hoped would not abandon him now in so great a necessity, and in so lawfull and just a cause; wherefore he desired them couragiously to imbrace the occasion of meriting both from their King and Country, and not to consider those dangers to which he would first expose his own person for the preservation of the Common-wealth.*

The Constable answering for all, said, Intreaties were not necessary, for every one there was ready to venture his life & fortune in his Majesties service: and then turning about to  
the



the Nobility, continued his speech in this manner; Gentlemen, there is no such true reall Nobility as that which is acquired by vertue; and you that are born Gentlemen, not to degenerate from your Ancestors, cannot better imploy your selves then in defence of our King against those, who to make a King for their turns, endeavour to extinguish this Race. Be resolute then, and as with one accord you inwiron his Majestie in this place, prepare your selves with your courage and vertue to encompasse him in Armes; and I who have the charge of the Militia, though I am old, promise to be the first to assaile the enemy. Which exhortations were followed by generall acclamations and consent of all that were present, though for the most part it was believed the Constable and his, more in words then in deeds favoured the Kings party, and gave too willing an ear to the discourses of the Hugonots, who were no lesse hated by the Nobility, then detested by the Parisians, and not without reason.

The City began to feel the incommodities of a Siege, and suffered extremely through want of victuals; for the Admirall in a bravery at noon-day, in the face of the Kings Army, possessed himself of the bridge at Charenton, a league distant from the wals, whereby the passage of the River being cut off, all manner of provision began to be at an excessive rate; but the greatest difficulty was how to nourish such a number of Horse as were then in the Town: for which reason the Constable provoked by the cries of the people, and impatient, having a much greater Army then the Enemy, that the City, to the smal reputation of the Kings Forces, should be so straightened and incommodated, issued out of Paris the ninth day of November, and quartered his Van-guard at *la Chappelle*, a place upon the high-way between the City and the enemies Camp, which resolution obliging the Hugonots to lie close together in a Body, that they might not be surprized apart, they quitted the Villages about, so that the passages were again open, and the wayes free to carry all things that were necessary into Paris. They sent likewise to call back *Andelet*, who with 800 Horse and about 2000 Foot had passed the River to straighten the Siege on that side, believing that the Constable (as it was true) being much superiour in force, would advance, and presently either shut them up in *S. Denis*, or else force them with great disadvantage to fight.

Parts besieged  
& streightned  
for victuals.



1567

The Prince of Condé with the Battell lodged close under the walls of *S. Denis*, keeping that Town for his security behind him; the Admirall with the Van lay on the right hand, at *S. Ouyne*, a village neer the bank of the River, which served him both for a fence against the waters and the enemy; and *Muy* and *Genlis* with the Rear at *Aubervilliers*, a Town on the left hand; and because on one side of them was a great open champagne, they made a ditch, and raised an indifferent work to secure them from being assaulted in the Flank, and placed a guard there of 600 small shot. But the Hugonots entring into debate, what was best to be done, being so much inferiour in number to the Kings Army, in which were 16000 Foot, and more then 3000 Horse, many were of opinion it would do well to retreat till the Supplies they expected from divers parts were arrived: the Prince of Condé and the Admirall thought it impossible to retreat without receiving an absolute defeat; for the Kings Army lying so neer, they could not possibly march away without being discovered, and consequently followed and assaulted: wherefore they judged it best, as wel to maintain their reputation, which to the heads of a popular Faction, and especially at the beginning of a War, is ever of great consequence, as also that they might the better make a retreat, to give them battell; for the dayes being at the shortest, it would quickly be dark, and soon stay the fury of the fight, in which they hoped their Horse (which were very good) would so damnifie the Kings Army, that they would not be able to follow them that night, by the benefit whereof they might retire, and meeting *Andelot* with fresh supplies, secure themselves from danger.

On *S. Martins*  
Eve the Kings  
Forces meet  
with the Hu-  
gonots Army  
out of Paris.

Whilst the Hugonots were in this consultation, the Constable was not idle, but being confident they would either make a retreat; or if they came to fight, be totally ruined: the morning after, being the Vigil of *S. Martin*, one of the Protectors of the Crown of France, having put the Army in order, sent resolutely to assail the enemy. The Duke of Aumale and the Marshall *d'Anville* led the Van, and were placed against the Admiral: the Duke of Nemours with a great number of Horse which were ranged upon the champagne brought up the Reer, and the Battell commanded by the Constable was placed against the Prince of Condé, after whom followed the Swisses in their orders flanked by the Count of Brissac and

*Strozzi's*



*Strozzi's Foot.* It was already past mid-day when the Constable seeing the Enemy resolved to give them battell, not to lose time, advanced with his Squadrons in such haste to charge them, that the Foot marching in order were left a great way behind, and could not come up to fight; which falling out according as the Hugonots desired, they with their Cavalry (in which they had much the advantage) drew behind the Constables Battle, and charging him couragiously quite through, made a great slaughter amongst his men. The Duke of Nemours thought to stay the fury of the Enemy by charging them in the flank; but the ditch being in his way, and a gallant opposition made by the Hugonot Musquetiers at the work, there was so much time to be spent there, that he could not make such haste as was requisite to succour the Constable. The Duke of Aumale, and the Marechal *d'Anville* attempted the same, but were hindered by the Admirals Van, who having moved from his place, and retired almost to the bank of the River that he might not be surrounded, mingled valiantly with them, by which means the Constables Battalion being assailed and shaken by divers Troops of their Horse, besides the Princes own which was in the midst, remained without receiving any succours, so overmatched by the Enemy in number, that in a short time it was absolutely routed and destroyed.

The Constable had 4 little hurts in his face, and a great blow with a Battle-axe upon the head, yet he still continued fighting valiantly, and was endeavouring to rally his men when *Robert Stuart* a Scotch-man rode up to him with his Pistoll bent toward him; whereupon the Constable said, Doeest thou not know me? I am the Constable; he replied, Yes I do, and because I know thee, I present thee this, and instantly shot him in the shoulder, which made him fall; but as he was falling he threw his sword (which though the blade were broken he held still in his hand) with such a violence at *Stuarts* face, that he beat out 3 of his teeth, brake his jaw-bone, and laid him upon the ground by him for dead. The Constable lay a good while abandoned by his men that ran away, and left him in the power of the Enemy; but the Duke of Aumale, and Monsieur *d'Anville* having routed and defeated the Admirals Van, when they once saw them fly, left the pursuite and came up to succour and sustain the Battalia,  
by



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In the Battell  
of *S. Denis* the  
Catholick Ar-  
my prevails, but  
is much dam-  
nified.

by which means the Constable was redeemed out of the hands of the Hugonots, who were then carrying him away prisoner, and his Son with much difficulty convey'd him, though already half dead to Paris. The Duke of Nemours having in the mean while passed the ditch, and with great slaughter driven the Hugonots out of their Work, with the like Malsacre brake their Rear, and having chased those that ran away into their quarters rallied his Horse, and returned furiously to mingle with the Enemy in the hottest of the fight. So the Catholick Van and Rear which had put to flight the Hugonot Van and Rear coming close up to the Princes Squadrons, charged them so furiously in the Front and in the Flank that many of his Troops being disordered, the victory manifestly inclined to the Catholicks. In the mean while, the night overtook them which was very dark and rainy, by favour whereof the Prince of Condé, who having had his Horse kill'd under him, with much difficulty recovered another, and the Admiral who by the fiercenesse of a Turkish Horse that he rid that day, was so far engaged amongst the Enemies, that he had like to have bin taken prisoner, retired in haste to *S. Denis*, leaving the Field and the possession of their dead as an assured token of a victory to the Enemy. The Catholicks though victorious, partly through the losse of their Generall, partly through the darknesse of the night, left pursuing them, and the Foot having not had time to mingle in the fight, returned intire to their Quarters.

The slaughter on both sides was much more considerable in regard of the quality then number of the dead; for on the Kings party none fighting but the Horse, and on the contrary those Foot only that defended the ditch which flanked the Rear, they that were killed were without doubt the most part Gentlemen or persons of Note, amongst which, those of the Hugonots side were the Count *de Suze*, the Vidame of Amiens, the Count *de Saut*, Messieurs *de Pignigny*, *Canisy*, *S. André* and *Garennæ*: of the Kings men few were killed, but very many hurt, as Monsieur *de Sansac* a cavalier of great courage and expectation. The day after the Battell the Constable died, having at the 80<sup>th</sup> year of his age fought fiercely, with a youthfull courage, and shewed no lesse ardor of mind then vigour of body. At his death he had no disturbed thoughts,

thoughts, but on the contrary testified an exceeding constancy, insomuch that a Confessor coming to his bed-side to comfort him, he turned about and with a serene quiet countenance desired he would not molest him, for it were a brutish thing having lived fourscore years, not to know how to die a quarter of an hour. He was a man of an exquisite wit, and nature wisdom, accompanied with a long experience in the changes of the world, by which arts he acquired happily for himself and for his posterity exceeding great wealth, and the chief dignities in the Kingdom; but in his Military commands he had alwaies such ill fortune, that in all the Wars of which he had the Government, he ever remained either a loser or grievously wounded, or a prisoner; which misfortunes were occasion, that many times his fidelity was questioned; even in this last action where fighting he lost his life, there wanted not some who were envious enough to accuse him, That having the command of the Kings Army against his own Nephewes, he charged so late and left the Foot behind on purpose, because he would not though he might gain a complete victory.

Those that spake without passion, gave him three principall attributes, That he was a good Souldier, and a loving Servant, but an ill Friend; for in all his actions he was ever swayed by the consideration of his own interest. The same day died *Claud de l'Aubespine* chief Secretary of State, a man of very great esteem and a faithfull instrument of the Queen-Mothers, in whose place was substituted *Nicholas de Neufville*, Seigneur de *Ville-roy*, his Son in law, he who with great reputation of wisdom, following the steps of his predecessor continued in that place till an extreame old age.

The same night after the Battell, *Andelot* joyned with the Hugonots at *S. Denis*, who having passed the River with great difficulty by reason the Catholicks had sunk or carried away all the Boats, could not come soon enough to the fight; but by his counsell the next morning being the Eleventh of November, judging, as indeed it fell out, that by reason they had lost their Generall, the Catholicks would not appear again in the Field; the Hugonots shewed themselves in a body without the Trenches ready again to give Battell, maintaining with this bravado the reputation rather of Conquerors



1567 querors then otherwise. They stood still in that manner a quarter of an hour, and in their retreat carried off some of their dead bodies : but having lost the greatest part of their Foot , and most of the principall Gentlemen amongst them being either killed or grievously wounded , they resolved not to stay any longer , lest the Kings Army , being provided again with a Generall , should resent their former losse ; but having sent advice to their friends that were already advanced to succour them , the fourteenth they began to march in great haste towards Champagne , with an intent to passe that way into the Confines of Loraine.

The Prince and the Admiral at the beginning , when the Swisses raised by the Kings Order entered the Kingdom , sent *Messieurs de Francfurt* , and *Chastelliere* into Germany ; and perswaded Prince *Casimir* , Sonne to the Count Palatine of the Rhine to raise an Army in their favour ; to which purpose they had already furnished some small sum of money , with a promise , when he was arrived upon the Borders , that they would give him 100000 Crowns of the Summe for the payment of his men , which promise , with the hope of booty , and prey , stirring up Prince *Casimir* , and divers other Captains used to live in Armies , and by the benefit of War , they got together ( not long after they were in Arms ) seven thousand Horse , and four thousand Foot , and the Hugonots had advertisement that they were ready with these Forces to enter upon the Confines of Loraine. For this reason they took a resolution to march that way , that they might as soon as was possible joyn with the Germans , and be inabled with this addition of Force to pursue the War with such Counsels as the times and occasions would administer. The Army kept very close together , being all the way to passe through the Enemies country , nor did any one man disband from the principall divisions , necessity having taught them discipline ; *Andelot* only with Harquebushiers scoured the country , on all sides cleared the passages , discovered the situations of places , and brought in provisions ; neverthelesse they made all the haste they could to arrive upon the Confines , though being streightned of victuals to nourish their men , they were forced likewise to assault divers little weak Towns upon

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upon the way, with the pillage and prey thereof to supply the wants of the Souldiers, notwithstanding they proceeded with such celerity and addresse, that they lost not much time, nor suffered any of their men to disband or straggle from their company. In this manner without using their Canon they scaled and took *Bré-Conte-Robert*, *Nogent* upon the *Seine*, and *Pont-gone*, populous great Bourgs, in which and in the Villages about they found such store of Horses, that having mounted all their Foot, they marched with lesse difficulty and more expedition.

In the mean while the Queen being by the death of Momorancy freed from the power and reputation of the great ones, and left sole Moderatrix and Arbitresse of the Catholick party, not meaning by the Election of a Constable or Generall of the Army again to subject herself to the danger of being over-awed, but desiring to preserve an absolute Authority in her self and her Son, perswaded him with many arguments to confer the command of the Army upon his Brother *Henry* Duke of Anjou, a youth of singular wit, and wonderfull expectation, but scarce sixteen years of age; and so much the rather because the Councell thought it not Honorable for the KING to goe Himself in person to command the Army, or to take Arms against his Subjects, because it would give them too great a reputation.

Wherefore in this manner hindering all emulations or pretentions of the great ones, and not advancing any body to so supream a power; *Henry* was in the Kings Counsell declared Lieutenant Generall of the Army; but because he was so young, there were appointed for his assistants *Francis Seigneur de Carnavalet*, under whose discipline he was brought up from the beginning; and *Arthur de Cossé*, Marshall *de Gonor*, a man for the opinion was had of his wisdom and courage, ever held in great esteem. Besides these there were in the Army, the Dukes of *Monpensier*, *Nemours*, and *Longueville*, *Sebastian de Luxembourg*, *Seigneur de Martigniès* made Col. General of the French Infantry, *Jasper* Viscount of *Tavanes*, *Timoleon* Count of *Brissac*, & *Armand de Byron* then Master, or (as they call it) Marshall of the Field, who for his valiant exploits, will be often mentioned by us in the ensuing story.

*Henry Duke of Anjou made Lieutenant-Generall of the Army.*



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Neither the Mareſhall de Momorancy nor *d'Anville* followed the Camp; for the Duke of Monpenſier being appointed as Prince of the Bloud, to lead the Van, they pretended that Dignity belonged to Momorancy as firſt Mareſhall of France, who after the Generall, is to have the chief place in the Army. But the King not being willing to recall what was already done, as well not to diſ-oblige the Duke, as becauſe he was not confident of Momorancy, and thought it dangerous to commit that part of the Army which was firſt to front the Enemy to his truſt; the two Brothers in diſcontent choſe rather to remain neer the Kings perſon then to prejudice their right. The Duke of Aumale likewiſe, left the Army, having the ſame pretentions with the Mareſhals as he was the antienteſt Captain in France, yet he did not declare himſelf, becauſe he would not break with the Duke of Monpenſier, but under pretence of going to aſſiſt with his advice the young Duke of Guiſe his Nephew, (in whoſe Government, when the Germans, who were expected, came, the chief weight of the buſineſſe would fall,) went with the King and Queens approbation to imploy himſelf where there was moſt need of his aſſiſtance.

In this conjuncture arrived the Count of Aremberg, ſent out of Flanders by the Duke of Alva according to the former agreement at Bayonne, with one thouſand two hundred Lances, and three hundred Harquebuſhiers; a ſupply very conſiderable in it ſelf, but wrought a far greater effect through the Union that was ſeen to the ſame end between thoſe two Crowns. With theſe Commanders, with eighteen peeces of Canon, and the whole Army, the Duke of Anjou moved to follow the Hugonots, hoping to overtake and to fight with them, before they could joyn with the Germans; which undoubtedly he had done, if there had been as much prudence and union amongſt his Counſellors, as there was in him deſire of glory, and a readineſſe to encounter the Enemy.

The Prince with all his Army was come near Sens the chief City in Brye, but neither by art nor nature much fortified, wherefore he thought he might take it as he had done divers other Towns in his march, by ſcaling; but the  
Duke

Duke of Guise, who with the forces of his Government had already reduced Mers into the Kings obedience, and placed the Marechal *de la Vieux-Ville* Governor there, taking that way which he heard the enemies Army inclined, entred very opportunely into that City, and being prepared to defend it courageously, was an occasion that the Prince despairing to take it, not to interrupt the principall or necessary designe, with his wonted readinesse turned another way; so that having received at Monterolle a recruit of certain Troops of Horse, which came out of Gascony, together with three field-pieces that were taken at Orleans, which they brought with them, he continued on his march; in which, though he used all possible diligence, yet he was unawares interrupted by a weighty and dangerous accident; for being now advanced as far as Chaalon, the principall City in Champagne, he met there the Marchionesse of *Rotelline* his wives Mother, being sent from the Court to make a new overture of peace, with an intention, as many said, only to hinder the Princes voyage, and amuse him till the Kings Army was come: and the issue confirmed this suspicion; for she having imprudently proposed a suspension of arms for three dayes, in which the Kings Deputies were to come to a place appointed, and the Prince having no lesse imprudently accepted it, with a purpose to refresh his Army, tyred with their hard march: the Deputies appeared not; but the Duke of Anjou hastning his march with exceeding diligence, as the truce expired, arrived so neer the Camp, that reason perswaded without further delay to set upon them; for he knew the Hugonots with their speedy march were so tired and broken, and were necessitated to lodge upon the plains of that Province in such an open disadvantageous place, that they could neither defend themselves nor refuse a Battell; and fighting, there was no doubt (being so far superiour in number) to give them a totall overthrow.

The Count of *Brissac*, who lead the first Troops of the Army believing all the rest followed, as it was before resolved, & according to w<sup>ch</sup> resolution they had marched with great expedition, in the Bourg of Sarri furiously assaulted the last squadrons of the enemy, commanded by 3 Captains, *Blosset*, *Bois* & *Cleri*, & having with little resistance put them to flight, pursued



1567 the rest, who ran away as fast as they could to save themselves. Monsieur *de Martignes* with part of the Van followed the Count of *Brissac's* example, and having overtaken three hundred Horse which being placed in the Enemies Rear made their retreat, began a hot skirmish to keep them in play till all the Army came up; but whilst the Marshall of *Gonor*, and *Carnavalet* who were the Dukes chief Counsellors, either took too much care to range the Army, or else as it was said, interposed artificiall delaies on purpose to hinder the destruction of so many of the Nobility, who were of their own blood, they gave the Hugonots time to save themselves; for the Prince and the Admirall having given order, That the 300 Horse which were in the Rear, should as long as they could sustain *Martignes* charge, they in the meanwhile endeavoured to get off their men, and retreated with such speed, that in three daies they marched more then twenty French Leagues, and staid not till they had passed the *Meuse* a River upon the Confines of France, and gotten out of the Kingdom into a place of security, where though freed from the danger of being overtaken, or oppressed by the Enemy, they were stricken with a much greater fear; for being arrived neer *Pont à Mousson*, a place in the State of *Lorraine*, where they thought to meet the Germans, but neither finding them nor hearing in the Country about any news of their approach, the Souldiers seeing that hope fail for which they had suffered so many miseries, and finding themselves out of their country, in a strange place, and which was worst of all, without any provision of victuals, entred into such a fright, that they were resolved to disband, and make the best shift they could by separating themselves, either through *Flanders* or *Lorraine* to return to their own houses, and many doubting they could not escape the hands of the Catholicks, through whole country they were of necessity to passe, resolved upon a voluntary exile, and to shelter themselves in the Cities of Germany till more quiet times. But the Prince and the other Commanders, with their intreaties, comforts, authority and reasons so far prevailed, that for the present they stayed them from this resolution, deferring for a few hours so desperate a purpose, till they were altogether destitute of any manner of means to subsist.

On Christ-  
masse-Eve the  
Catholicks ha-  
ving an oppor-  
tunity to fight  
with the Hu-  
gonots, would  
not; to prevent  
the effusion of  
so much of  
their own  
blood, by which  
means the Hu-  
gonots save  
themselves.

They

They stood still thus in this perplexity of mind two whole dayes, till the morning of the third day, whilst despair suggesting again the same thoughts as before, arrived unexpectedly the desired news that Prince *Casimir* was upon his way, and not far from them. Then every private souldier, as if restored from death to life, with exceeding expressions of joy, tenderly imbraced each other, and with frolick cheerful speeches went forth to meet the Germans, as their benefactors and deliverers : but the chief Leaders were again more perplexed and troubled then ever ; for having promised Prince *Casimir* and his men at their arrivall upon the confines to pay them one hundred thousand crowns, and being unfurnished not only of the whole Sum, but of the least part of it, they were assured the Germans would advance no farther, and saw all their hopes, through which they had undergone so many hazzards, vanish away to nothing. At length the Prince of Condé having called together all the Army, discovered the condition they were in ; shewing, that since the generall welfare depended upon the union and readinesse of the Germans to assist them, it was necessary, though with private losse, to sustain the publick occasions, and dispoiling themselves a little sooner of that poor remainder which was left, with the price thereof to redeem their liberty and common safety. So exhorting all to contribute what they could ; and two Ministers being chosen, in whose hands the money, or whatever else was brought in, should be deposited, he was the first that gave not only all his money and plate, but even the rings off his fingers, and every thing else he had of any value, depositing it to be given to the Germans. By this example, and with the same readinesse the Admirall following and all the chief Officers of the Army, and from hand to hand the Gentlemen, with the common souldiers, and even the footmen and boyes in the Camp, they made up the Sum of 30000 crowns ; with which, and the addition of infinite promises, the expectation of the Germans being satisfied, the Armies joyned upon the eleventh day of January, in the year 1568.

Prince *Casimir* son to the Palatine of the Rhine, enters France with an army, and joins with the Hugonots.

1568

The Armies thus united, and the men having reposed some few dayes, they resolved to return the same way through Champagne to Beauffe, as well to nourish the souldiers in a plentifull country, full of towns, in the which they might shelter



1568 shelter themselves from the incommodities of winter, as to streighten again the Country and City of Paris, which was the head of the Catholick party, and in the possession whereof the Victory was ever thought to depend through the whole course of the Civill Wars. They were spurred on to this resolution through the desire they had to succour Orleans, which they knew was hardly pressed, and to gain an opportunity to joyn with the forces of Provence and Daulphiné, which they were advertised marched in great numbers that way.

*Francis Seignieur de la Noüe*, a man of great wisdom, and no lesse vertue, who in his time held the chief place among the Hugonot Faction, at the first breaking out of these troubles had possesst himself of Orleans, and taken the Castle, which by order from the King was begun to be built, but not so far perfected that it could make any defence; and into that place, as more secure then any other, all the wives and children of the principall Lords of that Faction were retired for safety; but not with such provisions that they could make a long resistance against a powerfull enemy; wherefore Monsieur *de la Valette* Colonell of the light Horse, and the Count *Siarra Mortinengo Bressan*, of the Kings party, having gotten together 700 Horse and 4000 Foot, came before that City, which being ill furnished with men, and other things necessary to maintain a siege, was so streightned, that in a few days it would either be rendred to the Catholicks, or else taken by force, if it were not very speedily relieved.

In this regard the Hugonot Army made all the haste it could into those parts, the Leaders thinking they might perhaps meet an occasion upon the way of fighting, which they would not have refused; for wanting the foundation to continue a long War, they were constrained to think how, as soon as they could, to bring it to the issue of a Battell. The Duke of Anjou in his heart was not averse to their intentions, who being young, and desirous of glory, thought by the successe of a Battell to gain a great reputation at the first, and to render himself known and considerable to other Nations: but the Queen, who had other designes, soon removed her son from this opinion. She resolved notwithstanding the impediments of the season, to go in person to the Duke of Anjou's Army; for not relying upon any body so  
much

much as her self, she intended to be certainly informed concerning the report that was spread abroad, and to remedy those disorders which it was said hindred the late Victory; wherefore being with extraordinary speed, much more then women use to make, arrived at Chaalon; she went afterwards to the Camp, where having called a Councell of all the chief Commanders, she desired to understand particularly the reasons why they omitted the opportunity to fight with, and suppress the Enemy. The Duke of Monpensier, a dextrous ready man, not to offend any body, spake ambiguously of the late passages, commending the Duke of Anjou, and imputing the cause of the disorders to their ill fortune. The Duke of Nemours excused himself, that he marching before to follow *Martignes*, knew not what was done or determined in the Camp. But Monsieur de *Tavannes* speaking more freely, though he named no particular person, blamed the doubts, demurs, idle delayes, and impediments that were interposed; intimating, that the discords which were amongst those of the Councell, and the compassion some had of the Hugonots, were the occasion of so much coldnesse in so great an Army.

After this they entred into consultation what course was to be taken for the future; in which debate, many to please the Generall, having concluded that it was best to fight, the Queen in a grave discourie shewed, that the events of the Battell were different; for if the King lost the day, he would put the Kingdom in great confusion, and in a manner leave it totally a prey to the Enemy; whereas, if the other side happened to be overthrown, they hazarded nothing but some wretched baggage that they carried with them, and that desperate fortune which they saw in time must of necessity come to nothing: she laid before them likewise the difference there was in the means to maintain a War, for the King had wherewithall to keep his Army a long time, and to feed and sustain it; but the Hugonots being bindred of all supplies, and reduced to such extreme misery, that they had nothing to live upon, but that little that they got by pillaging the Country, could not long satisfie the craving and greediness of the Germans; and so scattering of themselves, would leave an absolute Victory to the King; which if they came to fight, would depend much upon chance: She considered  
that



1568 that there wanted not divers other wayes to dissipate this Army; and when all failed, they ought rather by an Accommodation to separate and divide the enemies forces, then by a destructive miserable War to expose his Majesties subjects to be devoured and eaten up by strangers; and for the Duke of Anjou, it was no lesse worthy a great Prince and a great Commander, to overcome by policy and conduct, then by violence and force of arms; and that at his first entring into an action, he ought to be carefull of shewing himself prudent and moderate, as well as bold and valiant.

The Generall being perswaded by these reasons, it was determined, that he, following the enemies Army at a distance that they might not destroy the country, should still keep neer them, by some good Town in fast quarters, that he might not be forced to fight, and endeavour by drawing out the War in length, to shake and ruine the weak foundations of the enemy. And because *Carnavalet* and the Marechal of Gonor were both of them no lesse suspected in the Camp, then at the Court, to have held intelligence with the Hugonots, they were removed from about the Dukes person, and *Brissac* and *Martignes* put in their places; that for courage, and this for conduct held by the Queen the fittest men for this employment. Notwithstanding she made the Duke of Aumale the chief amongst them, who after the enemy had repassed the Meuse, came back again to the Army, and to him as to the ancientest Captain in the Kingdom, she publickly recommended the counselling and directing her Son.

Now whilst Champagne was thus become the principall seat of the War, the other parts of the Kingdom were not at quiet; but through the frequent continuall insurrections of the Hugonots all places were full of tumults and blood; for they having at the beginning of these commotions gotten many Towns in all parts into their hands, the Provinces were so divided, that through the animosity of both Factions, a dangerous War was kindled in every the most remote hidden corner in France. In Languedoc Monsieur *de Acher* ruled all the Country, the Vicount *de Joyeuse*, who commanded there for the King, not having force sufficient to suppress the multitudes of the Hugonots, or to oppose the industry and boldnesse of their Leader. In Provençe, *Monvans* and *Mont-brun*, men that by their violent proceedings got them-

selves

selves an esteem, with more then ordinary successe crossed the Catholick party under the command of the Count *de Sommerive*. In Gascony there wanted not store of troubles, that Province being all in arms; but Monsieur *de Monluc*, an old experienced Captain, had in so many incounters abated the fury of the Hugonots, that the incendiaries thought it best for them to quit the Country, and many of them, though with much difficulty, fled to their main Army. In Daulphiné *des-Gourdes* the Kings Lieutenant, and the Sieurs *de Monsalez* and *Terride*, who were in their march towards Paris, many times fought with the Hugonots forces and beat them, and at last forced Monsieur *de Ponsenac* to leave those parts, by which means the ways to Lions were open; but he being afterwards joyned with the Vicounts *de Montclair*, *de Paulin*, and *Bourniquet*, valiantly incountred the forces of Auvergne and Daulphiné, and though the fight were long, obstinate, and bloody, the Kings party in the end got the advantage, with so much the greater detriment to the enemy, by reason that *Ponsenac* (who by his violence more then any thing else, gave life to the War) was at last in the retreat (together with many others) killed.

At the same time *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers, who brought four troops of Horse out of Piedmont, that were raised in Italy by the Pope, together with six companies of Italian Foot, two French Regiments, and 4000 Swisses that were newly entertained to joyn with the Duke of Anjou's Army, arrived opportunely in Burgundy to suppress the remainder of the Hugonots in those parts; for having divers times encountred and defeated them, hee at length laid siege to *Mascone*, which being taken, the Rebels had no place of retreat left whither they could retire for safety. From Burgundy the Duke went to joyn with the Duke of Anjou; but not many dayes after, as he returned with a few Horse to visit his own Country, he was set upon by the Enemy, and though with his wonted valour he put them to flight, yet he received such a grievous wound in one of his knees, that he continued lame ever after.

The Pope  
sends aids to  
the King.

But the Kings party received a greater and more considerable blow in *Xantonge*; for through the negligence or connivence of Monsieur *de Jarnac* the Governor, and through the



1568  
Or Judge.

Rochel revolts  
to the Hugo-  
nots, which e-  
ver after serves  
them for a  
Sanctuary.

diligence of *Trucares*, the principall Deputy, called by them the \* Scabin of Rochel, that City revolted to the Hugonots, which standing upon the Ocean over against England, strong of situation, being every way incompassed with marsh-grounds, or the sea, rich with traffick, numerous in people, abundant in provisions, and commodious to receive succours from other parts, hath ever since been the Sanctuary and main prop of all those who adhered to that Faction.

In the mean while both Armies continued their march through Champagne, keeping the direct way that leads to Paris. The Hugonots kept close together, and durst not attempt the taking of any Towns by the way, for fear of giving the Catholicks an opportunity to fight with them at an advantage: The Kings lodging in strong secure Quarters, had no other designe but to hinder the Enemy from effecting any important enterprize, with which circumspection they both kept on their march till they were arrived, at the end of February, the Hugonots forces in Beaulieu, and the Kings not far from Paris. But the Prince of Condé having raised the siege at Orleans (for at the news of his approach *la Valette* and *Martinengo*, not having forces to resist him, retired of themselves) was brought into great difficulties through the Counsels of the Duke of Anjou, who he saw was resolved to avoid all occasions of fighting, and to draw out the Warre in length; by which kind of proceedings knowing his Army would be soon destroyed, by reason he had neither money nor provisions to sustain or keep his own men together, that were all voluntiers, nor wherewithall to satisfie the importunity of the Germans, who were ever craving, he was in a mighty perplexity, and every day held a Councel of War to advise what was best to be done in so great a streight. At length, to try whether the Catholicks might be forced to that which otherwise they would not do willingly, he resolved to besiege Chartres, for extent and numerousnesse of people one of the principall Cities in France, and so neer Paris, that with the Country about, it furnished a great part of the provisions that went thither, believing that the Duke of Anjou, for his own credit, and the reputation of the Kings Army, would never suffer that place to

be



be taken for want of relief, and not to give them longer time to reinforce the Garrison, or fortifie it, having in two dayes with his Horse marched twenty leagues, which are forty English miles, the second day of March sat down before it. There went to command in the Town Monsieur de Lignieres, a Cavalier of much esteem, and with him entred fifteen Companies of old Foot, and about 200 Horse, with which forces at the beginning of the siege he exceedingly annoyed the Enemy, and by frequent skirmishes kept them off a while; but was at length forced to keep in to maintain the walls: for the Hugonots having taken all the passages, and placed guards upon the advenues, with four peeces of canon, so furiously battered that part of the wall which joyns to Dreux gate, that the sixth day they had made an assault, if the defendants had not with great labour and diligence raised a Rampart within with Casemats and other works, which hindered them from entring upon the breach.

But the siege of Chartres changed the face of things, and put the Catholicks to a great streight; for to relieve the Town with all their Army was contrary to their former resolution; and to let that City be taken, was, besides so considerable a losse, a very great prejudice to their reputation; and that which then happened to Chartres, would afterwards be the condition of many other great Towns; by succouring of which they should hazzard the uncertain issue of a Battell; and if they succoured them not, they would be lost before their eyes: wherefore, after many attempts had been made, but in vain, to put men and munition into the Town, the Queen in this difficulty having recourse to her old remedy, which had so often succeeded, began to presse a treaty of Accommodation.

The Hugonots having besieged Chartres, the Qu. makes new motions for an Accommodation.

When shee left the Camp, shee began to make new overtures of peace; for seeing strangers already entred into the Kingdom, and the Crown again in danger to be hazzarded against desperate enemies, she thought it necessary to keep the Treaty still on foot, that having many strings ready to her bow, she might make use of them as occasion should require: wherefore having had a conference at Chaalon with some that were sent to her



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\* The Order of  
St. Francis of  
Paul.

from the Prince to treat, returning to Paris, she carried with her *Odetto* then Cardinall of Chastillon, *Teligny*, destined to be the Admirals son-in-law, and Monsieur de *Bouchavanes*, a man of great esteem among the Hugonots; but not being willing they should go into the City for fear of some disorder among the people, who being furiously incensed, abhorred the name of peace, they stayed at the Bois de *Vincennes*, and at length came to the Convent of \* *Minimes*, a mile without the Town; where after divers parleys about the businesse, which at first went slowly on, when Chartres was besieged, they were so quickened, that the Hugonots with little difficulty obtained very large conditions.

The Hugonots  
accept not the  
conditions of  
agreement.

But the Deputies being returned with the Propositions, the Prince of Condé, the Admirall, the Vidame of Chartres, and some others, the chief amongst them, who not believing they could ever be secured by a peace, chusing rather a dangerous war then a reasonable agreement, refused to accept them, alledging, that the larger or more advantageous the conditions were, so much the more they were to be suspected; and that if some strong places were not put into their hands, whereby they might stand upon their defence, they ought not by any means to accept of an agreement, but pursue the War, and leave the hidden event thereof to Gods will and pleasure; which the Queen having notice of (knowing that the generality of the Hugonots being weary of the expence and danger of the War, so they might enjoy a liberty of conscience, and break off with a shew of reputation, desired a peace) she sent *Lewis de Lansac*, *Robert de Combalt*, and *Henry de Memmie*, Seigneur de *Malassise*, popular, well spoken men,\* to their Camp, who under pretence of treating with the chief of them upon the same Articles, began (as it easily falls out, by chance) to discourse of the matter with some of their kindred, and in the assemblies of the Nobility, and meetings of private persons, to lay open the justnesse and largenesse of the conditions, to which the King, to save the effusion of his subjects blood willingly consented; promising besides that all severe Edicts should be abolished, and a free exercise of their Religion granted them as before; that every one should be put again in possession of their goods and dignities that they



they enjoyed before the War, that they should remain secure of their lives, exempt from those charges that had ruined and impoverished their families, be restored to their Country, their honours, to the fruition of their Wives and Children, and from being wanderers, and exiles, return to their former felicity and quiet, so that the reasons and jealousies ceasing, for which they had taken Arms, there remained no occasion to continue the War: whence it was manifest how far their intentions were from the publick good and quiet, who were against an accommodation, and how under pretence of Religion they sought only to usurpe an unjust authority, and pernicious greatnesse. By these speeches which were related again and infused into the people, covered over with the plausible sweet name of Peace, on a suddain such a tumult was raised in the Army, that the Nobility and private Soldiers (as in popular insurrections every body will mingle their advice, and pretend to a share in the Government) unanimously cried out, and threatned to forsake the Prince if he did not accept the Conditions that were proposed; and Prince *Casimir* himself either moved with the evidence of the reasons, or else the rewards and gain not answering his hopes, being besides moved with the certainty of having his pay presently, which the King offered in a great part to disburse for them, favoured and commended those that demanded a Peace.

Neverthelesse the chief Leaders persevering in their opinions, the Admirall being most earnest and speaking in the name of all the rest, laboured to make it appear, that this was a manifest policy of the Enemy, who seeing they could not suppress them whilst they had such a strength, and remained united for their common defence, sought to separate and disarm them, that they might the more easily destroy them one by one, that the businesse was now brought neer an end, and there wanted but some few days patience to see the event of it; for if the Catholicks came to fight with them, they had Gods providence and the strength of their own hands to rely upon; and if they let them take Chartres without offering to succour it, their fear would be seen to all the world, and such a bridle be cast upon Paris, being chiefly furnished from thence, that it would starve for want of provisions; that they had many times tried the little assurance and sincerity of promises,



1568 promises; for though the King alwaies intended to keep his word, yet such was the power and subtilty of the Queen Mother, and the Princes of Lorain had so great credit, that they perverted all his deliberations, and turned that into poison which appeared to many in the administration wholesome physick, wherefore they should expect a few dayes longer, and not by a precipitate impatience ruine those counsels which were thought by every body most conducing to their common safety. But the inclinations of the Army so obstinately opposed these reasons, and there appeared such a disposition in the Nobility to abandon the enterprize, and to return in all haste to their houses and families, wherein they suffered much prejudice by their absence, through the horrible outrages that were committed in all parts of the Kingdom, that the chief heads were constrained by force to accept of a peace.

The Ministers enveighed bitterly against the Prince of Conde, accusing him, That he through inconstancy desiring to return to the delights and pleasures of the Court, had suffered himself to be too easily overcome by a popular clamor. The Parisians with no lesse liberty blamed the Queen, That she not desirous to put an end to these distractions, but that the discords & troubles might be continued, by the same means to continue her own greatnesse, had forced the King to consent to an accommodation. And not only the Parisians, but the Pope also, and many other Catholick Princes were astonished and ill satisfied with this agreement; the issue appearing to them very unlike the beginning; and this resolution exceeding contrary, to that earnestnesse wherewith the Queen had solicited them to send her supplies of Men and Money: which coming to her knowledge, who was very inquisitive to learn what was said, she began to make her excuses to their Ministers; but had a long private conference to that purpose with the Venetian Ambassador, who being lesse interested, and more moderate then the rest, was likeliest to credit her reasons; wherefore beginning with the originall of things, she related to him at large every particular circumstance: That King *Francis* the Second her eldest son being very young when he came to the Crown; and of a disposition rather to be governed, then to exercise the charge of a King, was forced of necessity to confer upon her the Supream



peace power in managing the affairs, that it might neither fall upon the Princes of Bourbon, not only the chief pretenders to the Crown, but infected with Heresie and inclined to favour it, nor yet upon the Guises men full of ambition and high pretences, who neverthelesse were so far Masters of the Kings will, in regard of his Marriage with their Neece, that she was constrained to admit them to a great part in the administration of the Government, and in many things to yeild to them, for fear they might to the prejudice of the publick, and her own private disgrace, have cast her out of the Court, and perhaps out of the Kingdom also; That she had neverthelesse ever endeavoured so to carry matters, that the Kingdom might remain in quiet, and enjoy the blessing of peace, under a pious religious King; and tender of the preservation of his people, if the violence of the Prince of Condé, and the malicious subtilty of the Admiral had not disturbed the course of things, by turning not only against the Guises, with whom they professed an open enmity, but even against herself, contriving through hate by wicked practises to deprive her of her life: That the conspiracy of Amboise being discovered, when all the Councell concurred to proceed with extremest severity, she used her uttermost endeavour that a moderate way might be taken to quiet those troubles, forgetting through desire of the common good, her own private injuries and dangers: That the Prince having continued to raise insurrections in the Cities and Provinces, and to plot even against the King himself, at length fell into her hands; at which times she ever proposed waies very far from cruelty or revenge, saving the King of Navar, and divers others that were privy to the Princes counsels, which was manifestly to be known when the Kings infirmity began to be mortall; for the Princes of Guise pressing very earnestly That the sentence of death might be put in execution against those of Bourbon: she resolutely opposed it, approving rather gentle means then violent sharp remedies: That she being afterwards left with the King, a young Child not obeyed, and her other children yet as it were in the Cradle, and herself a stranger with very few confidants, but an abundance of persons of interest about her, though she had more need then ever to guard herself from those who plotted some one way, some another, the ruine or division of the Kingdom, and her death and her childrens;



1568 childrens; yet overcome by so great and so streight a necessity to preserve the peace, maintain the Crown, and her childrer Patrimony, and to gain time till the King came of age, she many times suffered the Princes fury, and the insolencies of the Hugonots, but that the impatience of the great ones with their discords and enmities, the ambition of the Princes of Loraine, and the contumacy of the Hugonots, had at length raised a War; to avoid which, God was witnesse with her how much she had done and suffered; that seeing the King dome through the infection of Heresie in a generall combustion, and the English and Germans called in to invade it, she resolved to try whether by a resolute War she could extinguish, and eradicate this evill, and not to be wanting in any thing that might be justified by religion, she had resolved to put it to a Battell, which her Letters written to the Constable, that were certainly amongst his Papers (for she knew he kept them) would still testifie; That in the Battell the Constable was taken prisoner, and the Marshall of S. Andre killed, and though the victory inclined to the Kings party, with the taking of the Prince of Condé, yet the Admirall remained still with a considerable Force, to which was added the succours sent from England, and a fresh powerfull supply that came out of Germany; That since this, hapned that accident to the Duke of Guise, whereby the Kings party were deprived of a head, because for her to command the Army was neither agreeable to her Sex, or profession, and there was not any body else fit to be trusted with so great a charge; whence, being led by the perswasions of many, and particularly by the advice the Duke of Guise gave her just at his death, to which she gave so much the more credit, because at that time men use to forget privat interests & speak truth, succeeded a peace, by granting to the Hugonots a liberty of Conscience, though for no other end but to stay those enormous outrages, desolations, plunderings, rapines, sacriledges, violences, and tyrannies that destroyed the whole Kingdom, hoping time would spend that humor which she was very well assured proceeded rather from private enmities, and desire of rule, then from love of Religion; That she knew divers Princes very much blamed her for this Treaty; by the same token there wanted not those who raised doubts concerning her belief, but that she being satisfied in her own conscience,

conscience, having placed her hopes in God, expected from him her justification: that it could not be denied but the peace had rid the Kingdom of the Reiters, who cruelly wasted the Country; and driven the English out of Havre de Grace, who were neasted there; and given the poor people time to breath from so many troubles and calamities, by which they were ruined and devoured; That the peace brought one great advantage by taking from the Hugonots all manner of pretence to rebell; That many things were done & suffered for no other purpose but to reduce the great ones to reason, & to mitigate the fury of heresie, trying divers means to arrive at this just holy end, & to maintain the union of the Kingdom so profitable to Christianity, and establish peace so beloved of mankind, but no remedies or agreement prevailing, the Hugonots at length came to the taking of arms; That she had used all possible endeavour speedily to assemble the Kings forces, that the enemy might not have time to receive supplies from abroad: That she had very much pressed a battel, as it followed at *S. Denis*, but with so little successe, that it was notoriously known things were afterward in a far worse condition then ever: That since she had procured of the King to make the Duke of Anjou General of the army, to be assured no private interests should hinder the publick good: that she hoped on Christmas-eve last there would have bin an absolute decision of the differences & dissentions in the kingdom: That her son had not failed in his part, who though he were young, and not accustomed to inconveniences, had marched a whole night, with a resolution to fight, but that which she had formerly feared in the General, was fallen out in the Counsellors, for the enemy had time given him, she knew not how, to passe the Meuse, & joyn with the Germans; That all things were running on to ruine and destruction, which she had ever so much abhorred, for she saw certainly that this body of France losing so much bloud on all sides, could not escape a violent death; That the Siege of Chartres had produced an unavoidable necessity either to hazard the whole Kingdom upon the cast of a Die against an army of desparate gamesters, or else to endeavour to put an end to these mischiefs by a peace; That by this capitulation the Germans were again dismissed, time given to take breath, the Enemy divided, the danger removed



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for the present, and the care of the future left to Gods providence, with some lively reasonable hopes at length to attain to the desired end, and that one day the candor of her intentions would appear, and the justnesse of her designs.

But though the Ambassadour communicated these reasons to whom he thought good, and the Senate ever favouring peace, disliked not this counsell ; yet the more turbulent spirits forbore not to find fault with the Accommodation, and to make sinister constructions of the Queens intentions : Neverthelesse, those that governed the affairs agreeing upon it, and the Capitulation being signed, on the 20 of *March* the peace was published, with these conditions, That those of the pretended reformed Religion should have free exercise of their Religion in all parts of the Kingdom, according to the former act of pacification, & that all Edicts published since to the prejudice thereof, should be held as void ; That the Prince of Condé, the Admiral, and the rest should not be liable to those sentences which had passed against them, the King declaring he was certified whatsoever had been done was with very good intentions, and for the publick good ; That the Hugonot Lords should be restored to their estates, and that they should send away Prince *Casimir* with his Army, the King contributing a certain summe of money towards their payment ; but before they left the confines of the Kingdome, the King should dismisse all the Swisses, the Italian forces both Horse and Foot, and those the Catholick King sent into France ; That of the money which was disbursed to *Casimir*, part should be held as a gift from his Majesty, and the rest be repaid within a certain time by the Prince of Condé and the Hugonots ; Lastly, That all the Commanders and Gentlemen of the Religion might retire whither they pleased, enjoying their offices and goods without any let or contradiction : Which Agreement being published by the Parliaments, the Articles began to be put in execution ; but neither the one side nor the other proceeded therein with that readinesse and candour, as was necessary for the quiet of the kingdom ; on the contrary, both sides endeavouring what they could to hinder it, interposed difficulties and impediments upon every the least thing whatsoever ; for the Hugonot Lords, who consented to the Accommodation against their wils, though they had dismissed Prince *Casimir*, who  
having

having received the pay promised by the King was marched 1568 towards Loraine, and from thence after much spoil done in the Country retired into his Fathers Dominions; yet they came not to an entire restitution of the places, but still held Sanferre, Montauban, Albi, Millaud and Castres, & the Citizens of Rochel denying that they were to submit to a capitulation made without their consent, not only refused to admit the Governor, & Garrison sent them by the King, but prepared with much diligence to defend and fortifie themselves.

The conditions of the treaty are not performed.

The Prince & the Admiral not daring to go to the Court; and much lesse to remain disarmed, were retired, the one to Noiers, and the other to Chastillon, and there stood upon their guard to watch for an advantage, or to imbrace any occasion whatsoever; and still maintained a negotiation with the Protestant Princes of Germany, to enter into a new league, and to make new leavies. Many of the Common soldiers who knew they could not be safe at their own houses, and had not wherewithall to live or subsist, assembled upon the Confines of Picardy with a pretence to passe into Flanders to aid those that were up in Arms there, a thing expressly forbidden, and which the King had by divers severe Edicts prohibited; but having put themselves under the command of Monsieur de Coccaville, they got possession of the castle of S. Valeri in the county of Caux, a place opportunely situated, as well for a passage into the low countries, as to hold a commerce with *England*, which was conceived they durst nor have done without the approbation & incitement of the Prince of Condé & the other Hugonot Lords. On the other side the King alledging that all the places were not returned to their obedience, neither dismissed the Swisshes nor disbanded the Italians, but with sundry exceptions, and under divers pretences restrained in many things the liberty of Religion granted to the Hugonots, who were many of them ill treated by the people, and many, though in apparence for other reasons, punished by the Magistrates, and driven out of the Cities. At which time the King and the Queen consulted perpetually what course was to be taken to free themselves from these troubles, and then was first established and not before, that council which is called the cabinet Council, which consisted not of those persons w<sup>ch</sup> by their birth, or priviledge of their places are usually admitted, but of a few choise men that the King

The beginning of the Cabines Council.



1568 liked, to whom he imparted secretly in his own private chamber his most hidden inward thoughts. The first chosen to this confidence, besides the Queen-Mother, upon whom the deliberations for the most part depended, were the Duke of Anjou, the Kings Brother, the High Chancellor *de l' Hospital*, *Lewis de Lansac*, *John de Morvilliers* Bishop of Orleans, *Sebastian de l' Aubespine* Bishop of Limoges, *Henry de Mesmes* Seigneur de *Malassise*, the President *Renate de Birague*, and *Ville-Roy* Secretary of State. These consulting together of the present affairs, through the diversity of reasons, found it a very hard matter what to resolve; for taking arms again, the same difficulties would arise which in the greatest fervor of the War made them chuse and conclude a peace; and on the other side, it was not possible by policie to put the former counsels in execution; for the Heads of the Hugonots were not in any degree disposed to return to their obedience; and to make sure of their persons was not at all easie; for neither the Prince, the Admirall, *Andelot*, nor any of the rest the chief amongst them would be perswaded to come to Court; but being full of jealousies, kept themselves armed in severall places at a distance, diligently observing every thing that might be plotted against them; which difficulties having held the Councell long in suspence, and in the mean while, complaints coming from all parts of new insurrections and tumults, which were raised either through the impatience of the Catholicks, or the too obstinate wilfulnesse of the Hugonots, but ever with bloud, uproars, and danger; at last they concluded, that to take away the roots of these continuall perverse tumults, it was necessary to proceed with more resolution and lesse circumspection. Wherefore taking occasion upon the money disbursed to *Casimir*, and that Sum the Hugonot Lords were obliged to pay within a certain time, which was then expired, the King signified to the Prince of Condé, that he should provide to make payment thereof; advertising him withall, he understood not the money should be raised by way of contribution upon the Communalty of the Hugonots; for he would not that any body should have the power or liberty to lay Taxes upon his people; but that he meant the Heads of them, who had been Authors of the late War and commotion, should, as they had promised, out of their owne estates satisfie this

The King, to chastise the Heads of the Hugonots, takes occasion to demand the money paid to Prince *Casimir* upon their account.

this debt which they had contracted without the advice or approbation of particulars, when for their own interests they called *Casimir* with the German Army into the Kingdome. 1568.

This signification touched the Prince to the quick; for the debt amounting to the Sum of 300000 Crowns, he saw the King was resolved by this means to ruine him and the Admirall, with all the principall persons of the Faction; for not any of them being able to furnish so much ready money as might discharge them of their promise, their goods and estates would be seised upon at a low value; which being resolved not to endure, having sent for the Admirall to come to him, after a long consultation of the businesse, he answered the King resolutely, That this not being his own private or particular debt, but contracted for the service of those, who to preserve their lives and Religion had put themselves under his protection; and the Articles of peace containing, that he and all the rest of his party should be engaged for the satisfaction of it, it was not reasonable, that now to ruine him, the payment should be required of him alone, and some few other Lords, who were already too much undone by resisting the persecutions of their enemies; and that if his Majesty were positively resolved to be presently paid, which might well be deferred to a more seasonable quiet time, it was necessary to permit them to raise the money upon the Reformed Churches, who he assured would willingly submit to the burthen; but if he would not permit it, his Majesty might well foresee, that many through despair would be constrained to think of new violent courses, against his will and intentions: that he well knew this proceeded from the malice of his enemies, who not desiring the peace and quiet of the Kingdome, infused such precipitate counsels to renew the War: That this was not their first attempt; for already in many places, cruelly murdering those who with his Majesties permission assembled at their devotions, they had put arms into the hands of the most seditious people in France: That he desired his Majesty to inform himself of that which had happened at Rouën, Amiens, Bourges, Orleans, Troys, Clairmont in Auvergne, Angiers, Lagni, and in many other places, to do justice to the oppressed, and cause his own promises to be observed: and at length concluded, That his Majesty

The Prince of Condé answerseth & incenseth the King with a Letter of Protestation.



1568 Majesty considering with himself what was possible and just, without being obscured or palliated by the perswasions of others, would not tie him to do that which he could not by any means perform.

Order given  
by the King to  
take the Prince  
of Condé and  
the Admirall  
prisoners.

This Letter absolutely confirmed the King and his cabinet Councill in their resolution to proceed without any regard, because it seemed rather a protestation and threatening, then an excuse; and they knew well, whilst the Prince and the Admirall had any power, the peace would neither be secure, nor the danger taken away of the Germans coming again into the Kingdom. Wherefore all doubts being removed, they determined to try whether they could on a sudden surprise the Prince and the Admirall, who contrary to their first resolution (to keep in severall places, that they might not be both taken in one trap) were now both together at Noyers, upon the confines of Burgundy, a Town not very strong, nor so well guarded, that it could make any long resistance. But because it was a businesse in the managing wherof secrecie was more required then strength, *Jasper Count de Tavanes* Lieutenant to the D. of Aumale in the government of that Province, where he had fourteen Companies of *Gens d'armes*, and the Count *Siarra Mortinengo*, who with the Italians quartered likewise in those parts, had order to go so on a sudden upon that place and secure the passages, that neither of them might finde any way to escape. The King thought he might justly do this; for besides their past actions, and the obstinate perverseness with which they stirred the people to rebellion, the Hugonot Lords had not in many things performed the Articles of the Capitulation, by which, and by nothing else, he was obliged to pardon them: but he had the more hope easily to effect his purpose, because Noyers being besieged he might send such a strength into those parts, that it would be necessarily reduced, before they could receive any succours, and the Prince and the Admirall being once removed out of the way, he believed neither *Andelot* nor any of the rest had authority or credit enough to renew the War.

But this designe was no sooner resolved upon, then known to those very persons against whom it was intended; wherefore, though they saw themselves invironed on all sides by the Kings Forces, for *Martinengo* having put two Companies

rics of Foot into Orleans, and advancing still under pretence of changing his Quarters, was not far from them; the Duke of Montpensier and Monsieur *de Martignes* kept the passages of the Loire; the Duke of Guise with seven companies of Lances was upon the confines of Champagne; and the Mareſhall *de Cossé* was in arms in Picardy, having (to clear the suspicion the King had conceived of his fidelity) gotten a Commission to suppress those who were in S. Valeri; and the Count *de Savanes* lay neerer then all the rest, and but a little distant from them; so that they were compassed in on every side as with a net: Nevertheless, being forced by necessity (before the Kings forces, which were still advancing, drew neer) to take some speedy resolution, and thinking it a desperate course to stay to be besieged in Noyers, they determined to save themselves by flight, and to retire into some place where they might not only be secure, but raise an Army, and gather together their partisans and followers.

According to this resolution, which they kept concealed from their own servants, the first of September in the night, getting secretly on horse-back with their wives and children, accompanied only with 200 Horse that they might go the faster, and not be so easily discovered, they marched with great diligence towards Rochel, and left Captain *Bois* behind with so many Horse more to hinder, as much as was possible, the advancing of the Enemy, if he offered to follow them, that so they might have time to save themselves; and by good fortune, through the extraordinary drought of the summer, the waters were so exceeding low, that they might ford the Loire (a great rapid River) without any danger at Rouën, which otherwise, all the Bridges being possessed by the Kings forces, they could not possibly have passed. Captain *Bois* had not the like success, who being followed by *Martinengo*, and overtaken neer the River, his men were without much dispute absolutely broken and defeated, and he flying to a certain Castle not far off, was constrained to yield himself at discretion to *Martinengo*, who sent him prisoner to the Court. But the Prince and the Admirall, who had forded the River long before without any impediment, marching an incredible pace, arrived without being overtaken in a few dayes at Rochel, a place in all considerations most proper to make the principall seat for their party, their

The Prince & the Admirall saved themselves by flight at Rochel, where all the Hugonots and the Queen of Navar come to them with great forces.



1568 their place of arms, and their Arsenall for the War; for the Princes having lost those great strong Towns Orleans and Rouën, which lay so convenient to found and maintain the faction, it was necessary for them to provide some other place which being situated in a rich fertil country, had the commodity likewise of a haven; nor could they chuse any more advantageous for them then Rochel; for possessing that port, and the neighbouring Islands that were fruitfull and populous they might at pleasure recieve succours out of Germany, Flanders, England, Scotland, Britany and Normandy, all Countries full of their partisans, and settle themselves in a Town very hardly to be taken from them; so that in the streight they were then in, there was not much doubt to be made of the place whither they should retire. Wherefore being received with great joy by the Bourgers of Rochel, and by many of their chief Ministers, who were retired thither before for their safety, they began to dispatch curriers and letters into all parts, summoning their friends and adherents to come in to them without delay, as well to secure their own person from the treacheries of their enemies; as to unite themselves, and form such a body of an Armie, that they might be able to resist those forces which they knew were intended against them.

There was no need of many invitations, for at the report only of the flight and danger of the Prince of Condé all those of the same Faction began to rise; and that they might be ready as soon as they were called upon, presently took arms, even those very persons which at the conclusion of the peace were so violent for it, now (as that Nation is of an unconstant voluble disposition) being weary of lying idle a few months, already desired a War, and were more ardent then the rest to imbrace it. So the signe being given, within a few dayes they assembled all their force together at Rochel: Those of Poictou under the conduct of Messieurs d' Ivoy and Blosset, those of Perigort under Soubise and de Puviant, those of Cahors under Piles and Clairemont, those of Normandy under the Count of Montgomery & Colombiere, and those of Brittany under the Vidame of Chantres and Lavardine. Andelot and la Nouë having in their passage over the Loire, had divers skirmishes with the Duke of Montpensier and Monsieur de Martignes, though in three

or four encounters they lost many of their men, yet they arrived safe with a good number of Horse at the same place. At length the Queen of Navar, either doubting no lesse then the rest her own safety, or desirous to animate and strengthen her party, and to advance the fortune of the Prince her son, now fifteen yeers of age, having raised a considerable number of Horse and Foot in Bearn, came her self in person to the general rendezvous at Rochel. Only *Odetto* late Cardinal of Chastillon, who lived at Beauvais, and was encompassed with the Kings forces, not thinking it possible to make such a long journey in safety to joyn with the rest, went disguised in a mariners habit to the sea side, and from thence passed with much danger into England, where being received with great respect by the Queen, he afterwards did very good service to his party, remaining in that Court as Agent for the Hugonots.

*Odetto* Cardinal of Chastillon, who called himself Count of Beauvais, flies disguised like a mariner into England, and afterwards remaineth with that Queen as Agent for the Hugonots.

But the Hugonot Lords having in a short time raised a great Army about Rochel, according to their old custome, before they would do any thing, to justify their reasons, and give a fair pretence for their proceedings, published a Manifest, in which after a long narration made of all the injuries done in divers places, and at severall times to those of the reformed Religion, setting forth at large the great danger they were continually in, whilest they continued unarmed, to be abused and oppressed, concluded at last, That they had taken arms only for the defence of their liberties, lives, and Religion, which under God they professed, without any other end or designe; desiring still to live as Subjects in obedience to his Majestie, so they might be secured for their lives and consciences. At the same time Queen *Jane* published certain letters, directed to the most Christian King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Cardinall of Bourbon, in which, repeating the same things the Hugonots had set forth in their Manifest, she declared, That she could do no lesse then joyn with the Prince of Condé and the rest of the same Religion with her self, as well for the maintenance of that Doctrine in which she onely believed, as to secure her self from the treacherous designs which the Cardinall of Lorain on the one side, and the Spaniards on the other had continually upon her life and her sons, and upon the miserable relicks of the Kingdom of Navar: which reasons, though they

A Manifest of the Hugonots, and Letters of the Queen of Navar.



1568 were fet forth with great flourishes of Rhetorick ; yet it appeared plainly, she either invented or added to them, and that nothing moved her more then the exceeding desire she had that *Calvin's* Religion flourishing and increasing, her Sonne should become the head of that Faction, as the Prince of Condé then was, and as her husband the King of Navar had been formerly.

But the most Christian King, and the Queen his Mother seeing in a moment all the Hugonot Commanders not onely retired into a place of security and advantage ; but an Army raised on a sudden, and a War begun, which with so many arts and dissimulations they had sought to avoyd, plainly perceived the secrets of the cabinet Councill were revealed, nor could any body be suspected thereof save onely the High Chancellor, who besides his not consenting to what was resolved upon concerning the Prince and the Admirall, it was known his Wife, his Sonne-in-law, and his Daughter were all three of the Hugonot Religion, and that he himself held a great correspondence with *Teligny*, destined for the Admirals Son-in-law, a young man full of subtilties and dissimulation, and therefore liked of by him to marry his Daughter, as understanding those arts wherewith hee ordinarily governed his actions : which jealousy of the High Chancellour, grounded onely upon report, and a generall consent, prevailed so much with the King, that though there were no materiall proofes against him whereby hee could be deprived of his Office ; yet the King not onely put him out, but commanded him from the Court, and gave the Seales to Monsieur *Morvilliers*, a man of great experience and no lesse wit, who being an Ecclesiasticall person, was verry averse to the Faction, free from any intelligence with the Hugonots, and a dependant upon the House of Guise.

The King enters into a jealousy of the High Chancellour *de l'Hospital*, and putting him out of his office, confers it upon Monsieur *de Morvilliers*.

*Michael de l'Hospital* being removed from the Court and the affairs, the King and the Queen desiring to take away all matter that might administer fuell to the fire that was again ready to break out, caused an Edi&t to be published, in which they promised to observe the Capitulation, and that accordingly a liberty of conscience should be tolerated to all those who remaining peaceably in their

their houses, abstained from arms, and from joyning with them who went about under severall pretences to stir up the people to Rebellion. But not many dayes after, either perswaded by the reasons the Catholicks alledged against this Edict, as a means to advance the designes and practises of the enemy, or else seeing that the Hugonots, neither restrained by fear, nor pacified by the Kings favour, were with a generall consent, and with the same intentions as before gone all to Rochel, nor could not, with any promises whatsoever be withheld from running furiously to take arms, being willing to satisfie the requests, and to confirme the fidelity of the Catholick party, which at that time was the main prop of the Royall Authority, and desirous likewise to gain the amity of the Pope *Pius Quintus*, who both by threatning messages, and particular graces granted to the King, perpetually solicited the prohibition of the Hugonot Religion; and being resolved to declare their affections in this point, till then much doubted of by all Christendome, caused another Edict to be published, in which the King, after a long distinct narration of the indulgence and benignity hee had shewed to reduce the Hugonots to a right understanding, and after a particular mention of the seditions and conspiracies by which contemning his Majesties grace and goodnesse, they had continually disquieted and molested his Kingdomes, bringing in strangers and mortall enemies to the French Nation, to possesse and invade the strongest places, and most flourishing parts of the Kingdom; at length, revoking all Edicts published concerning Religion during his minority, and nullifying the last Capitulation made *pro interim* and by way of provision, ordained and commanded that the exercise of any Religion whatsoever, except the Roman Catholick, ever observed by him and the Kings his predecessours, should be prohibited and expressely forbidden and interdicted in all places of the Kingdom: banished the Calvinist Ministers and Preachers out of all the Towns and places under his Dominion, commanding them upon pain of death within the term of fifteen dayes to avoyd the Kingdome; pardoned through speciall grace all things past in matters of Religion, requiring for the future under pain of death a generall

The King setteth forth an Edict against the Hugonots, by which all the former are revoked.



1568 conformity to the rites of the Catholick Church ; and finally ordained, that no person should be admitted to any office, charge, dignity, or magistracy whatsoever, if he did not professe and live conformable to the Roman Religion.

This Constitution being published with an incredible concourse of the Parisians, and received with exceeding joy by all the Parliaments, gave a cleer testimony, that the King and Queens intentions had ever been to suppress and destroy the Hugonot party, but desired to do it without the noise of War, and with as little prejudice to the people, or danger of dismembring the Kingdom as was possible : Wherefore their arts and dissimulations, after so long patience proving all vain, at length taking off (as the saying is) their Mask, they declared an implacable War against the followers of the Hugonot Faction.

New preparations  
for War.

They were not lesse diligent to make provisions for the War, then severe and resolute in their decrees ; For the Duke of Anjou being declared Lieutenant Generall of all the Provinces, presently got an Army together, with a resolution immediatly to advance into Xaintonge, to suppress the Hugonot forces before they received any succours from other parts, or from the Queen of England, or the Protestant Princes of Germany : On the other side, the Prince and the Admirall, remembring the successe of the late Accommodation, had obliged themselves and all the rest by a solemn Oath at Rochel, to persevere untill death in the defence of their Religion, nor ever to condescend to an agreement without the generall consent of all the Commanders, and sufficient security for the preservation of their lives, and to enjoy a full liberty of conscience. After which Covenant thus sworn unto and established amongst themselves, they sent forthwith into England & Germany, to procure aids from thence. And because the Admirall, a man who by long experience had learned the true discipline, knew that food and other necessary provisions are the only means whereby Armies subsist and prosper, (wherefore he usually said, *An Army is a certain monster, which begins to be formed by the belly*) seeing they were shut up in a corner, which though fruitfull, was yet streightned on the one side by the River Loire, and on the other by the mountains, which from Languedoc and Gascony extend themselves to the Pirenees ; perswaded the Prince  
and

and the other Chiefs, that all manner of care should be used, to get store of corn, money and munition, whereby they might supply their present occasions, and the necessities of the ensuing Winter : to which end they made ready a Fleet of thirty sail of severall kindes and burthen, which should scour the Sea, and run up into the Rivers, robbing Merchants ships, and little Towns upon the coasts, not onely to bring what corn they could from other places to Rochel, but to take what booty they met with in money to supply their present want : Nor was this counsell without effect ; for in the space of a few months, having taken many vessels, which without any fear of such an encounter, put freely to sea, they got such a considerable Sum as was sufficient to defray the expences of the Army for some time after : but they had much more help by the industry of the Queen of Navar, who with often Messages and earnest Letters so sollicitated the Queen of England, that she disposed her, notwithstanding the peace newly made with the most Christian King, not only to accommodate the Hugonots with ships, corn and munition, but with 100000 Crowns also for the payment of their Army ; in which she pretended not to have broken the conditions of the peace ; for the forces raised by the Hugonots were for the Kings service, and assistance of the Crown, against the oppressors of the Royall liberty, and the persecutors of the true worship of God.

The Hugonots  
set out a Fleet  
to fetch in  
provisions.

In the mean while the Prince and the Admirall marching north with the Army, possessed themselves without opposition, of all the neighbouring Towns, and had such good success, that in a few weeks they were Masters not only of all the Country of Xaintonge, but of the most part of the Cities of Poictou and Tourain, which either by force or agreement joyned with the confederates, and received Hugonot garisons. These proceedings were not at first hindered by the Duke of Montpensier, who being sent to that Province with an inconsiderable number of men, could not make resistance against so strong and powerfull an Army : Wherefore the Hugonots being Masters (without dispute) of the field, over-run, burnt, and pillaged all the Country, and every moment multiplied in strength and adherents ; for those that governed the affairs were not carefull enough at the first to send a sufficient force after to suppress them, or at least to hinder



1568 hinder their increase, and now they were constrained to spend much time in getting men together from other parts, and making them march so far from their owne country.

But *Henry of Loraine Duke of Guise*, the Count of *Brissac*, and *Messieurs de Biron*, *Martignes* and *la Valette* being at length joyned with the Duke of Montpensier, they unanimously agreed that they would lie abroad in the field, to curb the insolencies and incursions of the Enemy, & to defend those Towns that were not yet in the power of the Hugonots; and it so happened, that at the same time that the Duke of Montpensier leaving Angiers went to lie with his Army upon the Banks of Vienne, *Messieurs de Monvans* and *Acier* who had raised all the Hugonot Forces of Daulphiné, Provence, Auvergne, and Languedoc, going to joyn with the Army, arrived at the same place. They were about 18000 Horse and Foot, but for the most part tumultuary people, and not accustomed to the War; who partly to secure themselves from the severity of the Magistrates, partly in hope of the booty that was proposed to them, had voluntarily joyned with certain of the Nobility. Neverthelesse they were very strictly obedient to their Officers, and marched in exceeding good order, divided into two Battels, the first led by *Messieurs de Monvans* and *Pierregourde*, the other by *Monsieur de Acier* himself, and for the most part lodged so neer, that in a little time they might easily succour one another, with which kind of discipline having overcome all difficulties, they were arrived, laden with booty, from the farthest parts of Lionoise and Daulphiné, upon the borders of Xaintonge.

The Duke of Montpensier being advertised of their coming, resolved to fight with them; and so much the rather, because the Van, through their long march, or whatever else were the reason, forsaking their wonted order, was advanced a good way before the Battel. Wherefore departing from Vessunne two hours before day, on the 30 of October, he disposed the order of the assault in this manner: That whilst he with frequent skirmishes kept the main body in play which was with *Acier* in the second Squadron; the Count of *Brissac* and the Duke of *Guise*, with all the Cavalry should charge *Monvans* and *Pierregourde* who with the lesser number

went

went before, and invironing them with their Troops, fight with them as they marched into the Champagne, where the Foot, of which they had good store, but no Pikes, had so much disadvantage, that he thought it easie without much contention to defeat them. But the Duke of Guise and the Count *de Brissac* mounting 1200 Foot in Croope, made such haste, that contrary to the order given, they came upon the Enemy whilst he was yet lodged in the village of *Messignac* before he began to march, insomuch that they lost that advantage by which they hoped with a lesser number to overcome a greater. Notwithstanding seeing the Hugonots fearing the Horse kept in, and stood upon their defence, not to seem to come in vain, they assaulted the village with great force; and the fight was so hot there, that for the space of two hours, they stood to it obstinately on both sides, till the Catholick Commanders, finding they laboured to no purpose, and through the strong situation of the place exposed their men to an evident danger, resolved to sound a retreat; and returning the same way they came, placed themselves in ambush in a wood, a little distant from *Messignac*, which extended it self largely behind a hill, expecting there to see what the Enemy would do. *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde* believing the Kings Forces were gone to meet with their Foot, with an intent to come again to assault them in the same place, hoping before their return they might gain *Riberac*, a strong place held by the Hugonots and but 5 leagues off, without taking any care to discover the Country, began to march with great diligence, to prevent the return of the Catholicks, who they thought were by that time a good way from them. But they were scarce advanced into the midst of the field without *Messignac*, hastning to recover a wood which reacheth from thence to *Riberac*, when the Catholicks coming upon them with their Horse divided into divers Troopes, charged them furiously on all sides; and though they were not very well able to defend themselves, all their Foot being Musketiers, without any Pikes, in a plain open place, yet fighting with exceeding constancy, made the victory bloody to the Enemy. *Mouvans* and *Pierregourde* were killed, and together with them remained dead upon the place about 2000 Foot, and more then 400 Horse: the Catholick Souldiers having by command from their Officers not  
endea-



1568 endeavoured to take prisoners, which, redeeming themselves for a smal ransom, would perversly return to the service of the Hugonots.

The Duke of Montpensier having in the mean while overtaken the Enemies Battalia at *S. Chatier* which was in a great body flanked with good Horse of Provence and Daulphiné, purposed not to charge them with all his force, but thinking it sufficient to keep them at a bay, so that they might not succour their Van, entertained them with frequent hot skirmishes till the evening, when the night coming on, he being retreated towards *Vesunne*, they taking the advantage of the dark, marched all night without intermission, so that about break of day they arrived at *Riberac*; and the day following which was the first of November joyned with the Prince and the Admiral at *Aube-terre*.

But the Duke of Anjou with the Army marching in great diligence, was now come to *Amboise*; wherefore the Duke of Montpensier and the other Commanders after the victory at *Messignac*, leaving to molest the Enemy, went away with all their forces to joyn with him; and the 10 day of November both the Armies met at *Chastel-rault*, a Town in the Confines of *Poictou* upon the River *Vienne*.

Great was the expectation every body had of the valour and generosity of this Prince, who in the first flour of his age, being adorned with most noble endowments, seemed as it were born on purpose to sustain the weight of the greatest Empires in Europe; for to his excellent form of body, was added such a perfect constitution, that the delicatenesse of his complexion hindered him not from supporting all the inconveniences that belong to a Souldier; and in his mind appeared such signes of courage, magnanimity, prudence, and a generous spirit, that his vertue was thought much beyond his years; which ornaments being accompanied with a naturall eloquence, and the knowledge of such letters as belong to a Prince, gained him not only wonderfull love, but a singular reverence likewise, both from the Army, the Nobility, and from the whole Nation. And though his actions indeed gave some testimonies of a humane condition, which is never altogether free from the marks of mortall frailty; yet his inclinations to pleasures were imputed to the tenderesse of his youth, and his profuse liberality to his domesticks, and  
servants,

servants, thought rather a magnanimity of mind not yet fully settled, then any weaknesse or want of judgement. In this great esteem was the Duke of Anjou with all men, to which that his actions might correspond, he desired without further delay to meet the Enemy in the field, and being streightned by the season of the year already inclining to Winter, forthwith making a general Muster of his Army, in which were 7000 Horse, 6000 Swisses, 2000 Italians, and 12000 French Foot, moved with all his Forces marching through the same fruitful Country of Poictou, towards the place where the Hugonots were.

At the same time the Prince of Condé being Master of all the Country about, seeing such a powerful Enemy come against him, was with twenty four thousand Foot, and little lesse then four thousand Horse upon his march, with a resolution to approach as near as he could to the Kings Army, without abandoning the Towns belonging to his party, and opportunely to imbrace the advantage of any occasion that the propitiousnesse of his fortune should present. Both the Generals had the same design, a thing rarely falling out, that two Enemies should concur in the same opinion for the managing of the War; for the Duke of Anjou who thought himself superior, not only in number but also in the courage of his Souldiers, and discipline of War, desired to come to a Battel, hoping to suppress the Hugonots before their succours came out of Germany; and the Prince of Condé likewise, who commanding Volunteers, which for the most part served without pay, knew the ardor and union of his Souldiers would not long continue, thought it better to make use of them whilst their fervour lasted, then by prolonging the War run into those inconveniences, of which he had formerly had too much experience.

But the desire and determinations of the Generals was crossed by the contrariety of the season, for it being then about the end of November, the extraordinary cold, great ice, and snowes, hindered the progresse both of the one and the other, for the dayes being short, and the nights exceeding cold, they could not (the wayes being broken, and covered with snow) either easily fetcht in provisions, or march with their Army, or advance with their canon, wherefore they were



1568 forced by making short journies, and lodging in convenient quarters, to ease the grievous labour of the Souldiers; for neither the men nor the Horses could by any means lie in Tents, by reason of which incommodities, both Armies advanced very slowly. But at length all difficulties being overcome, with a wonderfull constancy on both sides, they came so neer together between Poictiers, Chastel-rault and Lusignan, that they were not above 4 French leagues a sunder, which as is said before, answer to 8 English miles.

The Duke of Anjou with the grosse of the Army quartered at Jaseneuil, a Town upon the great Road, which from Poictiers leads directly to the Enemy, and part of the Cavalry with some few Foot for the more convenience lodged at Sanse, a Village but a League distant from Jaseneuil. The Prince of Condé on the other side marching with all his Forces towards the Catholicks, was come to lodge at Colombiere, two leagues out of Lusignan, at which Town all his Army quartered very commodiously. In the mid-way equally distant from both Camps was a Village called Pamprou, upon which each General had a design with an intent to lodge his Van there, that he might be the nearer to vex and trouble the Enemy. It so happened that *Martignes* on the Catholick side, and *Andelot* on the Hugonots, advanced both at the same time, with the first Troopes of their Armies to possesse it. At their meeting there was a fierce bloody skirmish between them, which was gallantly maintained many hours, though with various successe to both parties: but whatsoever were the occasion, the Catholicks began to yeild, and the Village at last remained in the power of the Hugonots, who pursuing their victory, advanced to follow the light Horse which were upon their retreat.

In the mean while arrived the Duke of *Montpensier* on the Catholick side, who bringing with him above six hundred Lances, *Andelot* being much inferior in strength retired to the descent of a hill which was between him and the Village, where extending the Front of his Horse, and placing his Foot in each wing, the Enemy could neither take a view of his Flanks nor his Rear, but seeing such a large body towards him, thought their whole Army had bin brought thither, and so lost the opportunity to rout and defeat *Andelot*. But the condition of things was soon changed, for within a little while

while the Prince and the Admirall appeared with all their Forces, in so much that they were exceedingly too strong for the Catholicks, who had nothing with them but their Van, all the rest of the Army being left behind in their quarters at Jaseneuil. *Montpensier* and *Martignes* knowing the insufficiency of their strength, and doubting if the Enemy perceived it, they should be charged with disadvantage, by little and little left off skirmishing, and retreated to a great thick wood which was behind them, and there put their men in order, drawing into as large a Front as they could, and placing their Musketiers among the trees to make the greater shew; but the Hugonot Commanders seeing it grow late, and believing through the same mistake, that all the Catholick Army was drawn out, as well as theirs, thinking they had done enough to drive them from Pamprou, staid there to lodge under covert, and had not any thought to assail the Enemy that night; wherefore *Montpensier* and *Martignes* having caused the Swisses to beat their Drums till midnight, to make the Hugonots believe all the Kings forces were there, and particularly the Swisses of whom they had a great esteem, & causing lighted matches to be hanged upon the hedges, and up and down in the woods to confirm the mistake of the Enemy; in the dead of the night retired with exceeding silence to Jaseneuil; avoiding, by the benefit of the dark, so evident a danger of being utterly defeated.

The Prince and the Admirall finding in the morning the error by which they had lost so great an opportunity, not to lose their time likewise in vain, resolved to set upon that part of the Army which was quartered at Sanse with an intention, the Duke of Anjou not moving, to break and scatter it, and afterwards advancing to try the fortune of a day in the open fields. But the Duke of Anjou had the same morning upon the Enemies approach, sent for all his Forces to the head Quarter, and quitting the Village brought the whole Camp to Jaseneuil, which being unknown to the Hugonots, they by the favour of a thick mist, setting forth early in the morning, marched with the whole Army, in great silence toward Sanse. But coming to a place where two wayes part, the one whereof goes to Sanse, and the other to Jaseneuil, the Admiral taking the left hand, went on as he intended towards the village, and



1568 the Prince through mistake turning on the right hand, took that way which led directly to the Catholick Camp at Jafeneuil, neither did he perceive by reason of the mist, that he was out of the way till he was so neer the Kings quarter, that he came afront the Enemy in a plain open place, and was so far engaged that he could not make a secure retreat. The Duke of Anjou seeing the enemies approach, not knowing their mistake, thought they came with a resolution to assault him; wherefore he drew up his men into a place of advantage, though somewhat too streight for his Horse, and expected with a daring courage to joyn Battel. But the Prince of Condé at length finding his error, and not knowing where the Admirall was with the Van, going himself to view the ground, presently resolved what to do, and with all the haste he could made himself master of two little hills on each side the way, where he placed his Foot being drawn into two divisions, among the stakes of the Vines, making himself a defence of the ditches and banks, which are usuall in that Country to inclose their grounds. The Foot being lodged in such a place of advantage, and in a manner out of danger, the next care was to secure the horse which being ranged upon the high-way, could not refuse to fight whensoever the Catholicks would charge them, wherefore that they might not discover a fear, still moving softly on, the Prince made shew as if he would joyn Battel in the plain, which lay between the two hills and the Kings Camp.

The Duke of Anjou beleiving the Prince meant to fight, when he saw the Enemies Horse in the plain, commanded fire to be given to all the Canon, of which he had a great number placed in each flank, hoping thereby to terrifie them, and withall to scatter two great wings of light Horse, which being in the Front of the Army, before the rest, marched towards him. But the Prince taking his time whilst the smoak of the Canon covered the plain, retired dextrously with his Horse behind the hills, and presently began to draw a ditch crosse the high-way, so that being covered on both sides with the hills, and having cut off the Enemies passage he placed there Foure Field-pieces, and Six hundred Gascon Musketires to defend that Post. The smoak being  
vanished,

vanished, the Duke of Guise and the Count *de Lude* with two squadrons of Horse advanced to charge, but found the Field void and abandoned by the Hugonots; wherefore having marched up as far as the hills without meeting any encounter, they returned to their Body with news that the Prince began to intrench in the plain. The Duke of Anjou almost confounded with this uncertain proceeding of the Hugonots, presently sent the Count of Brissac with the French Musquetiers, and Monsieur *de la Valette* with four Troops of Horse to second him, towards the hills, to try whether by skirmishing they could engage them to fight; but the Enemy not stirring from their place, and scouring the plain under them with their musquet-shot, the rest of the day was spent in light skirmishes; for neither the Prince moved from the hills, but on the contrary went on with his trenches, nor would the Duke of Anjou set upon the Hugonots in their works with so great disadvantage.

In this interim the Admirall understanding by the noise of the Canon what had hapned; without attempting any thing at Sansé, was returned in great haste to joyn with the Prince: complaining that fortune heaping error upon error, should with such frowardnesse delude the prudence and warinesse of his counsels. The Armies stood to their arms, with great diligence guarding their posts all that night, but the next morning both sides being vanquished by the violence of the cold, and the exceeding sufferance of two nights watching continually in arms, the Generalls resolved to retreat, and so as it were by mutuall consent, the Duke of Anjou marched away to Poitiers, and the Hugonots to Mirrebeau.

The Duke thought by retiring into an open plain country, either to invite the enemy to fight upon equall terms, or else by often moving and changing Quarter to approach so neer to them, that he might gain some seasonable advantage. But the Hugonot Commanders, not to give the Enemy such an opportunity as he sought after, thought of another way, and resolved marching from the Catholicks to fall on a sudden upon Saumur, a City upon the Loire, where there is a very fair bridge, which is one of the principall passes over that River, to enter into the other Provinces of France, or to receive supplies from them, and particularly to enable



1568 enable them to joyn with those forces that came to their aid out of Germany: for the Loire dividing in a manner the whole Kingdome into two parts, separates that country anciently called *Aquitania* from the two *Gallias*, *Celtica* and *Belgica*; a great part whereof are yet subject to that Crown. They hoped likewise by besieging and streightning a place of so much consequence, that the Duke of Anjou rather then suffer it to be taken before his eyes, would be brought to fight with some disadvantage; for though the one side and the other very much desired battell, yet they both studied to contrive it so, that they might be in a manner assured of the victory. But this stratagem proved fruitlesse; for the Duke knowing that Saumur being a strong place, and reasonably well guarded, might easily hold out against the Hugonots; resolved to raise them by a diversion, without bringing himself into a necessity to fight at their pleasure: wherefore letting the Prince march towards Saumur, he departed two dayes after with good store of victuals for his men from Poitiers, and went directly to assail Mirebeau, which was forced and taken with great losse to the Hugonots (for the remainder of the Army with a great part of their carriages were left there) and without losing any time, advanced farther into the enemies country to besiege Loudun.

Monsieur d'Acier commanded in the Town with twelve Companies of Foot, who though he shewed a great readinesse to defend it, principally through the confidence he had of the badnesse of the season, which was such, that by reason of the ice, the Catholicks could neither raise any batteries, nor advance their trenches; yet seeing such a powerfull Armie fate down before it, he perpetually sollicitated the chief Commanders of the Army, that considering his danger, they would come to succour him; who being moved with his earnestnesse, but much more to see the Duke already so far advanced into that Country from whence they had all their provisions and support, presently left Saumur, without having been able to attempt any thing, and marched toward the Catholick Army, being reduced to that necessity to fight at a disadvantage, to which they thought to have forced the Enemy. But advancing with great circumspection, and in such order as was behoovefull for experienced Commanders, the twentieth of December they came to lodge in the Suburbs of Loudun.

Loudun, and with exceeding diligence encamped on the other side of the Town, opposite to that which was battered and assaulted by the Catholicks.

Between the two Armies stood the Town, and on each side a large spacious champagne, without banks and ditches, or any other impediments, which was wonderfull commodious for the Armies to skirmish, or to fight upon equall terms with Ensigns displaied; but the naturall commodity that the place afforded was hindred and interrupted by the quality of the season; for the cold was so extreme, that the souldiers limbs were in a manner stupified and dead, and through the abundance of ice and frozen snow, the ground was so slippery and hard, that every hour an infinite company of souldiers were brought out of the skirmishes into the tents, who falling down were maimed, and unable to do service. The Cavalrie was more inconvenienced; for the ground being low and full of water, was covered all over with such hard ice, that the horses finding no hold for their feet, fell one upon another, and the men being armed, if they offered to move or turn, could not advance a step without disordering their Squadrons, and confounding the Files, through which difficulties it being impossible for the Armies to fight, (for that party which stirred first, would rout and disorder it self) after they had stayed four dayes, and both sides beginning already to suffer want (for the season hindred the sutlers to bring in provisions) the Duke of Anjou, who lying in the open field suffered most, not to consume his Army to no purpose, resolved to retire back four leagues from the enemy, and getting a little River before him, quartered his men in the neighbouring Villages and Towns; which when it was known to the Hugonots, believing that the Army for this commodity of lodging being divided in divers places, could not easily be brought together, they resolved to fall into the Duke of Anjou's own quarter, hoping to gain a Victory before the rest of the Army could come to assist them. But being come in the morning, which was the twenty seventh of December, to the banks of the River, thinking to passe without any resistance, they found it so resolutely defended by the guards that were placed upon the foords, that after having tryed twice or thrice in vain to force their passage, they were constrained to retire; which they did so much the rather, because two peeces being shot off, they conceived rightly that they were  
a signall

Whilst the Duke of Anjou batteries Loudun on the one side, the Prince of Condé coming to relieve it, lodgeth on the other, and being both resolved to fight, they are hindered by the coldness of the season.



1568 a signall for the Catholicks to come to the severall passes of the River, which they were before appointed, if occasion were, to defend; so that they concluded it was impossible to passe over without too evident a danger.

Through their  
past sufferings  
a great mortali-  
ty ceiseth up-  
on the Armies.

After this retreat a grievous sicknesse through their past sufferance beginnig to grow in the Army, and the souldiers continually murmuring that they were led to fight not against men, but against the perversenesse of the weather, and the very force of nature, the chief Commanders resolved to retire to some place at a good distance, where they might lie secure untill such time that the sharpnesse of the winter being in some measure past, the season would again permit them to go on with the War: for these reasons the Prince and the Admirall being retreated into the lower Poitou, towards the confines of Xaintonge, the Duke of Anjou following the like counsell, went with all his forces to Chinon, where they began to feel the effects of their former sufferings; for such a cruell infection entred into both Armies, that in the space of a few dayes above four thousand men died on each side; as if Fortune seeing the intentions of the Generalls, and the strength of the Armies equall, would likewise distribute amongst them equall sufferings and losses.

1569 The year 1568 being spent in these actions, began the year 1569, which was full of great accidents and infinite blood; in the beginning whereof the Prince of Condé having left the care of the Army to the Admirall, went himself in person to Rochel, to sollicite for money, and other provisions to maintain the War, which coming slower then they imagined, had brought them into extreme want of every thing; for being driven into a corner, though one of the most fertill in all France, and lying in a country that held with their party, though they lived for the most part upon free quarter, and at the charge of the peasants, yet they had no occasion to plunder, with which they used in other places to maintain and satisfie the souldiers. The 100000 Ducats sent by the Queen of England were already spent, besides the money brought in by their Fleet, which they sent out to rob the Merchants ships, and the Citizens of Rochel, though they were ready to part with all their substance towards the maintenance of the War, yet traffick failing, and the contributions

contributions falling so heaue upon them, they were so exhausted, that they were not able to furnish much more; wherefore the Prince of Condé being forced by necessity, took a resolution to sell the treasure of the Church which was in Xaintonge, and the other provinces under his command; and the more to encourage men to buy, the Queen of Navar engaged her own estate for their security.

The Hugonots being in a flight, the Prince of Condé sells the goods of the Church.

With this sale, for which (to the incredible scandall of the Parliaments, and contempt of the Royall Authority) they gave publick commissions to particular persons, and with certain contributions gathered in Rochel and the adjacent Islands, they got together such a sum of money as was sufficient to supply the Army for some months, hoping in the mean while the season would grow more favourable to advance into a larger country, where they might with their wonted plundering satisfie the clamour and evident want of the souldiers.

The rest of the Provinces were not at quiet; on the contrary, all parts of the Kingdom suffered divers changes and miseries; for Monsieur *de la Chastre* Governor of Berry, and the Count *Siarra Martinengo* having besieged Sancerre upon the Loire sometimes with good, sometimes with ill successe, but ever with great slaughter on both sides, continued to batter and assault it: and the Prince of Condé and the Admiral having left Noiers, the Count *de Barbesieux* with the forces of Champagne assaulted and took it; the Rochellers likewise made themselves Masters of the Isles neer Xaintonge, and with great desolation had ruined that most noble ancient Monastery of *St. Michael de desert*, destroying with fire and sword those most venerable relicks of the devotion and piety of their Ancestors.

The Monastery of *S. Michael* in eremo destroyed by the Rochellers Anno 1569.

Whilest these things were done, the violence of the Winter was past; wherefore the Duke of Anjou having received fresh supplies (for the Marques of Baden had brought 1500 German Horse, and the Count *de Tande* the Gentry of Provence) about the beginning of March leaving Chinon, and keeping along the Charente, marched towards the Hugonots. On the other side, the Prince and the Admirall having received advertisement that the Viscounts *de Montcler* and *Bourniquet*, and the other Gentlemen of Languedoc and Gascony with a great number of Horse and Foot were coming to their



1569 aid, and doubting the Catholick Army might hinder their passage, leaving the Territory of Rochel, where they stayed to refresh themselves, and passing the Charente, advanced to meet them. But having notice afterwards of the Duke of Anjou's moving, they stopt their journey, and breaking all the bridges, and placing sufficient guards where the water was foordable, staid at Jarnac, a Town two leagues from the river, with an intent either to hinder the passage of the Kings forces, or to starve them; for all the country held for that party; or else, if they attempted to force their way, to set upon the troops that first got over, not doubting, they being disordered in their passage, to gain an assured Victory.

Neverthelesse, the Duke of Anjou having taken by the the way the Castle of Melè, and Ruffec, came to Chasteau-neuf, a frequent ordinary passe over the Charente, there he found that the Hugonots had already broken the bridge beyond Chasteau-neuf, and left a garrison of 1000 Foot in the Town, which the Prince thought a sufficient strength to defend that place. But experience shewed he was mistaken, for the Count of *Brissac* having drawn the French Infantry thither, and with his Canon beaten down some of their works, those within being terrified, without expecting any succours, abandoned the Town, and passing the river in certain boats that they found ready, retired to the Army which lay two leagues off. The taking of Chasteau-neuf nothing advantaged the Duke of Anjou; for the bridge being broken, and the enemies standing prepared on the other side to hinder his passage, it was a very difficult matter to repair the old bridge, or to make a new one, and much more dangerous to force a passage against so powerful an opposition: wherefore the Catholicks shewing their skill, to surmount those difficulties by policie which they could not overcome by force, having left Monsieur *de Byron* Master, or as they say, Mareshall of the field, with such orders as were necessary at Chasteau-neuf, the Duke with all the Army moved towards Cognac, marching along the river, and making shew to seek some more easie expedite conveniency to passe over.

At the same time the Admirall moved with the Hugonots Van on the other side of the river, and advanced the same way, so that there being nothing between the two Armies but a narrow stream, they continually played upon one another with

with their shot. In this manner they marched all day, though very slowly, but night drawing on, the Admiral having given order that the light Horse, and certain chosen companies of Foot should stay to guard the passes, he not to incommode his men, who being voluntiers could not, or would not longer endure to lie in the open field, removed about a league from the river, and lodged with the Van at Bassac, a reasonable great village which was sufficient to receive them all, and the Prince with the Battell not being yet moved from his quarters, staid still at Jarnac, in a manner right against Chasteau-neuf.

The next day the Duke of Anjou having observed how the enemy quartered that night, desired to confirm them in the opinion that he went seeking an opportunity to passe over, and having put some small barks upon the river, with a good number of Muskietiers, made shew of forcing the Hugonots guards; but finding a strong resistance in every place, continued his march in the same manner as before untill towards night, when through the frequency of the skirmishes having advanced little more then a league, and the Admirall being already retired to lodge in covert at Bassac where he quartered the evening before, the Duke having in the beginning of the night caused the Reer, under the command of the Duke of Guise, to wheel about, and so one Body after another, the whole Army, marching with great expedition returned in a few hours to Chasteau-neuf: where he found that Monsieur *de Byron* had with exceeding diligence mended the broken bridge, and made another very commodious one of boats, so that though it were late in the night, yet being very cleer, and fit for his designe, he presently caused the D. of Guise, and Monsieur *de Martignes* to passe over with two squadrons of Horse, after whom followed the whole Army in very good order, and in it the Duke himself without meeting any opposition whatsoever; for the Count of Montgomery & Sieurs *de Soubise* & *de la Loüe*, who with the light Horse had the charge to guard the banks of the river, watching at those passes towards w<sup>ch</sup> the Catholicks marched the day before, did not beleeve they could turn back so quickly, or passe over just in that place where the main of the Army lay ready to defend the passage of the river; but such was the negligence both of the souldiers and Commanders, partly through the security they thought



1569 themselves in, partly through the usuall disobedience of souldiers in civill Wars, partly likewise because the Country being ruined, the Commissaries and Sutlers not keeping any order, were forced to seek and fetch in victuals a far off, that it was already day, and the greatest part of the Catholick Army was drawn up upon the banks on the other side, before the Scouts had any notice of what was done. The first that gave advertisement of it was Captain *Montant*, who riding the Round with fifty Horse, to see if the guards did their duty, as soon as he perceived the Enemy was gotten over, spurred as fast as he could to advertise the Admiral, who being not only confounded with so important and unexpected an accident, but in a manner desperate that his wisdom should be deluded by the industry of a young man, whom he ever held and esteemed as a child, resolved to retire to Jarnac, to joyne with the Battell, and there to consult with the Prince what course, as things went, was best to be taken.

But it was first necessary, not to leave them a prey to the Enemy, to send for the Foot that were appointed to guard the passes of the River, and to get together the light Horse, which for want of victuals and commodity of quarter, were dispersed into severall places; in which, though all possible diligence were used, yet so much time was spent, that he found himself contrary to his purpose, in a necessity to fight: for the Duke of Anjou having imbattelled his Army, and resolved what ever hapned, to make a day of it, sent all the light Horse before, and in the head of them Monsieur *de Martignes*, called generally, The souldier without fear, to fall in upon the enemies Reer, that so he might hinder their march, and gain time for the rest of the Army to come up.

*Martignes* coming upon the Hugonots just as they left Bassac, began to skirmish so hotly, that the Admirall being forced to stay, gave order to make an halt, and facing resolutely about, perceived it was impossible any longer to avoid the encounter of Battell; wherefore having sent the Prince of Condé word of the danger he was in, he placed the Sieurs *de la Noüe* and *Loüe* in the Reer, commanding them to maintain their ground against the light Horse, and to hinder their advancing, whilest he passed into a certain place full of ditches, and encompassed with water, beyond which he

meant

meant to draw up his men in order, that the strength of the situation might in some measure supply the defect of his forces, or at least defend them in the flank from the multitude and fury of the Enemy. These Commanders sometimes skirmishing, and sometimes courageously mingling amongst them, sustained a good while the charge of the Catholicks, but Monsieur de la Valette, the Count de Lude, Monsieur de Monsalez and Malicorn coming up with four Squadrons of Lances, they set upon them with such violence, that the Captains being taken prisoners, all the rest of the men plainly ran away: Whereupon the Admiral finding he could not long make resistance, and desiring as far as he was able to avoid the necessity of fighting, piece-meal, left *Andelot* with 120 Horse to make good that place of advantage, that he might hinder the Enemies passage, and himself with all the rest of the Van retired a good trot to meet the other part of the Army, which was already marching towards them with great diligence.

The Prince of Condé understanding the Admirals danger, came with all the Horse to succour him, and left order that the Foot should follow softly after, conceiving he should have time enough to joyn with the Van, and bring all the army together to fight. But when he saw part of the Admirals men routed, and so hotly pursued by the Enemy, who every moment increased in number and strength, he made a stand upon the high-way, having on one flank a pool, which defended him on the right hand, and a little hill which covered him on the left, and with exceeding warinesse ranged those Forces he had with him, taking all the advantage that was possible of the situation of the place. In ordering of his men he left a free void place for the Admiral, who though he arrived a full gallop with the Horse, took his post without making any disorder, and facing about to the Enemy, put himself in a readinesse to fight, keeping the left flank at the foot of the hill. In the mean while the first Squadrons of the Catholicks Horse had set upon *Andelots* post, who finding himself seconded by *Puvians* Musketers, which being placed behind the hedges, and the banks, filled every thing with smoak, cries and blood, bravely opposed the Enemy, and it was a spectacle worthy the remembrance, that in the charge he encountered the Duke de Monsalez, (who behaved himself



1569

*Andelot* mingles with the enemy in such manner that lifting up the Duke of Monfalez Beaver, he discharges a Pistoll in his face.

himself no lesse couragiously) and came up so close to him, that with his bridle-hand he lift up the Beaver of his Helmet and discharged a Pistol in his face, of which shot he fell down dead upon the ground; neverthelesse the Hugonots yeilding to the superior number of the Catholicks, could not maintain that post above half an hour, but setting spurres to their Horses, galloped away to the main Body of the Van, and ranged themselves on the place that was appointed for them.

Whilst these things were doing, the Duke of Anjou having without tumult or confusion disposed his Army in very good order, advanced readily to begin the Battell, the beginning of the day giving great hopes of an assured victory. Without any detraction both sides shewed an equall resolution, and boldnesse of courage, but the other circumstances were not equall, and especially their Forces, for part of the Hugonots Foot, which were distributed upon the banks of the River, hearing of the Enemies passage, and believing they could not possibly joyn with the rest of their Army, were passed over the River and retired to a place of security, and the rest that were with Monsieur d'Acierre according to their orders, following the Prince of Condé, could not come soon enough to the fight, but dispersed themselves in severall places without making triall that day of their fortune. Notwithstanding the Hugonots being defended on one side by the lake; and on the other by the hill, and therefore sure they could not be hurt in the middle, bravely sustained the fiercenesse of the encounter; the Commanders no lesse then the common Souldiers fighting boldly on both sides, and with great courage disputing the successe of the day.

The Duke of Guise charged the left wing, where were the Admiral and *Andelot* with a great number of the Nobility of Provence, Britany and Normandy, and there the fight was very hot, the event of the Battel remaining very doubtful for many hours; but the Catholicks being continually furnished with fresh supplies, the Hugonots being no longer able to resist so much a greater number, all the Van was at length utterly routed, and the Commanders seeing the Admirals own Cornet upon the ground, by reason of the imprisonment of Monsieur de Guerchy that carried it, the Baron de la Tour Genera

neral of the Rochel Fleet killed, and *Saubise*, *Languilliers* and *Monteran* the principal Barons of their party taken prisoners, they resolved before they were too much pressed by the Enemy, to provide for their own safety by flight. The same did the Count *de la Rouch-fou-cault*, and the Count *de Montgomery* who were in the right wing of the Battel by the lake, for they being furiously charged by the Duke *de Montpensier* who led the Catholick Van; after a long obstinate defence, leaving *Chandenier*, *Rieux*, and *Corbouson* dead upon the place, with a great number of the Nobility of Provence, Languedoc, and Gasconie, despairing of the victory sought to save themselves. Only the Prince of Condé who in the beginning of the fight encountered the Duke of Anjou's own Squadron, though he were broken & often charged through, still rallied his men, and with a wonderful courage maintained the force of the Battel, but after the flight of the Van, and afterward of the Rear, being charged on all sides by the conquerors, and an innumerable company of the Enemy, yet he fought desperately with those that stood to him till the last, for as he was rallying his men being hurt with a blow on the leg by a courser of the Count of *Roch-fou-caults*, having afterwards his own Horse killed under him in the fight, and being grievously wounded in divers places, he still with one knee upon the ground couragiously defended himself, till Monsieur *de Montesqueon* the Dukes Captain of his Guard shooting a Pistoll in his head laid him dead upon the place.

In the Battel of Brissac the Pr. of Condé is shot in the head, of which he dies the 16. of March 1569

There was slain by his side *Robert Stuart*, he who in the Battel of *S. Denis* killed the Constable; *Tabaret*, *Melaré*, and in a manner all the Nobility of Poictou, and Xaintonge, who being invironed by the Catholicks Squadrons, could not find any way to save themselves; in the heat of which Battel the Duke of Anjou fighting valiantly beyond the force of his age, in the head of his Squadrons, and having his Horse killed under him, was in exceeding danger of his life, if he had not bin succoured by the courage and addresse of his Souldiers, and if his own valour, and those that were neer about his person had not defended him from the fury of the Enemy, who fighting desperately, compassed him in on all sides. But after the death of the Prince, and the defeating of his Squadron, in which were the most valiant Souldiers in the Army, there was

no



1569 no body made any resistance, but every one thinking how to save himself fled a severall way, and the night that was drawing on advantaged them not a little in their escape. The Admiral and *Andelot* went to *S. Jean d'Angely*, *Acier* to *Cognoc*, *Montgomery* to *Angoulesme*; all the rest, and particularly the Foot, which had not fought, dispersed themselves into severall places, not any one Regiment save only *Pluvians* and *Corbousons* being present at the businesse.

This was the Battel of Bassac that happened the 16 of March, in which the quality of the slain was much more considerable then the number; for the Hugonots lost not in all above 700 men, but they were most of them Gentlemen and Cavaliers of note; for their chief strength consisted in their Cavalry: and on the Catholick side very few were killed, but amongst those Monsieur *de Monsalez*, *Hypolite Pic*, Count *de la Mirandole*, *Prunay*, and *Ingrande*: for Monsieur *de Lignieres* whom some have named amongst the dead, died many daies after at Poitiers of a natural death.

The body of the Prince of Condé was carried in triumph upon a Pack-horse by the Catholicks, and afterwards restored to his Nephew the Prince of Navar.

The Duke of Anjou pursuing the Enemy entered the same night of the Battel victorious into Jarnac, whither the body of the Prince of Condé was carried as in triumph upon a poor Pack-horse, all the Army making sport at such a spectacle, which whilst he lived were terrified with the name of so great a person. The Duke permitted not any contempt or violence to be used to the body, being satisfied that what could not be done by policy or justice, was effected by the War; wherefore a few daies after, to shew that respect to the dead which he thought due to the Royall Bloud, he restored it to *Henry* Prince of Navar his Nephew, who without any other pomp, save only the abundant teares of all the Faction, caused him to be buried at Vendosme in a Tombe belonging to his Ancestors.

Thus lived and thus died *Lewis* of Bourbon Prince of Condé, who by having so many times stirred up Civil Wars in his own Country, and with the brand of having bin the chief disturber of the Catholick religion in the most Christian Kingdome, obscured those excellent endowments of the mind, which for boldnesse, constancy, and generosity would otherwise have rendered him most considerable amongst the first Princes and Captains of that age.

The day after the Battel those who in the terror of the flight were

were scattered in divers places, understanding that the most part of the Foot, being untouched, was retired to Cognac, endeavoured by severall wayes to get all to the same place, so that before many dayes were past, besides Monsieur d'Acier who saved himself there at the first, there met there the Counts de la Roch-fou-cant, and Montgomery, Monsieur d'Ivoy, who, his brother being killed, called himself *Jenlis*, *Jaques Bouchard*, *Teligni*, *Bouchavanes*; and at length the Admiral himself and *Andelot* came thither from *S. Jean d'Angeli*.

After this defeat the affairs of the Hugonots were in a very uncertain tottering condition; for there was no doubt, the Prince of Condé being dead, but that the first place either for dignity or reputation of wisdom was due to the Admiral; and it was not forgotten, that after the Battel of Druex in which the Prince remained prisoner, the charge of the Army was by a general consent conferred upon him; but there were many who for birth, riches, and other advantages did not willingly yeild to him; on the contrary, at this very time there was a common slander laid upon his reputation, That through his sloth and negligence, the Catholicks got an opportunity to passe the River, whilst he suffered himself to be deluded by the stratagems of a youth, who then only entered upon the rudiments of War; and that after the passage of the Army he had basely yeilded in all places; giving a beginning, by his flight, to the succeſſe and victory of the Enemy; which imputations, though he fully answered, shewing that the passage of the Catholicks happened only becauſe his orders were not obeyed, and becauſe thoſe who were appointed to guard the paſſes, for conveniency of quarter, left their poſts without leave, ſo that he, who could not be everywhere, was not advertiſed ſoon enough to remedy it; yet that his flight ought indeed to be attributed to greatneſſe of courage; for the Army being routed and the victory deſperate, he choſe rather to ſave himſelf that he might riſe again as a new *Anteus* to the ruine and perdition of his Enemies, then by deſpairing of the future, through dejectedneſſe of mind to die unprofitably out of ſeaſon, and without having effected any thing; nevertheleſſe partly through envy, partly through ambition, partly through grief of the late loſſe, and the death of the Prince, he was ſpoken againſt and hated by many.



1569

Besides this, it was thought that wanting the authority and name of a Prince of the bloud, the foundation & credit of the faction would fail, for neither the people would so readily believe & follow a man of private condition, nor stranger Princes much trust to his fidelity, nor would the reasons of their cause have that wonted pretence to make war for the publick good, & service of the state; the nature of this charge being such, That whosoever undertook it, ought to be the nearest allied Princes of the bloud Royal. To this was added that many accustomed to the liberality, candor, and integrity of the P. of Condé, abhorred and feared the disposition and carriage of the Admiral, who was thought a man exceeding covetous, of deep thoughts, of a treacherous subtil nature, & in all things inclined wholly to attend and procure by any means his own ends. And it happened at the same time, that *Andelot*, & *Jacques Bonchard* the one brother and the other streightly united by interests with the Admiral, either spent with labour, or overcome with grief and trouble of mind, fell both into a grievous sicknesse, of which they died not many months after, whereby that party which desired the greatnes & advancement of the Admiral, not knowing how to manage their busines, remained extremely weakned. But he with his subtilty overcoming all these impediments, resolved by dispising ambition, and speciousnes of titles, still to retain in himself the chief power and authority: for transferring the name of Heads of the Faction, and the titles of Generals of the army to *Henry* Prince of Navar, and *Henry* Son to the deceased Prince of Condé, he saw the common cause would not only keep the same authority and the same reputation of being upheld by the bloud Royal; but they being both in a manner children, the sole administartion of the whole businesse should still remain in him; so to quiet the ambitions and pretences of the great ones, so to satisfie the expectation of the people, and by this means to renew again that league amongst the Faction which through diversity of opinions seemed now in a manner broken.

*Andelot* after  
the losse of the  
Battel dieth of  
grief.

With this resolution, not attempting that which could not be obtained, he presently sent to Queen *Jane* to come to the army, shewing her the time was now come to advance her Son to that greatnes which properly belonged to him, and to which she had so long aspired. Queen *Jane* wanted neither  
willingnesse

willingnes nor courage, being before fully resolved dispising all danger, to make her Son head of that Faction, wherefore with a readines and quicknes answerable to the occasion, she went instantly with both the Princes to the camp which was then at Cognac, full of discords within it self, & in a condition rather to disolve, then to keep together, to remedy the disorders & losses already hapned. There the Q. of Navar, after she had approved the Admirals counsels, the army being drawn together, with wonderful courage & manly speeches, exhorting the Souldiers to remain united & constant in the defence of their liberties & religion, proposed to them the two young Princes, whose presence & aspect moved the affections of them all, to be their Generals; encouraging them under the auspicious conduct of those two branches of the Royal blood, to hope for a most happy successe to their just pretentions & the common cause: at w<sup>ch</sup> words the army, w<sup>ch</sup> through the past adversities, & present discords was in a maner astonished & confounded, taking new vigour, the Admiral & the Count *de la Rochefoucant* first submitted & swore fidelity to the Princes of Bourbon; by whose example the gentlemen & cōmanders doing the same, the cōmon souldiers likewise with loud applause approved the election of the Princes for Protectors & Heads of the reformed religion. Henry of Bourbon P. of Navar was then 15 years of age, of a lively spirit & generous courage, altogether addicted & intent to the profession of arms; wherfore through the inclination of his fate, or the perswasions of his Mother readily without any demur attempting the invitation of the army, in a short Souldier-like speech, he promised them *To protect the true Religion, and to persevere constantly in the defence of the common Cause, till either death or victory brought that liberty they all desired and aimed at.* The Prince of Condé rather by his actions then words consented to what was done, for he was so young that he could not expresse himself otherwise; so that in all other things likewise yeilding to the maturer age, and preeminence of the first Prince of the Blood, the chief authority of the Faction was established in the Prince of Navar; wherefore Queen *Jane*, in remembrance of this Act, caused afterwards certain pieces of Gold to be coyned, which on the one side bore her own Effigies, and on the other her Sons, with this word, PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRA, MORIS HONESTI.

The Prince of Navar and Henry Son to the Prince of Condé, are approved of and received for Heads of the Hugonot Faction.

The Prince of Navar was 15 years of age, & the Prince of Condé a child.

Money coyned by the Queen of Navar with her own figure on the one side, & her Sons on the other.



1569

The care of  
the army com-  
mitted to the  
Admiral.

The Princes then being chosen Heads of the Faction, they presently called a counsel of the chief Commanders to deliberate in the presence of Queen *Jane* how to manage their business, what remedies were expedient to repair their past losses, and how to divert the extreme danger that threatned them. There before any thing else, it was determined, That the Admiral, by reason of the minority and little experience of the Princes, should govern the Army and all things else belonging to the War; But Monsieur *d'Acier*e should be General of the Foot; which charge first by the infirmity, and afterwards by the death of *Andelot* was vacant, and Monsieur *de Jenlis* General of the Artillery which was formerly supplied by *Bouchard*. After which Elections, discoursing how to proceed with the War, many not yet assured from their feares, would that the Army should be drawn into the cities and strong holds about Rochel, shewing it would be impossible for the D. of Anjou to make any attempt upon those places which were so invironed with waters, and marsh grounds, whilst there was any reasonable strength to defend them: but this appeared to the Admiral (the other commanders of best esteem being of the same opinion) a too cowardly resolution, and therefore it was determined, That all the Army should be divided into the several towns upon the rivers, to keep them, & to hinder the progresse of the conqueror, till they had certain news of the forces the D. of Deux-ponts was bringing to their aid out of Germany, who when he came near the army should draw together again to meet him whersoever he was, & use their utmost endeavours to joyn with him; for by obtaining that end, they should remain at least equal, if not superior in strength to the Kings army; and if they could not effect it, they should be separated and carry the War into divers places, and the King likewise being constrained to divide his forces, they might make War upon even terms; which things being resolved on, Q. *Jane* went to Rochel to sollicite for new aids & provisions, the Admiral with the Princes retired to S. *Jean d'Angeli*, Monsieur *de Piles* took upon him the defence of Xaintes, *Montgomery* & *Puviant* turn'd about to Angolesme, Monsieur *d'Acier*e with the greatest part of the foot remain'd at Cognac, & *Jenlis* with a strong garrison shut himself up in Loudun, all places, either for strength of their situation, by help of art, or in regard of the rivers (w<sup>ch</sup> in that country are many & very deep) likely to hold out a long time. In



In the mean while the Duke of Anjou, having given three dayes to refresh his men, who were wearied out with continuall labour, and busied in dividing their booty, by the advice of his Captains, resolved to set upon those very cities the Hugonots meant to possesse, as the most ready way to mannage the War; to which purpose he sent for the great peeces of battery from Poictiers, having for the more expedition marched only with field-peeces. This time of respite retarded for some dayes the course of their Victory, and gave the Hugonots leisure to put their before mentioned designs in execution; besides, the expecting Orders from the Court which was far off, and where the resolutions are not always easie and positive, produced at least delayes and losse of time. The first place they moved against was Cognac; but it soon appeared they had undertaken a long and difficult enterprise; for the late Victory was gained rather by industry in passing the river, and the death of the Prince of Condé, then any great losse or slaughter among the Hugonots; and their running away, which proceeded onely from a sudden terror, as it was a cause of losing their Generall, so it preserved the Army, which being now divided, with abundant provisions to defend the strong places, burnt with a desire by some remarkable valiant actions to cancell the infamy of their late flight: whereby the taking of the principall Cities became exceeding difficult.

There were in Cognac 7000 Foot, and more then 600 Horse with Monsieur d'Acier, and divers of the Nobility and chief Commanders, who as the Army approached, and severall dayes after sallied out in such numbers, that their encounters seemed rather little Battels then great Skirmishes; and besides the fiercenesse and courage the Hugonots shewed, they did likewise great damage to the assailants, so that they had no leasure by reason of the continuall sallies, to think either of making their approaches, or raising batteries, but were forced for their own securities, and to avoid the fury of the Enemy, to keep the Army in perpetuall duty, and in arms; by which difficulties the Duke of Anjou concluding it was in a manner impossible, in the state the Town then was, to take it; not to spend his time in vain, or to consume the Army to no purpose, resolved to advance farther, to assault and cleer those places more in the heart of the Enemies country,



1569 country, which were neither so strong, nor so well provided, so that they being taken, Cognac would remain like an Island cut off from all commerce, and fall of it self ; which in time he hoped undoubtedly to effect ; for experience had in all occasions manifestly shewn, that there was no poyson so deadly to the Hugonots as delayes.

Wherefore the Duke of Anjou at the end of four dayes leaving Cognac, and marching toward S. *Jean d' Angeli*, he or some of his Commanders, by the way took Tifange, Montaut, Forest, and Aubeterre, and at length came to besiege Mucidan. There the Count of Brissac with his wonted courage tending his batteries, whilest he resolutely advanced to view the breach, was shot in the right thigh, of which wound hee died, generally lamented by all men. His misfortune slackned not, but on the contrary added to the fiercenesse of the Catholicks, in so much, that having made a furious assault and taken the Town, in revenge of his death, not onely all the souldiers, but the inhabitants likewise were put to the sword.

*Wolfgangus of Bavaria with an Army of 14000 men comes to the aid of the Hugonots.*

In this interim *Wolfgangus* of Bavaria Duke of Deux-ponts, moved by the mony and promises of the Hugonots, had by the aid of the Duke of Saxony, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and by the perswasions and assistance of the Queen of England, gotten together an Army of 6000 Foot and 8000 Horse, Monsieur *de Muy* and Monsieur *de Morvilliers* with 800 Horse, and Monsieur *de Briguemant* with 1200 French Musketers being sent into Germany to joyn with them. In this Army were *William* of Nassau Prince of Orange, with *Lewis* and *Henry* his Bothers ; who being driven out of Flanders, to avoid the severity of the Duke of Alva, followed the same Religion, and the same fortune with the Hugonots.

The King of France and the Queen his Mother had endeavoured, first by Embassies to the Protestant Princes, and afterwards by the authority of the Emperor *Maximillian* the Second, with whom they entertained a streight league, to hinder the raising of this Army ; but the Protestants being much more zealous to advance their own Religion, and the hope of gain and booty more prevalent then either the Kings promises, or the Emperors threats, they brought their forces together with a firm resolution, despising all dangers, to passe without

without delay to the aid of the Hugonots. But the King and the Queen-Mother, who to shelter themselves from this tempest, were gone to Metz upon the borders of Lorain, when they saw this Army raised, to hinder which they had used all manner of arts, gave commission to the Duke of Aumale, with the Cavalry of Champagne and Burgundy, and 6000 Swisses newly received into pay, to enter the confines of the Protestant Princes, wasting their territories and spoiling their people, to force them to keep the Army at home for their own defence, so that they might not passe that yeer into France; believing the Emperor, in consideration of the justice of their cause, and the league they had with him, would not oppose his resolution. But the Duke of Aumale having in the territories of Strasbourg, one of the free Towns of the Empire, met with, and made a great slaughter among a certain number of French that were going from Geneva and the country about, to joyn with the Duke of Deux-ponts his Army, not only the other Towns, and all the Princes of the Empire, but even the Emperour himself was so offended thereat, that the King and the Queen, not to exasperate them further, or raise new Enemies, sent directions to the Duke of Aumale, that he should presently withdraw his forces into Burgundy, to keep things in order at home, being already assured through the perverseness of stranger Princes, that they should have work enough in their own Kingdom.

The Duke of Deux-ponts with his Army presently followed the Duke of Aumale into Burgundy, with exceeding cruelty wasting and spoiling all the country through which he passed; nor could the Duke of Aumale, being so much inferior in strength, either hinder his march, or fight with him in the field; wherefore retiring into the Towns, he only kept him from entering into the strong places, or making that spoil and those incursions which he would have done, if finding no resistance, he had made himself Master of the country. In this manner the Armies skirmishing almost every day, though sometimes with losse, they marched all over Burgundy, till the Duke of Aumale, seeing the Enemy for want of peeces of battery could not force the strong Towns, and knowing to follow them at a distance would be to no purpose, went directly through the country of Auxerre with that strength he had, to the Duke of Anjou, that being so joyned

The Duke of Deux-ponts enters into France, wasting and spoiling the country.



1569 joyned, they might be the better able to resist the Enemy.

But the German Army being advanced to the Loire, was in exceeding pain how to passe over ; for all the bridges upon that river are either within the Towns, or else close under the wals, and were then held by the Kings forces ; for the Duke of Anjou being certainly advertised of the Germans coming, leaving the Enemies country, had drawn all his Army to the river, and having placed strong guards upon the passes, expected what resolution they would take ; By reason whereof the Germans were in a great streight, there being no means to passe the river, but by making their way through the Towns ; and they had neither peeces of Battery, nor other provisions fit for such a purpose : in so much, that they began to fear this great Army, which was raised with such a noise, would at length be destroyed without effecting any thing.

Never helesse, the basenesse or treachery of men rendred that very easie, which was of it self exceeding difficult ; for the Commanders of the German Army resolving to fall upon La Charité, a Town upon the river, rather with an intent not to spend their time idly, then with any reasonable hope of taking it ; and meaning to batter the walls, which were of the old fashon, with those few small peeces that marched with the Army, he was scarce encamped before it, when the Governor (without any apparent cause) (for at that time (as it is usuall in civill Wars) men were led by divers unknown interests and inclinations) fled secretly out of the Town ; whereupon, the souldiers running away in disorder, the Townsmen were so terrified, that they began to enter into a treaty of yeelding themselves ; during the which, being negligent of their guards, they without on a sudden fastned their ladders to the walls, and finding no opposition, *Briquemaunts* men first, and after them the whole Army entring, miserably sacked that Town, whilst the Duke of Anjou being certainly advertised of the Germans attempt, sent a considerable force to relieve it. So the German Army having at the same time gained a convenient passe and retreat, on the twentieth of May passed over the river.

In the mean while the Admirall with the Princes, under whose names all things were governed, made ready to march towards the Germans, with this consideration, That if they could joyn their forces, the Army would be by that mean

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much the stronger, and if they could not, the Duke of Anjou lying between the two Armies would be compassed in, and exceedingly streightned on all sides: Wherefore Monsieur de la Noüe being left Governor of the Militia at Rochel, for all things else were directed by the Queen of Navar, and the Count of Montgomery sent to the aid of Bearne ( of which Province Messieurs de Monluc and Terride the Kings Lieutenants in Gascony and Guyenne were absolute Masters; ) they marched with 12000 Foot, & 2000 Horse towards the Loire, daily increasing in strength through the continuall concourse of the Nobility, that came in to them from the adjacent Provinces; but being not yet certainly advertised of the Duke de Deux-ponts passage, they were not fully resolved which way to take, but advanced very slowly, reasonably enough doubting that they might be assailed by the Catholicks before they could joyn with the Germans. But the Duke of Anjou, after the German Camp had passed the Loire, fearing to be engaged between the two Armies, withdrew his Forces from the River and retired into Limosin, conceiving the woods and mountains in that country would still secure his quarters, and that the Germans who were accustomed to lie covered and live in plenty, through the barrenesse of the soil could not long subsist there.

On the other side the Duke of Deux-ponts when he had passed the Loire, being desirous to joyn with the Princes, hastened his march all that he could; but death crossed his design, for either through the incommodities of so long a journey, or as some said through the excesse of drinking, he fell into a continuall Feaver, which soon becoming malignant killed him in a few daies after, leaving it doubtful (having marched so far through the Enemies country without any losse, and passed so many great deep rivers) whether it were to be attributed to fortune or his own conduct that he had so happily advanced to joyn with his confederates into the furthest parts of all Aquitaine.

The Duke of Deux-ponts dies of excesse of drinking before he joins with the Princes.

The D. being dead, the charge of the army fell upon Count Volrade of Mansfield who was his Lieutenant General without any opposition either of the Princes or other great Commanders in the army, who avoided it more through the apprehension of many imminent dangers then either through modesty or want of pretences. The 3<sup>d</sup> day after the death of the General, the Ger-

Count Mansfield succeeds him in the charge of the Army.



1569 man Army joyned with the Admiral and the Princes upon the banks of the Vienne, where having made a muster, and given them a months pay out of the Monies which the Queen of Navar had with great paines raised upon the Rochellers, and out of the contributions of the neighbouring Towns, they marched together towards the Duke of Anjou, being desirous to fight before any new accident happened to diminish their forces.

The Pope, the Great Duke of Tuscany, & the Duke of Alva send supplies to the King.

The Duke of Anjou had recruited his Army with the succours that came out of Italy and Flanders; for the Pope desirous to have the War continued against the Hugonots, and for the reputation of the Apostolick See, had sent to his Majesties aid 4000 Foot and 800 Horse under the command of *Sforza Count di S<sup>ta</sup> Fiore* a person of quality, and an experienced Souldier: and the great Duke of Tuscany had added 200 Horse, and 1000 Foot under *Fabiano del Monte*. The Duke of Alva likewise sent Count *Peter Ernest* de Mansfield out of Flanders with a Regiment of 3000 Walons and 300 Flemish Lances, being desirous to destroy the German Army in which were the Prince of Orenge and his Brothers, who though exiles, retained so great a power and credit in all parts of the Low-countries.

But notwithstanding these supplies, their miseries, sicknesse, and want of pay had so diminished the Army, that it was rather inferior then superior in number to the Hugonots; wherefore the Duke of Anjou being unwilling to fight, having retired into the Country of Limosin, staid at Rochebeille in a secure quarter; for the main body of the Army lying upon the top of a steep rocky hill, of difficult ascent towards the plain Country, a little on each hand were two other craggy hills full of stems, & trees, in either of which stood a Village. In that on the right hand was *Philippo Strozzi*, whom the King had declared Colonel General of the Infantry, with two French Regiments, and in the other on the left the Count *di S<sup>ta</sup> Fiore*, *Fabiano del Monte*, and *Pietro Paulo Tosinghi* with the Popes and the Tuscan Foot. On the top of the hill the Canon was planted, which commanded all the places about, and between the head quarter and the Villages where the Foot was entrenched in the plaine, but with a running streame in their Front, lay the light Horse with the Duke of Nemours, and the Italian

Italian Commanders. Being thus disposed in their severall Quarters, having the City of Limoges a little behind them, the camp abounded with victuals, of which by reason of its barrenness there was great scarcity in all the country about.

The Admirall, who with the Princes and the Army was advanced within half a league of the Catholick camp, considering the advantage of the place where they lay, and the difficulty to nourish his men amongst barren woods and stony mountains, resolved at the same time to set upon *Strozzi's* quarter and the Italians, knowing if hee could beat them from thence, and get possession of the Villages, he should so streighten the Enemies camp, that losing the use of the plain, and not having wherewithall to feed such a number of Horse, they would be constrained to retreat with evident danger of being routed. Upon which grounds the twenty third of June he with his Van (the Foot under *Piles*, *Briquemant*, and *Rouvray* going first; then Count *Lewis* of Nassau with a Regiment of Germans; and lastly, *de Muy*, *Teligny*, and *Soubise* with their Horse, marched directly towards *Strozzi's* quarter; and the Princes with the Battel commanded by the Count *de la Roch-foucault* and the Prince of Orange, in which were *Beaudin's*, *Blacon's*, and *Pouillier's* Foot, another Regiment of Germans, and the Marques of Renel, *Mombrun*, *Aciere*, and *Ambras* with their Horse, advanced to the Italians quarter; the most part of the Germans and two Regiments of Musketers under the command of the Count *de Mansfield* and *Genlis* staying with the canon in the champagne.

The Armies front each other, and the Admirall sets upon *Strozzi's* quarter, who through his too much forwardness is taken prisoner.

But the assault which was appointed to be given two houres before day, by reason of the shortness of the night, began just as the light appeared, when the Admirall falling upon *Strozzi's* quarter, caused *Piles* his Musketers to goe on first, after whom the rest following, which were about 4000, there began a most fierce and bloody fight, the Hugonots relying upon their number, and the Catholicks upon the strength of the situation; for being covered with trees and hedges, and having the advantage of an higher ground, with their small shot they exceedingly annoyed the Enemy, who on the other side being so much superiour in number, that they fought four to one with continuall supplies of fresh men, made a fair attempt to overcome the inequality of the place, and to beat the Catholicks from



1569

their post, which would have been impossible, if too much ardor (considering how they disposed themselves) had not rendered their resolution vain; for *Philippo Strozzi* being incensed beyond his usuall temper by the cries of the French (who having the Count of Brissac fresh in their memories, reproached him with his name, and shewed a kinde of disdain to be commanded by an Italian) advanced to the head of his men, and earnestly encouraging every one with fair words and his own example to follow him, leaving the advantage of the place, fell in with such fury upon *Briquemaunts* and *Piles* his Musketers, that hee forced them to retire in great disorder: But the Admirall seeing him through the heat of the fight, and an eagerneesse to pursue those that ran away, advance inconsiderately into an equall place, & come into the plain champagne where the Horse might be usefull, advanced likewise with all the Van, hemming him in on every side, and though with the help of his souldiers he courageously defended himself, yet being overborn by the Horse, and full of wounds and bloud, he was at length taken prisoner, which occasioned many to passe this censure upon him, That his courage was more commendable then his wisdom: but it was almost impossible, that a man who hath in him the thoughts of honour, when he finds himself provoked, though by them that are ignorant, should keep within those limits which he himself knoweth are prescribed and dictated by reason.

There remained dead upon the place *S. Loup* and *Roque-leandre*, both Lieutenants to *Strozzi*; 22 Captains, some that were reformed, some that had Companies; and 350 of the best souldiers; and on the Hugonots side 150 Horse and Foot, amongst which *Trememont* and *la Fontaine*, both Commanders of great power and esteem.

The Admirall bravely pursued the remainder of *Strozzi's* men, who retreated fighting to their Post; but the place was of such a nature, that the Horse could do no good, and the Foot being weary and disordered, could not so briskly renew the assault; wherefore the Catholicks, who were still a considerable number upon the hill, easily sustained the charge, till the light Horse which were neer, seeing the danger their friends were in, came to succour them, and being joyned, beat back the Hugonots, to the great honour of *Francesco Somma* of Cremona, a Captain of the Italian light Horse, who with the greatest

greatest part of his men, lighting from their horses, fought amongst the hedges and the Chestnut-trees in the first ranks with wonderfull courage, and exceeding detriment to the Enemy. On the other side, whither the Prince of Navar and Condé led the Battalia to assail the Italians, there happened lesse execution on either side; For the Count *de S. Flour* not being so precipitately rash as *Sorozzi* was, nor moved by the unexperienced forwardnesse of his Souldiers, maintaining his ground, defended himself without any ill successe, resolutely sustaining the assault of *Baudiné* and *Pouilliers*, who with a great number of Foot endeavoured to beat him from it; and though the fight endured with great ardor on both sides an hour longer then at the other quarter which the Admiral attempted, yet it ended with little blood, for there were not killed in all above 120 men.

This was the first day in which *Henry* Prince of Navar hazarded himself in the Warre, for though he was carefully brought up by his Mother in all warlick exercises that were used amongst us, as riding and handling his arms, yet till that day he never was present in any reall occasion; but then charging in the Front of his men, he shewed such a noble courage and boldnesse, which was so much the more remarkable, because danger at first seems most terrible, that he gave sufficient testimony of such a vertue as was likely to fill the world with the renown of his actions.

The businesse being thus ended, the Princes and the Admiral, that they might the more streighten the Catholicks, resolved to encamp in the same place where they had fought, judging that by reason of the narrownesse of their quarters the Kings Horse must necessarily be reduced to great extremity; but within a few dayes they found how prejudiciall that resolution proved, for by the means of *Limoges* which lay behind him, the Duke of *Anjou* was abundantly furnished with victuals, which they could no way prevent; but in their Camp the barrennesse of the country, and the power of the Catholicks over the adjacent Towns, caused such a dearth of all provisions, that they were forced to rise, and marching towards *Perigord* to seek a more fertil soil, whereby to satisfie the greedy appetites of so many Germans, who being led on by the hopes of plenty and rich booty, found want of food and lying in the field so much the more insupportable.

The Hugonots for want of provision are forced to rise from before the Catholicks.

About



About this time the Queen Mother came to the Duke of Anjou's Camp, accompanied by the Cardinals of Bourbon and Lorain, to consult and resolve how to manage the War, for not only in the Kings counsell, but much more in the Army the Commanders were of divers opinions; some paralleling the Kings forces with the Hugonots, thought it most expedient presently to come to a Battel, beleiving that the old bands (so they call the Kings standing Regiments) and the firm Battalion of the Swisses, by so many actions already become terrible to the Enemy, could not receive the least opposition by the Hugonots new raised men, and that the Catholick Horse consisting of the flour of all the Nobility in the Kingdom, would easily master the Squadrons of the Reiters (so they call the German Horse) which besides the Officers and some few Gentlemen, are made up of people taken out of Stables, and such like mean drudges, very unproper to bear Arms: Wherefore they concluded, That in a few hours they might deliver France from the infinite distractions and calamities of War, and with one blow suppress the obstinate perversnes of the Hugonots; whereas keeping things with wary counsels, and slow resolutions from coming to an issue, the people were consumed, the Nobility destroyed, the Kings revenues brought to nothing, and the country ruined, with a general desolation over the whole Kingdom; still giving time and opportunity to the Enemy by his industry to gain advantages, besides the evident danger, if a new supply came out of Germany, as it was already reported, That the Kings Army being weary and decayed with a continual War, would at length remain a prey to the Force of the Enemy.

Others thought it a rash precipitate counsel, to hazard a Kingdom upon the uncertain event of a Battel, against an Enemy that had not any thing to venture; for all the Germans fortune consisted in their Arms and that little Baggage they carried with them; and the Hugonots could loose nothing, but what they had taken and usurped from the Crown: wherefore it was too visible a danger to fight without any hope of gain against a desperate multitude; that more solid secure resolutions ought to be taken, & by prolonging the war suffer the German Forces to consume away of themselves, as they alwaies use to do; for being brought into a climate so contrary to that where they were born, when the heats of Summer came,

came, and Grapes were ripe, of which they are exceeding greedy, sickness would without doubt enter amongst them, by which their Army would remain, if not absolutely defeated, at least notably diminished and weakned; that if the Heads of the Hugonots determined, as it was likely they would, to attempt the principall Towns held by the Catholics, they would be sure in assaults and skirmishes to lose their best men, which was a certain way to ruine them; that though time, want of Money, scarcity of victuals, and the unhealthfulness of the season did not utterly destroy the Hugonots, yet it was a much safer counsel, when the Kings Army had rested, to return again with fresh men and a greater strength to the triall of a Battell against a body languishing and decayed with long continual labour; which now on the contrary, by reason of the fresh supplies, was very powerful and vigorous: that for the present year they needed not apprehend the coming of more Germans, who it was known had not yet made any Levies; and therefore they ought not through a vain fear to precipitate those resolutions, which being managed with prudence and moderation, might bring the business to a certain issue, and a happy end.

This opinion, as most secure, at length prevailed, especially with the Queen, who in her nature and judgement was disposed to follow those counsels which were furthest out of the power of fortune, and which might be effected with least danger or blood, being wont to say, That members, though never so putrified, use not to be cut off without extreme necessity; and whensoever they are cut off the body not only suffereth sharp paines, but a dangerous debilitation, and too great a defect: Wherefore in her heart she was alwaies inclined to favour those resolutions, which suppressing the Heads of the Hugonots, might cure the madness of the people, and preserve the welfare of the Crown; for which reasons she abhorred the triall of a Battell, by which, (besides the uncertainty of the event,) the body and strength of the Kingdome would remain exceedingly weakned.

This determination being approved and concluded of by  
the



1569 the King, the Duke of Anjou, (after he had placed sufficient Garrisons in the Towns that lay next to the Hugonots,) dismissed the Nobility, and divided the rest of the Army into a fruitful convenient Country, with a command, That by the first of October next they should all return to their Colours, purposing then to re-unite his Forces, and to proceed according as the occasions should require; and he himself with a small train of Lords and Officers, (that he might be near, if any accident should happen,) went to Loches, a strong place upon the Confines of Touraine.

The Duke dismisseth the Nobility of his Army, sends the rest into Garrisons, and goeth himself to Loches.

*The end of the fourth Book.*





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Fifth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**He Fift Book relates the determination of the Hugonots to take in the Cities of Poictou, and Xaintonge: the siege of Poictiers, the Duke of Anjou's designe to relieve that City by a diversion, to which end drawing his Army together he sits down before Chastel-rault: the Admirall raiseth his siege and causeth the Duke of Anjou to do the like: Monsieur de Sanfac besiegeth la Charité, but without successe: The Count Montgomery conquers the Kings party in Bearne, besiegeth, and taketh Monsieur de Terride. The King causeth the Admirall to be proclaimed Rebel, his goods to be confiscate, and his houses demolished; he continues the War vigorously. The Duke of Anjou grown very strong, desires to give Battel: the Admirall endeavours to avoid it, but forced by the tumultuous consent of his whole Army, prepares to fight, and yet tryes to march away. The Duke of Anjou follows, and overtakes him neer Moncountour; they skirmish hotly toward the evening, and the Canon doth great harme to the Hugonots: under favour of the  
Rr night,



1569

night, the Admirall passeth the River, and retreats, the Duke passes the same river in another place; the Armies face one another upon the plain of Moncontour, and fight valiantly; but the victory is the Duke of Anjou's, with infinite slaughter of the Hugonots; many of them are disheartned, the Admirall encourageth them, and with many reasons perswades them to prosecute the War. The Princes quit all the country except Rochel, S. Jehan d' Angeli, and Angoulême, and retire with the reliques of their Army into the mountains of Gasconne, and Languedoc. The Duke laies siege to S. Jehan and takes it, but with the lessening of his Army, and losse of time; he goes sick to Angiers, and thence to S. Germaines: The Princes joyn with the Count Montgomery in Gasconne, they passe the Winter in the mountains, and at the spring time draw into the plains, passe the Rhosne, and enlarge themselves in Provence and Daulphiné: They march toward Noyers, and la Charité with an intent to come neer Paris: The King sends an Army against them under the command of the Maresball de Cosé, a slow man and not desirous to ruine the Hugonots; they meet in Burgogne, but the Princes shun the Battel; a Treaty of agreement is begun, and in the end concluded at the court. The Princes and the Admirall retire to Rochel; the King endeavours to beget an assurance in them, and for that cause offers to give his Sister the Lady Margaret in marriage to the Prince of Navar, and to make War with the Spaniard in Flanders; the match is concluded, and they come all to Court: The Queen of Navar is poisoned, after her death the marriage is celebrated, amidst the triumphs whereof the Admirall is shot in the arme: The King resolves to prosecute and free himself of the Hugonots; upon S. Bartholomews-eve at night the Admirall and all the rest of them are Massacred in Paris, and many other Cities of the Kingdom: The King attempts to surprize Rochel, and Montauban, but neither designe takes effect; many treaties passe to bring the Rochellers to subjection, but they resolving to defend themselves, the Duke of Anjou draws his Army together, and besiegeth them with all his Forces: they hold out many months, till the Duke of Anjou being elected King of Poland, condescends to grant them very good conditions, with which they in appearance return unto the Kings obedience. The King of Poland departs: The Duke of Alanson his next brother, pretends to succeed him in all his dignities; is repulsed, where-

whereat being discontented, he applies his mind to new designs. The King of Navar, the Prince of Condé, the House of Momorancy and the Hugonots unite themselves with him and plot a conspiracy; which being discovered, the Duke d'Alençon, the King of Navar, and many others are imprisoned; the Prince of Condé escapes into Germany: The King falling into a dangerous sicknesse, commits the troubles of the Kingdom unto his Mothers care: Armies are raised in Poictou, Languedoc, and Normandy, where the Count de Montgomery coming out of England lands, and takes many places. Monsieur de Maignon goes against, defeats, besieges, and takes him; he is brought to Paris, condemned, and executed. King Charles having declared his Mother Regent, yeilds under the burthen of his disease, and departs this life in the flower of his age.



HE Duke of Anjou's resolution to dissolve his Army for a time, and draw it into Garrisons, put the Hugonots affairs into a very hard condition; for having such a multitude of men, and so little means to nourish & maintain them, which way soever they turned their thoughts, they met with exceeding great diffi-

culties. To passe the River of Loire, as many advised, and to endeavour the subduing of the largest and most spacious Provinces of the Kingdom, and even Paris it self, the Seat and Basis of the Catholick party; though it represented hopes, by cutting the sinnews of the contrary Faction, to end the War victoriously; and though visibly it administred occasion to rob and plunder, (the only end of the Germans, and the only way to keep them together;) yet in effect it appeared a design full of danger, and uncertainty, for putting themselves (without money, ammunition, good store of canon, order for victuals, and which imported most without any Town, or strong place whither they might upon any occasion retreat, and defend themselves) into the middle of an Enemies country; they saw plainly, that any the least sinister incounter, or light impediment that crossed their attempts, was enough absolutely to ruine and destroy them; nor were the



1569 hopes of gain, or successe such as could counterpoize this danger; for the principall Towns were strongly guarded, and the Kings Army being rather divided, then dissolved, was easily to be re-united upon any occasion, and capable to drive them into great streights, if rashly they engaged themselves amongst the Enemies Forces, without conveniency to retire, or provide against ordinary necessities, which would be likely daily to grow upon them.

On the other side to spend their time in besieging those Towns, which in Aquitaine, and beyond the Loire, held yet for the Catholick party; and by taking them to gain the absolute dominion of that country, whereof they already possessed the greatest part, and from which they expected the chief support for their Army, had two weighty oppositions; the first, That in besieging the strong places one by one, which were so well provided of all things necessary for their defence, would occasion the losse of much time, and greatly waist the Army, a thing well foreseen by the Catholicks, and one of their chiefest aimes. The other that by staying there they should destroy that country with taxes and contributions from which they had their subsistence; so that they should neither be able to raise money enough to pay the souldiers, nor to get such bootie as would satisfie their greedinesse, and impatience.

But it being necessary of two evils to chuse (as it is usuall) the least; the Princes, and the Admiral at length resolved, to attempt those which were neereest, so to make an absolute conquest of all that country beyond the Loire, and establish their party securely in that canton (as I may so say) of France; hoping to have such supplies of money out of England, and by the prizes taken by the Fleet, (since the death of *la Tour*, commanded by Monsieur *de Soré*) as would suffice to supply the Army for some time, in which interim, an occasion might perchance arise, of a more fortunate, and more happy progresse.

The Hugonots resolve to take in as many places as they can: by intelligence possessed themselves of Chastel-rault and Lusignan with the Castle there.

With this deliberation, having taken the rich Monastery of Branthome, and to make them more ready, and obedient, granted the pillage thereof to the Germans, in which manner they used divers other lesser places, the Admiral with the Army went to Chastel-rault, in which Town he had many daies before, held secret intelligence with some of the inhabitants:

nor was the enterprize at all difficult; for the conspirators having raised a tumult, and made themselves masters of one of the gates, let in the Hugonots: which unexpected accident struck such a terror in the Governor who held it for the King, that he fled away to Poitiers without making any resistance, and the Town without dispute, remained absolutely in the Admirals power, who received it as he did all the rest, in the name of the Prince of Navar, by whose authority (as first Prince of the blood) all matters were dispatched, and governed.

Chastel-rault being taken, the Admiral advanced to besiege Lusignan, and having taken the Town without much difficulty, sat down before the Castle, which is esteemed one of the strongest places in France, and had formerly (though often boldly assaulted) held out with good success, a long time against the English; but now the resolution of the defendants was not answerable to the virtue of their predecessors; for having scarce staid for the battering (which though it made a large breach in the Wall, yet the Castle standing upon the top of a rock, it was almost impossible to go on to the assault) they began to treat of delivering it up, and in a few daies capitulated to march out, with flying colours and all their baggage, which agreement (contrary to their custom) was exactly observed. Lusignan thus taken, before which Messieurs *de Breuil*, and *du Chesney* Souldiers of great reputation, were killed by the canon; the Admirall taking 6 great peeces with him which he found in the Castle, resolved to march towards Poitiers, after Paris, a City of the greatest circuit of any in the Kingdom, and head of the adjacent Provinces, whither were carried as into a place of security, all the wealth and treasure of those countries; judging, that, if he could reduce this so considerable a place to his devotion, all the rest would without much difficulty eild of themselves.

Poitiers after  
Paris a City of  
the greatest  
circuit of any  
in France.

But when it was known at Loches, where the Duke of Anjou lay, that the Admirall made preparation of Pioneers, artillery, and other things necessary to lay siege to Poitiers; though the fierce Warlike disposition of the people, gave hopes that it would be stoutly maintained: yet the Counsell thought that so spacious a place, so thinly peopled, and so subject to be annoyed by the Enemy, would require a great number



1569 number of valiant men to defend it; as well to secure a Town of so great importance, and reputation; as also so much the longer to amuse the Hugonots, and by the difficulty of this attempt discourage and tire out their Army; which was their chief design at the beginning, when they divided their Forces. Wherefore besides the ordinary garrison that was in Poitiers, under the Count *de Lude* Governor of the City, the Duke of Guise resolved to put himself into it, a young man, who with singular expectation, shewed himself as head of the Catholick party, to renew by his brave and notable example, in that beginning of his Warlike actions, the glory of his Father, who by defending Metz against the Forces of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth made his way to a high degree of power, and estimation. This example of the Duke of Guise, was followed by *Charles Marquess de Mayenne* his Brother, the sieurs *de Monpezat, de Sessac, de Mortemer, de Clairiaux, de la Rochebariton, de Rufec, de Fervaques, de Briancon, de Chastilliere*, and many other Gentlemen, noble by birth, and valour; in whose company were also *Angelo Cesis*, and *Giovanni Orfino*, with 200 Italian Horse: so that there were then in the City 800 Cuirassiers, and about 400 light Horse; to these were added 4000 Foot, of the best disciplined in all France, under the command of *Bassac, la Parade, Verbois, Bonnevial, Charry* and many other Colonels of great reputation; six companies of Towns-men, each of 400 hundred very well armed and exercised, besides 300 Italian Firelocks commanded by *Paulo Sforza*, Brother to *S<sup>ra</sup> Fiore*. There were also in the City a very great number of peasants, by whose labour the most suspected places of the ramparts were fortified with great care, and canon planted, where they saw the enemy was likely to encamp. Besides all this, the City was plentifully stored with provisions for the War, especially Fire-works of divers kinds, which made the defendants confidently hope, to repell the assaults of the Enemy.

Notwithstanding all these preparations, the Admiral (either ardently desirous to suppress the two young Guises his particular enemies, and therefore preferring that before all other respects; or despising the advice of the other commanders, who judging the enterprize very difficult, counselled to turn their forces another way, sate down before the City the 24 of July, & in his march caused the Infantry to storm the Suburb  
that

that lieth without the port of *S. Lazarus*, no waies fortified, but defended only by Colonel *Boisvert* with 400 French musketiers, who having valiantly sustained the assault for the space of three hours, at last by the multiplied Forces of the Hugonots, were constrained to quit it, being a place utterly impossible to be kept: but the Duke of Guise sallying forth in person, gallantly resisted the fury of the Enemy, till the houses neer the gate, and about the works were burnt, and levelled with the ground, least they should have that convenience to lodge and offend the Town. The army lay that night two miles from the wals, and the next morning the first troops of the camp skirmishing hotly with the Cavalry that sallied out in many places; the Admirall encamped with very good order in those quarters which with prudent consideration were before resolved on.

The plat-forme of *Poitiers* is of a great circumference, and unequall situation; for extending it self in a stony, rugged way from East to West, sometimes it ascends, sometimes descends, here crooked, there in a direct line, but three sides of it lie open to the canon from the rocks that encompass it, only the fourth is even, and so high, that no place without can command or annoy it; and though indeed it may be battered from divers places without, yet it is no easie matter afterwards to advance to the assault; for the Clain that runneth about a great part of it, and a deep lake caused by the same river, make it in a manner inaccessible, and the unevennesse of the rocks that afford means to offend it, yeeld also commodious retreat to the defendants; for the steep craggy cliffes upon which it is seated, is so easie to be wrought into, that almost of it self it maketh stairs, and narrow passages very advantageous to be long made good against the Enemy. The Admirall taking notice of this situation, endeavoured to enlarge himself, and inviron as much of the circuit as he could possibly, playing at once upon severall parts of the City, so far distant one from another, as he might both divide the courage and forces of the besieged. To that end he placed the German Infantry at the farthest corner of the City beyond the river, quartering them in the Hospitall and Mill neer to it, joyning them together with a bridge drawn crosse the river with ropes, which likewise served the foot of Gascony and Provence, who lay along the banks of the river as far as the Faux-



1569 Fauxburg, called Rochereüil; himself with the Van lodged in the Monastery of *S. Benet*; the Prince who led the Battell with the Count *de la Roch foucault* and Count Mansfield at *S. Lazarus*; *Briquemant*, *Piles*, and *Miny* with the Reer at the Fauxburg of *Pierre levée*, taking up in this manner all the space of ground which reacheth from the North to the West and from the West to the South; and the Cavalry quartered in the Villages about, spreading as far as *Crustelle*, almost two leagues from the Town.

Scarce was the Infantry encamped about the City, when *Mon<sup>r</sup> de Sessac*, the D. of *Guises* Lieutenant, accompanied with *Giovanni Orsino*, and 120 of the most resolute Horse of the *Garrison*, sallying out at the gate of the trench, fell into a quarter of Cavalry in a Village called *Marne*, and finding them in disorder and unprepared, as they were about to take up their lodging, with small trouble killed a great number, and dispersed the rest; and afterwards in his return meeting *Briquemant* with 200 Reiters, & divers French-Horse, he charged them so boldly, that at the first encounter, they all ran away, leaving above 40 of their men dead upon the place; wherefore the Admirall necessitated to hinder such unwelcome sallies, caused *Colonel Blacon* with 2000 Foot, to lie in the ruins of the Suburb, and with fortifications, and trenches to make his approaches so neere to the gate; that they played upon one another continually with musket-shot; but neverthelesse *Colonel Onoux* who had left *S. Maixent* as a place too weak to be held, with only 600 Foot but chosen men, marched 9 leagues in 6 hours, and arriving at the beat of the Reveille, passed happily through all the works they had made, and in spite of the opposition of *Blacon* and all his men; entered through the same gate of the trench, to strengthen the Garrison of *Poitiers*.

But the siege being laid & settled, the first daies were spent in sharp skirmishes, of which though the event were divers, according to the variety of fortune, yet the Hugonot Army was exceedingly endamaged by them; for besides the losse of their stoutest souldiers, whereof very many were killed, they were likewise hindered in their works, which nevertheles by the diligence of *Mon<sup>sieur</sup> de Genlis* General of the Artillery, still went on, who making his approaches in divers places, raised a battery, where he planted 14 canon besides divers smal pieces which being at last brought to perfection, though with much difficulty

difficultie, because the whole camp was perpetually molested with shot from the city; upon the first of August they began to batter, and in three daies made a breach in the Ravalin and broke down the tower, which joyning to the port of *S. Ciprian* guarded, and flanked the enterance on that side; but the bottom of the Tower being filled with earth, so that notwithstanding the upper parts of it were fallen, it still defended it self: the fourth day it was assaulted in vain, being resolutely maintained by Colonell *de l'Isle* with his French Foot, which the Admiral perceiving, and that the attempt of that gate proved more difficult then was expected, he turned his canon on the other side, and the fifth day began to batter the curtain, which lying along the river, reacheth to a place commonly called the *Abesses meadow*; for though the water which ran between his trenches and the Town Walls were some hinderance to him: yet he knew the works were much weaker here then in other places, because the Enginers thinking it was enough secured by the river, had been more carelesse in fortifying thereabouts: by the tenth of August (which was the Feast of *S. Laurence*) the Artillery had made so large a breach as might very commodiously be assaulted, and the bridge by which one might easily passe the River, was already cast over; when the Admiral causing the breach to be viewed, and being informed that there were Casamats, and works very well contrived, to make it good on the inside, besides that by the advice of the Count *de Lude*, 4 Troops of Lanciers were sallied out of the gates to fall upon the assailants at the same instant, when they had passed the bridge, and were in that open plain space between the wall and the river, not willing to send his men into so manifest danger without hope of successe, gave out that by reason of the weaknesse of the bridge, which perchance might break, he would not runne so evident an hazard of drowning his Souldiers; whereupon they retreating to their Quarters, who all were ready for the assault, he gave command for the making of another bridge, which might not only serve to passe over the assailants in better order and more security, but also some number of Horse, to make head against the Cavalry of the Citie. But the night following *Biagio Capizuchi* a Roman Gentleman under *Paulo Sforza* with two companions, all excellent swimmers & good divers (whilst the

Sf Enemy



1569 Enemy was amused by frequent alarms, and the Canon; besides a party sent out with Monsieur de Ferzagues ) sworn under the bridge, and cut the ropes that held it together, so that on a suddain before the Hugonots were aware, it was utterly loosed, and carried away with the stream, and whilst it was repairing, the defendants had leasure to fortifie themselves within the breach; in which businesse the Duke of Guise himself took great pains, carrying the earth upon his own shoulders; whose example generally moved no lesse the women then the men to further the work, by which means in a very short space they raised a brest-work stronger and thicker then the first.

But the Admiral re-inforcing his battery with great violence, and causing three bridges to be made, all stronger then the first, upon the eighteenth day gave a terrible assault to the wall, and they were already, though with much bloud, masters of the breach, when they discovered a Cavalier raised within the covent of the Carmelites, from whence many small pieces of Artillery plaid, which lighting upon the place, that was possessed by the Hugonots, before they could sufficiently shelter themselves, they were forced within a little while to forsake it, leaving dead upon the place Monsieur de Mondaulph, a man of great account amongst them, with 7 Captains and many Foot souldiers; besides an infinite number that were wounded, amongst which Monsieur de la Nouë received a Musket-shot in his left arm, and the Baron de Conforaine another in the right thigh, of which hurts it was very long before they could be cured; nor did the defendants scape without losse, there being killed that day Monsieur Biglie of a very noble family, and Antonio Scrasone a Roman, who with great praises of valour and industry, was imployed in the office of an Engineer.

They continued shooting all the next day, & the sooner to make an end of the busines, brought 8 Culverins more to the battery, by which means the Ramparts of the Citie were in a few daies made wholly indefensible; but the industry of the besieged found a remedy against so imminent a danger; for having stopped the course of the river on the lower side, neer the Tower of Rochereuil with banks and piles of wood, they made the waters swell to such a highth, that the under part being left almost dry, they drowned all the Abeilles meadow,

and

and overflowed the very breach in the wall, so that the Hugonots could not possibly come to assault it; upon which occasion the Admirall being forced to take a new resolution, commanded the battery to be removed lower, to play upon, and take the tower of Rochereüil, below which the Catholicks had made their dam, that so being masters of that place, they might free the course of the river, and take away from them the so usefull defence of the water. To this purpose the canon having beaten down above 60 yards of the wall, upon the 24 day they gave a general onset at the tower of Rochereüil, and the curfine joyning to it; *Piles* fell on first, seconded by *Briquemant*, and at last by the German Infantry, where no lesse the Commanders and voluntiers then the common souldiers, fought on all sides with singular valour and constant resolution; the galantry of the Duke of Guise appearing most clearly in this action, by whose Squadron the Enemy was in the end beaten off, and driven back with great losse, they having with no small difficulty brought off *Piles*, who was extremely wounded, and almost half dead, though afterwards being cured, he recovered his former health and vigour; yet all this ill successe abated not the courage of the Hugonots, but continuing with great obstinacy to batter the work which the defendants had cast up behind the breach, they resolved to give it an unexpected assault about mid-night, thinking to surprise the Catholicks either asleep, or at least in confusion, and unprovided; but being come to the place, they found (contrary to their expectation) the defendants in so good order, and so ready to receive them, that without any more ado, they gave over the attempt, being bravely followed by the Italian Foot, who sallying through the same breach, pursued them into their very trenches, doing great execution upon them, by reason of the difficulty and narrowness of their retreat.

But in the midst of so many sufferings, the excessive heats of Summer, began to cause the usuall sickness of that season, of which there died not only many of their common souldiers, and particularly of the Germans, but the principal Officers of the Army were likewise grievously infected with it, amongst which the Count *de la Roch-fou-cault* had left the camp to be cured, & Messieurs *de Briquemant*, & *de la Nocle* were retired to Niort with small hope of life, for w<sup>ch</sup> cause the Princes with no other train but their own families, resolved to go to *S. Maixent*,

A great mortality in the Hugonot Army. The Admirall sickned, yet disisteth not from the siege of Poitiers.



1569 and by change of air to avoid the malignant feaver that was so mortall in the camp, leaving the Admiral almost alone to command the Armie, who worn out with continuall toile and watching, fell sick at last of the flux; yet though hee was exceedingly spent and weakened with the disease, the vigour of his mind was not at all diminished, but he persisted with the same ardor to prosecute the end of his designe; for conclusion whereof he commanded the assault to be given in many places upon the second day of September, causing the French and German Infantry to fall on severally, that the emulation of one another might animate them to fight with a greater courage and resolution: the assault lasted most part of the day, the violence of the enemies being resisted by the Duke of Guise on one side, and on the other by the Count *de Lude*, with so much valour and gallantry, that the Hugonots being beaten, not only by the canon and small shot, but with stones, pikes, and fireworks in great abundance, they were in the end forced precipitately to quit the wall, leaving dead and wounded above 700 upon the place, amongst which Monsieur *de S. Vane* brother to *Briquemant*, and who commanded his men, was killed with a granado.

But this victory gave little comfort to the besieged; for being by the death of Monsieur *d'Onoux*, Colonel *Passac*, and many other valiant men reduced to a small number in respect of the greatnesse of the place, and their horses for want of meat being brought to extreme weaknesse, they could not finde the ardor and perseverance of the Hugonots at all abated; wherefore with frequent letters and many messages they solicited for the relief which the Duke of Anjou had promised them within a few dayes.

The Duke reuniting the Army sooner then was intended at the dividing of it, had drawn his forces together at the beginning of September, resolving rather to try the fortune of a day, then to suffer Poictiers to be taken, with so many of the Nobility, and the Duke of Guise himself, who was at that time very much beloved by him; wherefore hee marched away from Loches, and sate down before Chastelrault, assuring himselfe, that the Hugonots to succour that place, where a great number of their sick men lay, would leave the siege of Poictiers, about which they might easily perceive, they should but tire themselves in vain, it being favoured

voured by so great, and so neer a power. Nor was the event different from the Dukes designe; for the Admirall having by the failing of his last enterprize lost all hopes of taking the Town, and seeking some plausible occasion to leave it, as soon as he had intelligence that the Army moved, he resolved to raise the siege, and drawing off his artillery, upon the 15 of September marched with all his forces towards Chastelrault: and on the same day the Count *de Sanzé*, and *Pietro Paulo Tosinghi* entred Poitiers with 300 French Horse, and 800 Italian Foot, and supplies of mony and victuals, whereby the City was at once freed from the siege, and opportunely furnished with necessary provisions. Thus ended the siege of Poitiers; in which, as the Princes Army diminished both in strength and hopes, by the losse of 3000 men, and two months of the Summer; so the Duke of Guise came out of it with so great applause and reputation, that all the Catholick party began to turn their eyes upon him as a pillar of the Roman Religion, and a worthie successor to his Fathers power.

After many assaults bravely sustained, the Admiral quits the siege, and goes to relieve Chastelrault.

The Duke of Guise, who had sustained the siege, gets great reputation.

The successe of the Kings forces at the siege of la Charité was not unlike to that of the Hugonots at Poitiers at the same time; for the Duke of Anjou purposing utterly to cut off the passage of the Loire from the Army of the Princes, and to take away all hopes from them of oppressing those provinces which are on this side the River, had given commission to Monsieur *de Sansac* to gather the forces of Beauſſe, Nivernois, Bourbonnois, and part of Burgundy, and to besiege la Charité, which had before been taken by the Germans in their passage, and was the only place upon the River in possession of the Hugonots: but so firm was the resolution of the souldiers, and so constant the courage of the Townsmen, commanded by Monsieur *de Guerchy*, Cornet of the Admirals own company of *Gens d' Arms*, that sustaining all the assaults and attempts of the Catholicks, they finally constrained Monsieur *de Sansac* to give it over, having in the siege lost many Gentlemen, and no inconsiderable number of souldiers.

The Catholicks besiege la Charité, which being stoutly defended, they give it over.

In the mean time the affairs of both Factions were prosecuted in Bearn, whither the Prince of Navar, solicitous to preserve his own patrimony, had sent the Count of Montgommery to oppose Messieurs *de Monluc* and *de Terride*, the first of which possessed the confines of the province, and the other with



1569 with a great power battered Navarines, the onely place, that after many losses and troubles of the country remained in the power of the Hugonots: but in conclusion, whatsoever the fault was (for the Commanders laid it upon one another) the businesse went very prosperously for the Prince of Navar; for Monsieur *de Terride* being risen from before Navarines, was in his retreat fought withall, surrounded, and taken prisoner; and Monsieur *de Monluc* not being able, or not coming time enough to help him, was faine to retire into Gasconie; so that all the country began to submit to the devotion of *Montgomery*, who using strange unaccustomed cruelties, had with terror constrained even those places that were best manned, and most strongly fortified to yeeld themselves up into his hands.

In the interim the Duke of Anjou, who because he was not yet strong enough to raise the siege of Poictiers, had encamped before Chastelrault, to obtain the same effect by that diversion, conceived some hopes of taking the place, and persisted in battering it with much violence; but the issue proved very contrary; for when there was a sufficient breach in the wall, he made the Italian Infantry to fall on, who putting themselves forward by reason of their emulation with the French, possessed themselves at first very prosperously of the breach, but with more rashnesse and fury then discretion; for being plaid upon with great execution both in the front and flank by the artillery planted opportunely upon the ramparts that were cast up within, which they had not (as according to the rules of war they ought) been carefull to discover, after they had fought in vain above three hours, they retired to their trenches with the losse of above 250 men, amongst whom were *Fabiano del Monte*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers.

*Fab. del Monte*  
Head of the  
Tuscan forces  
killed before  
Chastelrault.

The next day their thoughts of assaulting the Town, were changed into those of marching away; for the Admirall, with all his Army desirous to recover the time, and recompence the losses he had received at Poictiers, had in three severall quarters possessed himself of the suburbs on the other side Chastelrault, opposite to the place where the Catholick Army lay, and resolved by any means to trie his fortune, if he could do it without disadvantage; for which cause the Duke of Anjou knowing himself much inferiour in strength, the Nobili-

Nobility not being yet joyned with him, nor many Companies of Foot which were too far from the Army, thought it best to retire; and therefore took the opportunity to do it at the same time that the Admirals souldiers (being quartered to refresh themselves after their march, in one of the suburbs of the Town, that lay beyond the river Vienna) were either securely sleeping, or making provision of victuals and lodging; it not being probable, the day being so far spent, that either side would change their quarter that night. So taking the opportunity of the time, the Duke caused his Artillery to be drawn off with good order, but incredible expedition, and having sent them before with all his baggage, some two hours after, it being about sun-set, hee marched without noise away, neither the Admirall, nor any of his party at all perceiving it, till the last Squadrons were moving; who made good the retreat, being led by Monsieur de Chavigny, Monsieur de la Valette, and the Count de S<sup>a</sup> Fiore. At that time it being far in the night, the Hugonot Army was at rest in their quarters, or else scattered up and down; therefore the Admirall seeing his men weary, dispersed, and unfit for the pursuit, thought it not best rashly to follow the Catholick Army, which being many hours before him, retired quietly without any disorder or confusion. Thus the Duke of Anjou not being followed nor molested by the enemies, the same night passed the river Creuse at Porte de Piles, four leagues from Chastel-rault, and the next morning having left the bridge sufficiently guarded on both sides of the river, hee drew his Army to Selle, a very strong and well fortified quarter.

The Catholicks raise the siege from before Chastel-rault.

At break of day the Admirall marched after the Catholicks, and being come to Porte de Piles, he sent forth Monsieur de Soubise with a party well horsed, to discover the state of the Enemy; who having routed and put to flight many scattered souldiers that were cast behind the Army, fell on, hotly skirmishing even to the very Turn-pike of the bridge; the Infantry seconding him resolutely, assaulted the barricadoes of the Catholicks, using their uttermost endeavour to drive away the guard, and to gain that passe; but notwithstanding the redoubled onsets, made with exceeding courage by the most valiant Commanders of the Hugonots, *la Valet*, and *Paulo Sforza* with the French light Horse, and the Italian Foot defended the bridge, and being helped by the strong situation



1569 tuation of it, beat off the Enemy with much losse, and frustrated all their attempts: whereupon the Admirall giving over that designe, made a foord to be sought for in some other place, which being easily found by reason of the shallownesse of the water, he passed over the next day 4 leagues below Piles, and came so neer to the quarter of the Duke of Anjou, that he hoped to force him to give battel: but seeing that the Duke, containing himself within his trenches, was very well stored with victuall, because all the country behind him were his friends; and that on the other side, his Army suffered great scarcity, being forced to make his provisions afar off, because two rivers were between him and the country that was well-affected to him; he despairing to force the Catholicks to fight against their will, resolved the third day to retire; and having passed the two rivers of Creusa and Vienna, marched to Faye la Vineuse, and lodged his Army in the neighbouring Villages to refresh his men after so much toyl and sufferance; who being all (especially the Germans) impatient, and unaccustomed to lie in the fields, began to grow very mutinous and disorderly.

Henry Duke of  
Guise admitted to the  
Cabinet Councell.

The Duke of Anjou took the like course, who withdrawing his Army to Chinon in Tourain, went to see the King his brother, and the Queen his Mother, who according to their ordinary custome of being neer the Army, were come to Tours, where likewise was arrived the Duke of Guise, laden with honour and reputation for his famous and prosperous defence of Poitiers. Here they began to advise of the means of managing the War; and this was the first time the Duke of Guise, being received into his Fathers place, was admitted to the cabinet Councell, and the participation of the most secret affairs. The cause and beginning of this trust, besides the noblenesse of his blood, the merits of his Father, his owne vertue, and the protection of the Cardinall his Uncle, was chiefly the implacable hatred the King bare the Admiral; for after the death of the Prince of Condé in the Battell of Bassac, hee had entertained confident hopes, that the Hugonot party (being deprived of the Authority of so great a Prince, and having lost their principall Head, upon whose valour and reputation chiefly depended the conduct of so weighty a businesse) would dissolve and dissipate, or at least incline to the yoke of his obedience: but he

he found on the contrary the authority of the bloud Royal, by the sagacity of the Admirall, revived in the persons of the two young Princes, and the union of the Hugonot Faction founded on their proper strength and valour, to occasion more mischiefs, and to bring the state of affairs into greater dangers then ever formerly they had been in the revolution of so many yeers: and therefore having with a publick and heave sentence divulged in many languages, made him to be declared Rebell by the Parliament of Paris, he also caused his effigies to be dragged through the streets, and to be hung up in places where they used to execute publick malefactors; and so ordered the matter, that his houses were razed to the ground, and his goods sold by the Officers of his Courts; after all which, continuing a resolution to persecute him to death, he began to exalt and favour the House of Lorraine, and particularly the Duke of Guise, who desirous to revenge the death of his Father, professed a publick and irreconcilable hatred to the Admirall.

The Kings  
decree against  
the Admirall.

The Kings Cabinet-councill coming now to debate of those courses that were to be taken in ordering the Warre, at first their opinions disagreed; for the Marechal *de Cossé* (by his severe proceedings against the Hugonots in Picardy, having purged himself of the suspicions conceived against him, and regained his former credit and estimation of wisdom) thought it best to try rather by time, then force to overcome the Enemy: who being without money, without means to victuall their Army, without retreat, without any considerable supply from abroad, and full of want, disorder, discord and desperation, would quickly be vanquished by their own necessities, and dissolve to nothing of themselves. On the other side, the Count *de Tavarannes* represented, that the Hugonot Army was lessened, wearied out, and put into confusion by the long and fruitlesse siege of Poitiers, and therefore very easie to be overcome, and that it was necessary to fight presently, and not to stay till the Prince of Orenge, who was gone disguised into Germany, had time to make new levies, or that the Count *Montgomery*, who had gotten the better in Bearn, should come with the Forces of Gascony to joyn with the Admiral; for so the Warre would be again renewed, which could not by any means be more certainly extinguished then by fighting, and



1569 by eager pursuing of the Enemy, now they were diminished both in number and courage.

The resolution would have been hard to agree upon, but the Duke of Anjou cutting off all dispute of different opinions, concluded that it was expedient to fight with the Army of the Princes, now that tired and wasted with their late losses and sufferances, they were not likely to have force and vigour enough to resist the Catholick Army, which fresh, in full strength, and well recruited, had an ardent desire to see the Enemy in the field. With this intention he departed from Tours, in the company of the Dukes of Guise and Montpensier, and so gathering together thirty Ensignes of Foot, and 2000 Horse of the Nobility and Gentry that held their lands of the Crown, who about that time came to the Army, he advanced with his whole body towards Faye *la Vineuse*, where the Hugonots were encamped, with a designe to meet them, and as soon as possibly hee could, force them to give him Battell.

But matters were not so resolved among the Hugonots; for though the Gentry, who for the space of a whole yeer had lived from their own houses, spending all they had, thinking they had done much more, then either the nature or custome of the French is wont to beare, desired earnestly to meet the Enemy, or to be dismissed the camp, and that every hour were heard the groans of those that wished for an end of those miseries, or of their lives; though Count *Volrade* with his Germans, weary of suffering and lying in the field, and deprived of their fancied hopes of rich booty, in a mutinous way demanded their pay, and to be led on to encounter the Enemy: yet the Princes, the Admirall, and the most experienced Commanders of the Army, knowing the valour of the Kings Souldiers, and the wearinesse and disunion of their own, inwardly disapproved the advice of coming to a finall triall, and desired to governe their affairs with the same prudence which they had observed in the Catholicks, who when they found themselves inferiour in strength, had alwayes avoided the hazard of a Battell, though now being assured of the advantage, they very much desired it: Therefore, as when the Duke of Anjou shunned the encounter, they had used all possible means to provoke him to it; so now that he came resolved

to

to do the like, they endeavoured to prolong the event of things, and to proceed with more slow and more secure advice, but they dared not to make show of this intention, for fear of filling the army with tumults and discontents, being certain the Gentry would presently forsake them, and the Germans undoubtedly mutiny, as soon as they should know there was no hopes of putting it to a battell: Wherefore letting themselves be led by necessity, and by the inclination of the Army, as a man doth for the most part that rides a fiery ill mannaged horse, they seemed to consent to the opinion and desire of the souldiers, and made show of readinesse and resolution to give battell; but the Admirall, who thought he could compasse any thing by his arts and subtilties, deluding their expectation, and declining all occasions, absolutely determined in himself, with all possible care to avoid the doubtfull issue of a battell.

To this end, as soon as he heard the motion of the Catholicks towards him, the Princes being made privie to his counsels, he marched with his whole Army from Faye, which is in the confines of Poictou and Anjou, to passe the rivers that are neer, and to gain the other side called Basse Poictou, bordering upon Guienna, where by reason of its strong situation, and the many Cities that were there of his faction, he thought it more easie to delay the battell, or else to fight with so much advantage, that the victory might not at all be doubtfull: and to the end the Gentry and the Germans might more willingly follow him, he caused a report to be spread through the whole Army, that the Count *de Montgomery*, grown strong and victorious in Bearn, was upon his way to joyn with him, and that he was already neer Parthenay, a Town not above twelve leagues distant, where he pretended it was necessary to meet him, lest the enemy getting between them, should keep them still asunder, or should defeat the Count, whose number was inferiour to theirs.

By this device hee laboured to win them to follow him willingly, till he were gotten amongst the Cities of his own faction, where alwaies lodging himselfe under the protection of some strong place, he hoped by many, but not dangerous skirmishes, to abate the fury of the Kings Army, and partly to qualifie his own souldiers desire of fighting, till the beginning of the Winter (which was not far off) should of it self



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hinder them from further action; in the mean time, by the neer nesse of Rochel, and the diligence of the Queen of Navar to supply him, he was confident he should not be destitute of provisions; whereas the Duke of Anjou, by reason of the rivers that were behind him, would probably be reduced to great want and scarcity. But the diligence of the Duke who out of a desire to fight, had marched with great expedition, frustrated these wary counsels; for the Admiral marching with his Army in severall divisions towards Moncontour, where he had designed to quarter the last day of September; and the camp Royall advancing the same way with great expedition, as soon as they heard of his moving; whilest the Admiral deceived by the negligence of his Scouts, believed for certain, that the Catholicks were many miles from thence: their Van-guard commanded by the D. of Montpensier came so neer to the Reer-guard of the Princes (in whose last squadrons was Monsieur *de Muy* & 300 Horse, & four Ensigns of French firelocks) that they could no longer avoid the encounter of one another. Yet the Admiral still persisting in the same designe, having considered the situation of the country on every side, resolved to passe a water that ran thorow a moorish plain, judging that the Catholicks would not dare to come over the same place in the view of all his Army; or if they did, he might by fighting with them hinder their passage, and have an admirable opportunity of winning the Battell, whilest they were in so great disorder: for which purpose he commanded *Muy* to sustain the shock of the Catholick Van-guard, and in the mean time he with all the rest of his Army passed the Moor, though with no small difficulty and confusion.

In the interim, the Duke of Montpensier marching in very good order, to try all wayes possible to provoke them to fight, commanded his light Horse boldly to begin the skirmish, which at first was stoutly received & couragiously opposed by Monsieur *de Muy*, one of the most valiant souldiers in all France; but *Martignes* coming up, whose valour was alwayes wont to lead the way in the most desperate occasions, the Hugonots were charged with such fury, that not being able to resist so much a greater number, *Muy* having lost 50 Horse, and above 200 Foot, took flight as fast as he could, and passing hastily over the water joyned himself orderly with the rest of their forces. But the Duke of Montpensier who had pursued him even to the water,



water, when he saw all their Army drawn into Batalia on the further side, made a stop, and considering that he could not passe his men over in a full body, but only 20 in Front, which would have caused a great disorder amongst them, he took time (coldly skirmishing) to send word to the Duke of Anjou, and to expect his orders for what he should do in that occasion.

The Admiral seeing the coolnesse of the Catholicks, and how they delaied to passe the water, believed for certain that the body of the Army was still a great way behind, and that *Montpensier* with only that small party, had advanced unadvisedly further then he should have done: whereupon not to lose that opportunity, taking courage, and bravely animating his souldiers, he repassed the water, with two gallant squadrons of *Gens d'Arms*, & charged the cavalry of *Martiques* so resolutely, that they retreated above 200 paces, but the body of the army coming up on every side, he was forced to return in disorder, and to recover the shelter of two strong Squadrons of Infantry that were upon the bank; in which place the valour of *Monsieur de Clairmont* of Ambois was very remarkable, who sick, and unarmed with only 20 Horse, opposed the fury of the Catholicks, till the Admiral was gotten under the protection of his Squadrons.

But the Duke of Anjou knowing it was too difficult, and dangerous to passe over in the face of the Enemy, resolved, (the ground favouring his purpose) to try if he could drive them away with his canon, and make them quit the other side of the water, and that place of so much advantage whereof they were possessed. Wherefore *Monsieur de Byron* Field-Marshal, having caused the Artillery to be drawn thither, with great expedition and much judgement planted all the Canon and Culverins, which were 22 in number, partly on the right hand, partly on the left of the bottoms of those hills that were within shot of the Hugonot Army; and began to let fly very terribly at their flank, doing infinite execution upon those Squadrons which stood in Batalia at the entry of the Moore, that was on the other side the water. Yet the French and German Infantry being in a low place, and commanded by their Officers to lie flat on the ground, could not so easily be annoyed: but the Cavalry lying open to the shot, could hardly be kept in order, sending many Messengers to desire they



1569 they might be drawn from thence, where they perished miserably without being able to give any testimony of their courage and valour. But the Admirall would not consent that they should remove, for fear of leaving the passage free to the Catholicks, which would after force them, their Army being weary and half disheartned, to fight in the plain champaigne; therefore, whilest the service continued thus hot at the passe, the Catholicks Artillery still playing without intermission, the German Horse, who stood more open to the shot then any of the rest (*Charles Count of Mansfield*, Brother to the Generall, being killed there, with many others) were about to retire, and quitting the post they held upon the right hand, began to leave the passage open to the Enemies: but the Prince of Navar spurring his horse up to them, and putting himself into the same danger of the canon, prevailed so far by his presence and perswasions, that he made them stay for a while, and constantly to expect the beginning of the Battel; wherein appeared the powerful Genius of this young Prince, the respect of whom was able to bridle fear, which hath no law, and to stop the flight of the precipitate Germans, that are so obstinate in their resolutions. But no remedy in the world could have done much good, for the Enemies canon would at last have routed and broken all their army, if the coming of the night had not opportunely relieved the Hugonots in so great an extremity.

The darknesse ended the skirmish that had bin in the plain, and the Catholicks not being able to levell their Artillery aright, plaid not so fast, finding they shot but in vain, and wounded the air to no purpose; which the Admiral wisely making use of, began about nine of the clock at night to retire without Drum or Trumpet; and before it was day had passed the River with his whole Army, and drawn it up in the plain of Moncontour; his purpose was, continuing in the same determination, to retreat with all speed, and marching on to get as far as possibly he could from the Catholick camp, and from the danger of the day. But this resolution was not only opposed by the Commanders and Gentlemen of his own nation, but far more mutinously by Count *Volrade* with his Germans, who breaking forth into seditious speeches threatened, That if there were not an end made of so many miseries they would leave the Princes and go over to the Kings party being

being sure to be received with very good conditions: by which mutiny, the French Infantry being also stirred up, (as men are more ready to follow ill examples, then to be kept within the limits of reason) exclaiming and threatening cried out to give Battel; nor did many of the Officers dissent from the general desire of the Army, thinking it impossible to go forward, and not be cut off; the Enemy at their backs following with all speed resolved to fall upon them; and their own souldiers tired, wearied out, and frightened with the terror of a retreat, which resembling a flight useth to dishearten an army, and to abate the courage and boldnesse of raw men, believed it was much better to make use of the readinesse of their souldiers, and give battel in the field with hope of victory, then fighting disorderly in their retreat, expect to be miserably defeated and scattered. Wherefore the Admiral, and the Princes, not being able to withstand the generall opinion, resolved to stay for the Catholick camp on the bank of the River, and there with the best advantage they could to remit the successe to fortune.

The Admiral divided his Army into three Battalions, and he (according to his custome) commanded the Van-guard, the Princes with Count *Lodowick* of Nassau the Battel, Count *Valrade* and *Müy* the Rear; the Canon were planted in the front of the Army, and before all was the Forelornehope, which when the Enemies drew neer, were to begin the Battel.

In the mean while the Duke of Anjou having passed the water which the Hugonots had left, on the first day of October in the morning, advanced with a greater desire then ever to fight with them; but finding the hinderance of the River (on the further side whereof the Enemy stood in Battalia) he was fain to make a halt, because the night was drawing on, and quartered that night in the same place where the Hugonots were encamped the day before. The next day desirous to free himself from the danger of passing the River (though but a little one) in the face of the Enemy; having made very diligent discovery of all the country, he took a large compasse upon the right hand, and passed the night before the third of October at a place called *la Grimandiete*, where the River not being yet joyned with another brook that fell into it, was not at all troublesome either to Horse or Foot; there being



1569 ing neither water enough to wet one to the mid-legge, nor banks that could hinder the marching, or order of his divisions. As soon as they were passed over without any let or impediment, Monsieur *de Byron*, and the Count *de Tavanes*, Marshals of the field, divided the whole Army into two battalions, whereof one was led by the Duke of *Montpensier*, the Duke of *Guise*, and the Count *di Santa Fiore*: the other by the Duke of *Anjou* himself, with whom were the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Longueville*, the Marshall *de Cossé*, the Marques *de Villars* (by the King made Admiral in the place of *Coligny*) *Peter Ernest* of *Mansfeld* sent with the supplies by King *Philip*, the Marquesse of *Baden*, Monsieur *de Carnavalet*, *Guillaume de Momorancy* Lord of *Toré*, and many other Lords and Gentlemen. In each Battalion were Squadrons of *Swisses*, flanked with the French and Italian Infantry, and in the front of each wing was placed the Artillery. In this order having before them a large spacious champagne, without trees, banks, or ditches to hinder them; the Catholick Army marched toward the Hugonots, with a great noise of Drums and Trumpets.

The Marques  
de Villars made  
Admiral in  
the place of  
Coligny.

But the Admiral, who in vain had tried again if he could perswade his souldiers to retreat to *Hernaut*, a place hard by, and proper to receive them; and seeing himself necessitated to fight; to confirm the courage of his men, moved softly toward the Enemy, and put himself in order to encounter them, without advantage of ground, in the midst of the open field.

The Princes having seen their Army drawn up by the field-Marshals, and with fitting speeches recommended the Religion and liberty of them all to both Nations; when they saw every one ready to do his part, retired with their guard to a place something more remote behind the Camp, not to expose themselves in so tender an age, to the hazardous perils of War, leaving the weight of the Battel unto the wisdom and valour of their Commanders. The Sun was already two hours high when the two Armies facing one another, the Admirals Artillery began to play; which being presently answered from the Catholick Camp, they filled the whole field with terror and slaughter: after which impetuous fury of so many Cannon, the men fell on with so much courage on both sides, that it was many hours uncertain which would remain victorious

The Armies  
joyn Battel.

for after the volleys of muskets, & the shocks of their Lances, not only the Horse and Foot were mingled pel-mel in the heat of the battel, but even the very boyes, fittlers, and pioneers, and the rabble of other such like people that use to follow the camp, fought stoutly and desperately each for their party; and in this universal fury, the number was so equall, that almost every one had a particular Enemy to deal withall. Nor were the commanders in lesse danger then common troopers and souldiers; for the Duke of Anjou himself rushing into the thickest Squadron of the Enemy (where the Marquesse of Baden was killed by his side, and many other of those Gentlemen that fought under the Royal Standard) he was many times in danger to lose his life, the safety whereof he ought no lesse to attribute to his own valour, then to the courage and fidelity of his Souldiers; and on the other side, the Admirall (not sparing himself, but acting the part of a Souldier, as well as of a General) furiously encountered the Rhinegrave (who in the head of his cavalry came up to charge him) and having from him received a pistoll-shot in the cheek which broke four of his teeth; he discharged his own in the very face of the Rhinegrave and laid him dead upon the ground, nor ceased after to fight most gallantly, though the blood ran so fast from his wound, that it filled his helmet and gorget of mail. But though the number, boldnesse, and constancy of both parties were almost equal, yet their strength and valour were not; for the Squadrons of the Kings Swisses, famous by many, and almost numberlesse proofs, and tried in so many other Battels; fighting with Enemies of lesse experience, that were wasted and tired out with their past wants and sufferings, did at last break into the Battalion of the Germans, whom they charged in the beginning of the day, and having routed and disordered their Ranks, made so great a slaughter of them, that of four thousand not above two hundred escaped alive; and the Kings cavalry entire in strength, and full of courage, did in the end overthrow and scatter the cavalry of the Hugonots, no lesse conquered by the wearinesse and weaknesse of their Horses, harrassed with long toyle and duty, then by the force and valour of their Enemies.

The Admirall seeing his Army defeated, his voice  
Vu quite



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The Admiral  
wounded, flees  
with the Prin-  
ces.

quite spent, his jaw wounded, and all imbrued in blood, took with him the Princes, (who had withdrawn themselves with the Sieurs *de Müy*, *Teligny*, and *Loüe*) and with 300 Horse retired to *Partenay*, after whom many other stragglers followed in disorder. Count *Lodowick* of *Nassau*, and Count *Volrade* rallied about 2000 of their Reiters; and though they were pursued by the Duke of *Aumale*, and Monsieur *de Byron*, they made their retreat without any disorder, and defending themselves bravely at every *Passé* of advantage, got that night to the same place. All the rest that fled from the fury of the Conquerors, dispersed several ways as their fortune guided them: some got to *Angoulesme*, some to *Rochelle*, and some followed the track of the Commanders. The Duke of *Anjou*, after he had routed and put to flight the enemies Cavalry, being come to the place where the Swisses had obtained so bloody a Victory of the Germans, commanded quarter to be given to three thousand of the French Infantry, who being encompassed on every side, had thrown down their Arms, and begged their lives of the Conquerors: then finding no more resistance anywhere, he took the Colours, Baggage, and Canon of the Enemy, and drawing his Army together, marched victoriously to *Saint Genex*.

The number of the slain on the Princes side, reckoning also the boys and sutlers, and such-like hangers on, who all died fighting, were computed by the Catholikes to 17000; but those that more moderately counted onely the Souldiers, ghesed them to be about 10000, whereof few were persons of quality, especially of the French, because the chief Heads fled betimes, for their own safety; the greatest slaughter falling upon the *Gascogne* Foot and the Germans. Yet there were killed *Puygreffier*, *Antricourt*, *Tannaquille*, *Byron* the brother of *Armand* who was in the Catholike Army; *S. Bonnet*, and *S. Cyre*, who in the eightieth yeer of his age fighting valiantly till the very last, had given wonderful proofs of his courage in the retreat. There were slain also 27 German Captains of Foot, of but 28 that were in the whole Army, besides two Colonels of the same Nation, above 70 French Captains of Foot, and two Colonels of Reiters, the other two saving themselves with the Count of *Nassau* in the Body that made the retreat. Monsieur *de la Noüe* one of the Heads of the Faction, (whose ill fortune almost always

left



left him in the Enemies hands) was there taken prisoner, besides Monsieur d'Acier General of the French Infantry, and Monsieur de Blacon Colonel of Fire-locks.

On the Kings side were killed few above Four hundred; but among those, many principal Officers of the Army, especially strangers; Philibert Marquesse of Baden, the Elder Rhine-grave, Monsieur de Clairmont one of the chief Gentlemen in Dauphiné, Count Francesco de Sassatello, Scipio Piccolomini Lieutenant to Otti di Montalto, and many Foot-Captains. The Duke of Guise, Peter Ernest of Mansfelt, the other Rhine-grave, and the Lords of Schombergh and Bassompier Germans, were wounded; but all cured in a short time after. They took about nine hundred load of victual, all the baggage of the Germans, eleven pieces of Cannon, and above two hundred Colours, whereof twenty six taken by the Italians) were sent to Rome by the Count di S<sup>a</sup> Fiore, and in manner of a Trophie dedicated to the Church of S. John de Lateran. The news of this Victory was carried to the King and Queen-mother by Alberto Condi Count of Retza Florentine much favoured by them; whereat there was very great rejoycing; and the fame thereof spreading into the neighbour Countries, particularly into Italy, filled the Duke of Anjou's name with glory and renown; to whose valour and conduct, the chief honour of the day was attributed, having over-reached the so cried-up wisdom, and so feared policy of the Admiral.

The greatest part of the Commanders that escaped the defeat, got the same night to Partenay, whither the Princes and the Admiral were come before, who presently began to advise what was best to be done, in the difficulty and misfortune of their present affairs. The most part of them were quite disheartened by so many unhappie successes, and the terrour of this last overthrow; seeing their Army cut off, themselves shut up in a corner of the Kingdom, without money, forsaken by their friends, with very little hopes, and lesse reputation, and among their publike consultations, calling to minde their private interests, the distance of their own houses, the vast expences, dangers and disquiets wherein they were perpetually involved; many of them seemed to sink under the misery of their present condition, and were inclined to yeeld themselves to the Kings mercy, and by the best means they could, procure

In the Battel of Moncouth, the Catholics took all the Baggage, Canon & Ammunition of the Hugonots, and 200 Colours.

The Count S. Fiore sends to Rome 26 Ensignes taken by his Souldiers.



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pardon for what was past, which by the milde and gentle nature of the Queen, and the Duke of Anjou, whose advice bore the chief sway in the Government, and by the desire of peace, they thought might easily be obtained, if with humble submission they should cast themselves altogether upon his Royal clemency. But the Admirall not at all losing courage, though so wounded in the mouth that he could hardly speak, but rather exasperated by the severe sentence pronounced against him in Parliament, and hardened by the adversity of his present fortune, began to shew that things were not yet brought to so great extremity, that they should let fear transport them to so much despair; that they had lost other Battels before this, and alwayes rose again to be more powerfull, and more terrible to their Enemies; that he had learned by experience, that a War is not utterly lost for the miscarriage of a Battell, so that the courage fail not, in the constancy and vigour whereof consisteth the happy issue of all enterprises; that though they had lost many of their men, yet the basis and foundation whereupon they built all the hopes of their party, was still firm and unshaken; that Germany, the unexhausted mine of men and arms, still persevered in unity and friendship with them, that England continued in the same confederacy, which would increase their supplies in measure as their need now required; that he held intelligence for the revolt and surprisall of many Cities in divers parts of the Kingdom, the losse of which would divide the forces, and much distract the designs of the Conquerors; that the Count of Montgomery in Bearn was grown great both in number and courage, with whom they might joyn in a few dayes; and that with his forces fresh and intire, it was easie to begin the foundation of a gallant and powerfull Army: That therefore they should revive the undaunted courage which they had shown in so many other occasions, and that they should believe his counsels; for in a few days he would re-establish their affairs in their former condition; that he promised no such new things, as for their strange improbability should hardly gain credit among them; but that he had an inward assurance he should be able to do the same for the present, which every one of them might remember they had so often seen him do in times past; and though they should gain nothing else by perseverance, and setting an Army again on foot, at least they might



might by that means facilitate the way to an agreement, and obtain the better conditions; which if they should rashly demand during the heat of this Victory, they would of necessity be forced to submit themselves to the insolent will of the Conquerors; whereas by deferring it, and bringing it opportunely to passe, they might (having a little patience) treat and conclude with advantage.

These words were hearkned to with great attention by the Prince of Navar, who being already accustomed to command, could hardly bend his minde to stoop to the obedience of others. Nor did the Prince of Condé hear them with a lesse inclination, though of more tender yeers, yet no way inferior in either vigour or courage: Count *Lodowick* of Nassau, and *Volrade* of Mansfield concurred with the Admirall; for they being strangers, had nothing there to lose, and therefore desired that the War should continue: These reasons so well fitted, agreed with the humour of many, who could not yet willingly quit their former hopes, nor did they displease the rest that wished for peace, hoping by standing out, to procure more reasonable conditions, and upon better terms to submit themselves to the Kings obedience: wherefore their drooping spirits being revived, and their first determination changed; all the Heads of the faction with one accord resolved to follow the Princes with an unshaken constancy, and to let themselves be governed by the prudence of the Admirall: after which agreement they dispatched messengers the same night into England and Germany, to give an account of the Battell unto those Princes, and to demand new supplies of them; they gave notice to their confederates in the severall provinces of all that had happened in the battell; but at the same time comforted them with the like reasons, that they might not be disheartned; promising, that within three months they should have a greater and more powerfull Army then the first: and then the Princes and the Admirall being withdrawn together, they determined to leave Poitou (not having force enough to defend it against a victorious Enemy there present) and to hold themselves to the defence of a few places, keeping Rochel, S. Jehan d' Angely, and Angoulesme, Towns which by reason of their strength they thought might easily be maintained, and they with the remainder of their souldiers, resolved to quit the plains of those

Provinces,



1569 provinces, and leaving their baggage behinde them, retire into the mountains of Gascony, Auvergne, and Languedoc, thereby to hinder the Conquerour from following them so easily. Their design was to unite themselves with the Count de Montgomery, whom fortune seemed to have purposely made ready to piece up and recruit their broken forces; and being once joyned with him, they hoped to shelter themselves in those mountainous countries, till the Queen of England and the Germans had time to send them assistance; wherewith being reinforced, they were confident they should be able to regain in a few dayes all that the Catholicks could take in many months in the depth of winter, which makes the assaulting of Towns so much more difficult.

They had moreover some concealed hopes in the Marechal *d' Anville*, Governour of Languedoc, with whom they held secret intelligence, and found him very much inclined to their affairs. *Henry de Momorancy* Mareshall *d' Anville*, whilest the Constable his Father lived, was alwayes one of the chiefe of the Catholike party, and an open enemy to the Hugonot Faction, which was occasioned by his emulation of *Francis* Mareshall of Momorancy his brother, who was an intimate friend to the Prince of Condé and Monsieur *de Coligny* his kinsmen; and that which confirmed him in it was the favour and esteem which he received from the Guises, who skilfull in deep dissimulation, according as opportunity required, were diligent in trying all possible arts to hold him fast to their party, that by his means, as with the strictest bonds they might keep the Constable united to them, by whom, for his valour and greatnesse of mind, he was most tenderly beloved above his other children. The Queen-Mother feigned the same; for by the minority of her Son, finding her selfe necessitated to make the great ones her friends, she made use of the Mareshall *d' Anville* to keep her in good correspondence with the Constable; after whose death those reasons being taken away, neither did the Queen care to imploy *d' Anville*, nor did the Guises make such account of him, as they had done formerly; but rather as a branch of that family, with which they had had so long a continued enmity and emulation, the endeavoured to pull down and abase him; the arts and persuasions of the Cardinall of Lorain being sufficiently powerfull with the King to that effect. For which cause *d' Anvil* havin



having observed in what manner they dealt with him, and likewise the emulation between him and his brother *Momorancy* ceasing after his Fathers death, angry that the dignity of Constable so long enjoyed by his Father was not conferred upon one of them, they having sued and made means divers times to procure it; he began in heart to draw neer to the friends and kindred of his own Family, and privately by secret, but doubtfull hopes, to keep the Admirall in a good opinion of him. This was the reason that hee relieved not Monsieur *de Terride* in Bearn, when he might have done it, and the same motive induced him to slacken his proceedings against those places of the Hugonots in Gascony and Languedoc; and this inclination was greatly increased in him by seeing that the Admirall was old, and continually exposed to manifest dangers; wherefore if he should chance to die before the Princes were out of their minority, he hoped to succeed him in the government, finding in himself neither want of judgement nor courage to undergoe the weight of that imployment. To all these considerations were added the jealousies which not without reason he had conceived long before, lest if the King and the Guises should come to extinguish the Princes, the Admiral, and all the Hugonot party, he should in the end turn to suppress the House of *Momorancy*, which would only be remaining of all the ancient emulous and suspected families. All these things were well known to the wisdom of the Admiral, who moved by this hope and the other reasons formerly alledged, perswaded the Princes to follow his advice: the resolution was settled to leave the plain, and retire among the mountains bordering upon Languedoc, till such time as the supplies of their confederates might give them a capacity of rising to a more prosperous condition.

But lest the Conquerours meeting with no opposition, should have opportunity to follow and overtake them in the march they were to make, with tired horses, and men wearied and discouraged, they agreed to leave Monsieur *de Mny* at Niort, who by delaying the fury of the Conquerours for a day or two, might give them leasure without any impediment to arrive at the places they had appointed; with this resolution, not trusting themselves to stay any longer at Partenay, they marched the same night very silently toward Niort, where leaving *Mny* with the small remainder of the Foot that had escaped



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escaped the slaughter, and only an hundred Horse, they continued with the same speed their intended voyage. But the constancy of the Princes and their Commanders, was greater then the patience of the souldiers and French Gentlemen; who being got to such a distance from the Catholick camp, that they were freed from fear of being overtaken, began secretly to disband; part, because pillage and plunder ceasing, they had no longer wherewithal to maintain themselves; part, because their horses were so tired & spoiled with a whole yeers tedious service, that they were not able to march so fast as the Princes; and part, because much dejected by their many losses and mishaps, they were utterly out of hope ever to buoy up their shipwrackt fortunes, or to restore the oppressed power of their party; and therefore to escape future dangers, some hid themselves in the Cities of Poictou and Xaintonge, others avoiding the great high-ways, in disguised habits, and under many pretences endeavoured to return unto their own homes; so that before the Princes were come to Rochell, they were reduced to few more then 900 French Horse, besides 2000 Reiters, who wanting opportunity to return to their own Country, followed them then, rather out of constraint, then affection. This disbanding of the French doubled their necessity of retiring to the mountains, as well to shun the fury of the Conquerors, as to gain more time to recruit their broken Army: for which end leaving at Rochel the Count *de la Rock-fou-cault*, and Monsieur *de la Nouë*, who through the carelesnesse of those that kept him prisoner, had escaped the next day after the Battell; Monsieur *de Piles* at S. Jehan d'Angely, with all the Foot that could be drawn from their severall Garisons; and at Angoulesme Monsieur *de Pontivy*, a kinsman of the Queen of Navar's and bred up by her, they made long marches towards Montauban.

The Duke of Anjou recovers many places from the Hugonots.

In the mean time the Duke of Anjou (to whom since the Victory, Portenay, Lufignan, Fontenay, Chastelrault, and S. Maixent had yeelded themselves, besides all the other Towns and Castles in those parts) was drawn with his Army to Niort, which made shew of some resistance, and encamping there, began to plant his Artillery. Monsieur *de Mny* knowing that in his present condition, it was more requisite to shew valour then strength; to amuse and delay the proceedings of the Enemy, with his Horse (though but a few) and a cer-

tain



ain number of Foot sallied out boldly, and fell upon the Army as they were about to make their Quarters; which skirmish having lasted very hot and bloodie till the evening, whilst he full of courage and good hopes was making his retreat into the Town, he was shot in the back by one of his own Souldiers, whereof he died a few days after, and Niort, whose defence consisted chiefly in his valour and experience, without further delay was yeelded up; which example was followed by Xaintes, Cognac, Lussion, and all the other Cities, except onely those three into which the Princes had put their Garisons.

The King and the Queen-mother came about that time to the Armie, and entering victorious into Niort, held a Council of War there concerning the prosecution of their good Successe: many pressed earnestly that the Duke of Anjou with the Army, or at least the greatest part of it, not losing the fruits of their Victory by delays, might follow the Princes and the Admiral, and pursue them without intermission, till he had either utterly suppressed them, or driven them quite out of the Kingdom; being certain that the root once cut up, the branches would wither; and the Faction of the Hugonots, which so often had been pulled down, and built up again, the foundation being once destroyed, would suffer a total and final ruine. But many considerations opposed this advice; the season of the yeer drawing towards the end of October, began to bring such Snow and Frosts, as were hardly to be endured in the plains, much lesse in the sharpnesse of the mountains; the barrennesse of the Country where the Princes were retired, not yeelding provisions for so great an Army; the narrownesse of many passages where a few men might make head against any how great a number soever; the diseases which grew very frequent and mortal in the Camp; but above all, the want of Money necessary to maintain so great and so continued an expence: for, the provinces everywhere being very much troubled and disquieted, the people up in Arms, the Cities sackt, the fields laid waste and desolate, the Kings Revenue in many places was shrunk almost to nothing; and the War being in so many several parts of the Kingdom, consumed that in a few days, which with much pains was

X x

gathered



1569

gathered together in many months. For all these reasons (fomented perhaps by some particular interests) it was concluded that the care of prosecuting the Princes and the Admiral, should be committed to the Marechal d'Anville Governour of Languedoc, whose designs were yet undiscovered, and to Monsieur de Montluc Lieutenant-General in Gascony, who with the forces of those provinces were to endeavour their final ruine and destruction; judging that in those barren, narrow, and mountainous places, what could not be done by the Forces of the Country, which were many could neither be effected by a greater number, which being an hinderance to themselves, in the straightnesse and scarcity of those parts, would rather be troublesome then advantageous. And at the same time they resolved, that the Duke of Anjou with the Army, should be employed about the recovery of those places which were held by the Hugonots in Poitou and Xaintonge, to deprive them utterly of that nest wherein they had settled the hopes and laid the foundation of their faction, which being destroyed, they would have neither place remaining which were proper to assemble themselves, nor means or power to gather Forces that could be considerable to renew the War.

Monsieur de  
Piles defends  
S. Jehan d'Angely 46 days,  
and after  
yeelds it upon  
honorable  
conditions.

According to this resolution, the King in person, with the Queen-mother, and the Duke of Anjou, laid siege to S. Jehan d'Angely, a place of small circuit, but excellently fortified, and furnished with all necessary provisions; wherein was Armand Sieur de Piles, with all the remainder of the Hugonot Infantry: and though the Duke of Anjou (who governed the Army, albeit the King was present) spared neither pains nor danger, making terrible Batteries, and frequent, though bloody Assaults, Piles made good the Town for the space of six and forty days, after which, not having the least hopes of relief, he gave it up with honourable Conditions, and had a Safe-conduct for himself and his men to Angoulême, having given his word not to serve the Princes in that War, during the time of four months; which promise, under many pretences, was not so really observed by him.

After the taking of S. Jehan d'Angely, according to the first resolution, the army should have proceeded to the siege of Rochelle, which besides being in a manner blocked up by land, by the



the losse of all the places about it ; was also besieged by Sea, by the Kings Navie, which under the command of the Baron de la Garde Vice-Admiral, was come from Provence into the Ocean Sea. But the end of *December* drew neer, the Army in the Siege of *S. Jehan* was very much decreased both in strength and number, there having been killed above 4000 souldiers, besides *Monfieur de Martignes* a Commander of great valour and reputation: The Pope and the King of Spain had recalled their Supplies, as if the businesse had been perfectly finished, and the War absolutely ended by the Victory at *Moncontour*; and, which imported most of all, the Duke of *Anjou* by continual pains and watchings, which were far above the endurance of either his age or constitution, being fallen into an indisposition of stomach which threatned worse, sought rather for cure, and rest, then any new important occasion that required toil and sufferance; for which reasons the Council being of opinion, that *Rochelle*, so straightned almost on all sides, and deprived of all hope of relief, would in the end render it self; *Francis* of Bourbon Prince Daulphine, son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, was left to command the Army, which was exceedingly diminished, in *Xaintonge*, and the King with the Queen, and the Duke of *Anjou*, at the very beginning of the year 1570, retired to *Angiers*, disbanding a great part of their Army, which for the want of money, and in the depth of Winter, could not have been maintained, without much difficulty. Some have been of opinion, that this resolution which by the event appeared to have been most pernicious, was propounded and determined by the Duke of *Anjou*, partly through a desire of rest, and a minde to enjoy the pleasures of the Court, to which he was above measure inclined, and partly, because he thought it not advantageous to his affairs, that by the total ruine of the Princes, the War should be put to a final end; during which, all the Kings Forces, and the principal Command over them, were in his power; which there would no longer be occasion for him to exercise, when by the extirpation of the Hugonots, the Kingdom was once reduced to a firm and settled Peace: which if it were true, it concerned him more neerly then any body else, in the proceffe of time to repent so great an error.

1570

In the beginning of the year, the King disbands part of his Army; which advice in the end proves very hurtful.

In the mean time the Princes and the Admiral (who if they had been close followed from the first, would very probably



1570 have been destroyed) after that according to their first wish, they saw the Army busied before S. Jehan d' Angely, went into the confines of Montauban, where the Prince of Navar at the age of 16 yeers, surpassing himself and the expectation that was conceived of him, with his authority, industry, and intreaties, solicited and armed the Nobility and people of those parts, among whom the Kings of Navar his Ancestors had very great dependencies, by the neighbourhood and neer alliances which in some yeers past they had contracted in those Provinces; to which authority and diligence of the Prince, the Admirall joyning his wisdom and experience, they had got within a few weeks above 3000 Foot to follow their colours, with which, plundering all the Country, and giving up all things both sacred and profane to the free pillage of the souldiers, they continued daily increasing and recruiting their Forces: Their businesse being in this condition, the Count of Montgomery came with 2000 Foot and 800 Horse, all brave and valiant souldiers, and quartered at Condom, whilest the Princes and the Admiral having passed the Dordogne at St. Marie, went to try Agen, and the other Cities of Gascony; and though Monsieur *de Monluc*, by breaking a mill on the upper part of the river, and letting it drive down the stream, had beaten to pieces the bridge which they had made, and divided the Armies from one another; yet not having strength to fight with either, the Count Montgomery, his forces passed over neverthelesse in boats, and joyned with the Princes, whereby their Army grown powerfull and considerable, they were absolute Masters of the field, and overran all those countries without opposition. At the same time they had by the means of their adherents (besides many other places) surpris'd Nismes, a principall Citie of Languedoc, which afforded them an exceeding great conveniency of refreshing themselves; for though the King had given strict commissions, and had also sent thither Monsieur *de la Valette*, a man of eminent valour and fidelity, with a good strength of Horse; yet did not his Officers oppose their progresse and incursions, because the Marechal *d'Anville*, though he thought it not wisdom to lay open his intentions unseasonably, the Hugonots being in such an ebb of fortune, yet hee desired they should rise again and recover new forces; for which cause he cunningly gave them many opportunities to arm and strengthen themselves,

The Hugonots not being opposed, do great outrages, and rise with considerable forces.



themselves, and keeping close in the City of Tholouze upon pretended doubts of the citizens fidelity, he permitted them to make insurrections, and to pillage all the country round about; and Monsieur de Montluc and Monsieur de la Vallette, bitter enemies of the Princes Faction, who for their own honors desired to suppress those reliques of the Hugonots, without the help of *d'Anville*, were too weak to execute their designs. But for all these advantages, the Princes and the Admiral were in very great perplexity of mind, because they had received newes from England, That by reason of the discovery of some intended conspiracy against the Queens person, that Kingdom was in such distraction, that they could not expect much help from thence; besides, they found not that readinesse, which they had imagined in the Princes of Germany, and they knew that nation could not move, to come into the Kingdom without a good sum of money, to raise, and furnish their Army: They saw likewise that the Prince of Orange, who was sent to sollicite the Protestants, was a great deal more careful of the Low-country affairs (wherein he had a very great interest) then of the businesse of France, wherein he was not so much concerned: Whereby finding themselves destitute of monies, and unprovided of all other things, without other means of living, then what they got by rapine, which already was grown very scarce, every one having conveyed their goods into the strong cities; their horses tired and lamed, not having so much as means to shoe them; for which cause they had lost above four hundred of them by the way: they foresaw that at last they must necessarily be ruined and destroyed by the Kings Forces, against whom in the end they could not possibly make resistance, though for a few months they might be able to defend themselves. For these reasons the Princes with a desire to conclude, but the Admiral only to gaine time, by the means of the Queen of Navar, began to introduce a Treaty of peace, and to that end with great humility and submission, sent Monsieur de Beauvais, and Monsieur de Teligny to court, with a safe conduct, who neverthelesse propounded conditions very far different from what the King intended to grant; who holding himself as conqueror, pretended they should submit themselves wholly to his mercy) so they were sent away without any hope of agreement; but they obtained, That

By reason of a conspiracy discovered against the Queen of England; the Hugonots despair of help from thence, whereupon a Treaty is begun, but not concluded.

Monsieur



1570

Monſieur *de Byron* ſhould go back with them to the Prince's Army, to know their final determination ; who returned to the Court, with nothing but general terms ; matters not being yet ripe , nor the Princes reſolution ſetled for any concluſion.

But in the beginning of the Spring time Fortune varying (as the chance of War uſeth to be uncertain ) the ſtate of affairs varied alſo ; for the Princes having paſt the ſharpeſſe of the Winter in Languedoc with five or ſix thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, (for toil and hard duty had brought the Reiters to the number of but one thouſand two hundred ) were come down from the mountains to the banks of the Rhosne, to enlarge themſelves in a more ſpacious fertile Country : the greateſt difficulty they had there , was to paſſe the river ; for Monſieur *des Gordes* the Kings Lieutenant in Daulphiné, had placed himſelf there with a conſiderable ſtrength, to hinder them : yet Monſieur *de Mombrun* knowing the Country very well, found means to paſſe over his Regiment in boats, unknown to the Catholikes, and defeated them who advanced in diſorder to fight with him ; in the heat of which Victory having made a Sconce cloſe by the river, Count *Lodowick* under favour of it, paſſed over firſt and at laſt the Princes with all the Army ; and the Admiral who ſick of a malignant Fever, made himſelf be carried, almoſt half dead, in an open Litter. Being paſt the Rhosne and come into the Country of Foreſts, thence into Bourbonni and the Dutchy of Nevers, ſacking and ſpoiling all they could, they endeavoured to draw neer to *la Charité*, and the places adjoyning, which yet held of their party, not onely to reinforce themſelves by the addition of thoſe Garriſons, but alſo to ſupply their want of powder, and other Ammunition whereof their ſtore was totally exhausted, and without which, their Arms ſerved to no purpoſe. Their deſigne was when they were recruited, and provided with thoſe neceſſaries which they wanted, to over-run and pillage the Countries about Paris, to open to themſelves, by that laſt attempt ſome way to a better and more tolerable ſtate of fortune, remembering that the Hugonots had never obtained advantageous conditions of agreement, but when they had made the ſea of the War in the heart of the Catholike party, and brought both fear and damage unto the City of Paris it ſelf, whole danger

The Admiral  
being ſick, is  
carried along  
with the Army  
in a Litter.



anger and jealousie had always extorted an assent to peace from those that bore the sway in the Government: But if they could not grow to a strength sufficient for the execution of that designe, they resolved to repasse the Loire, and return to their old nest Xaintonge; where since the departure of the Duke of Anjou, they heard the state of their affairs was not a little amended; for Monsieur de la Nouë with admirable conduct, and no lesse valour, sallying out of Rochelle, had recovered many places neer unto it, given a great Defeat to Puygalliard one of the Kings Commanders, taken one of the Gallies of the Fleet, and over-running all the Country, ceased not sometimes by cunning surprises, sometimes by open force to improve the condition of his party; and though (giving a sudden assault to Fountenay) he had received a shot in the arm, for which it was necessarily to be cut off, yet being cured, and returned to the exercise of Arms fiercer then before, he kept the whole Country in fear and trouble.

The King by this means seeing the War renewed contrary to his expectation, and the Duke of Anjou's sicknesse still continuing (for which cause he was gone to S. Germans a place of pleasure few miles distant from Paris) was constrained to put his Army again in posture to oppose the Princes, and as soon as it was in order, he unadvisedly resolved to give the Command thereof to the Marechal de Cossé; for (not daring to put it in the hands of those Subjects, who for greatness, power, adherents, or animosity, were very much suspected by him) he trusted it to a person, who not at all dissenting from his wonted inclinations, gave greater opportunities to the enemy; for inclining to Calvin's Doctrine in his heart, he was nothing forward in prosecuting the Princes of the blood; and being a man of a slow heavie nature, his intention was onely to hinder the Hugonots from getting footing in those provinces which they aimed at, but not at all to venture the hazard of a Battel, and much lesse totally to suppress that party, as he easily might have done, finding the Princes inferior to him in strength, without Canon, without Artillery, without Money, and their souldiers with long marches quite wearied and disheartned, having gone above three hundred leagues in the space of a few months. This counsel was attributed by many to the Duke of Anjou, who by reason

The Duke of Anjou being sick, the Army is commanded by the Marechal de Cossé, who inclining to Calvin's Doctrine, makes no progresse against the Hugonots.



1570

son of his indisposition not being able, or for some private ends not willing to make a perfect end of the War, would have been displeased, that another should enjoy the glory, and reap the fruits of his labours; wherefore rendring all the other Princes and Souldiers suspected to the King, he caused the enterprize to be committed to one, who he was confident would make no great progresse in it.

The Princes were come to Rene-le-Duc a weak Town in Burgundy, with a purpose to take and sack it, as they were necessitated to do, to relieve and feed their Souldiers, when the Mareshal *de Cossé* arrived with his Army, wherein were six thousand Swisses, and as many French Foot, twelve pieces of Canon, and little lesse then four thousand Horse; there was no doubt to men of understanding, but that fighting upon equal terms, the Princes would have the worst, so great was the difference both in the number and vigour of their Forces: but the Mareshal proceeding slowly according to his resolution, carried himself with so much caution in the businesse, and gave them time and opportunity to possesse themselves of a place, strong and advantageous enough to supply the defect of their weaknesse; for putting themselves in order, they fronted towards a small River, having a great Wood behinde them, and lynning the Hedges and Vineyards with their Foot, their Horse were divided into many Squadrons, and set in the fittest places to defend themselves, and receive their enemies; where they sustained the Skirmish (though hot and furious) all the day without much losse, after which trial of the Hugonots valour and constancy, the Kings Army proceeding so much the more warily, the Mareshal either through the slownesse of his own nature, or through his secret determination letting the enemy still gain the advantage of ground, went prolonging the event of things, perchance out of a belief, that the benefit of time, would without danger force the enemy to take some new deliberation; or else out of a desire that necessity should force the King to hearken and consent unto peace. Nor were the Princes slack in making use of these advantages, which his connivence offered them; for the Prince of Navar commanding the Army in stead of the Admirall (who being recovered of his dangerous sicknesse, was now gathering strength) laid hold of these opportunities with so much quicknesse and circumspection, that fighting and skirmishin



missing often, he still retired into places of advantage, and maintaining his reputation with exceeding art; he made as if he would give their whole Army battel; but yet avoided the Encounter, supplying his want of force by wary cunning resolutions. But as soon as the Queen-mother by many probable conjectures, found that the Marechal de Cossé of the one side, and the Marechal d'Anville on the other, concealed some secret purpose in their mindes, which was not hard for a woman of so great wisdom to discover, having made her sons acquainted with it, she began to perswade them to lend their ear to an Accommodation, knowing, that through the perfidiouse of men, and through the interessed dependencies of great ones, the War was managed with great danger. This advice was much forwarded by the news out of Germany, where they began already to raise Forces under Prince Casimir in favour of the Hugonots; besides the scarcity, or rather necessity of Money, whereof there was so great want, that they knew not how to finde any means to leere the arrears of the Swisses and Italians, who were many payes behinde; the ruines of the Countries and people, the smalnesse of the Kings Revenue wasted almost to nothing, the perpetual and generall disquietnesse of minde, the abundance of blood which was shed daily, were all no small inducements to the same, having made the War so odious to every one, and the name of Peace so lovely and desireable. Wherefore the King, the Queen-mother, the Duke of Anjou, and the Cardinal of Lorain being privately met together, resolved to follow the old and so often-interrupted Counsels, and grant a Peace unto the Hugonots, to free the Kingdom of strangers, and then by opportunity and artifices, to suppress the Heads of the faction, who once removed out of the way, there was no doubt but the common people, who were onely moved by their instigation, would yeeld of themselves, and be reduced to perfect obedience. By these proceedings, they hoped to attain those ends, which the falsenesse of the great ones would not suffer to be accomplished by force: a counsel often propounded, often received, but which (through the difficulty of execution, or infidelity of those employed) had always failed of the happy desired successe.

Through suspicion of the Marechal of Cossé and d'Anville, the Treaty is renewed.

Nor were the mindes of the Princes averse from Peace,  
Y y provided



1570

The Peace is  
concluded and  
published, but  
full of jealous-  
ies.

provided it were joyned with their liberty and security ; for they saw themselves in all things reduced to extremity ; Count *Volrade* with his Reiters, who while they were in those remoter provinces had been quiet and obedient , now that they were upon the confines of Germany , began to talk of leaving them : onely the Admiral constant to his own intentions , dissuaded and avoided peace as much as possibly he could ; but being now brought to necessity , he was faine to yeeld perforce to those counsels, which were most opposite to his nature and resolution. Both parties therefore consenting to embrace an Agreement , and the same *Beauvais* and *Telligny* being sent again to Court, and with them Monsieur *de la Chassetiere* the Prince of Navar's Secretary , upon the eleventh day of August the Peace was concluded, wherein besides liberty of Conscience , the publike profession of the Reformed Religion , and pardon of all things past , with the accustomed clauses inserted in the former Treaties with the Hugonots , the King gave leave to the Princes and the Admiral to stay, for their security, either at Rochelle, Cognac, la Charité, or Montauban, which places they promised within the space of two yeers to give up to his Majesties obedience provided the Articles of Peace were observed , which were after published , and registred in the Parliaments. The Princes and the Admiral, when at the confines of Burgundy they had dismissed Count *Volrade* of Mansfeld and the Reiters ( whereof few remained of so great a number ) without ever going to the Court , or so much as appearing in the Kings presence, went straight to Rochelle, not onely to consult with the Queen of Navar , concerning matters that appertained to their common interests , but also for their better security to dwell there , and fortifie themselves.

But the Peace being concluded and established (though full of fears and jealousies from the very first, as appeared plainly by the determination of the Princes and the Admiral not to go to the Court) the engines framed in the minde of the King and Queen, to bring the principal Hugonots into the net, began to move, and to work that by policy , which so often attempted by the means of War , had always proved fruitless and dangerous. And though these very stratagems had been formerly put in practice , and still produced ver-  
little

little or no benefit, either because treacherous Ministers had revealed them, or because the Queen had carried her self with too much caution and respect, or because the Hugonot Princes had always mistrusted her nature and designs; yet now they hoped a more full and prosperous issue, because these secret practices were not managed by any but such as were deeply engaged, and the King himself also lent a hand to the work, who being now come to the age of two and twenty, of a resolute nature, a spirit full of resentment, and above all, an absolute dissembler, did of himself, though by the advice of his mother, manage the businesse of the Government; whereby matters proceeded not onely with more efficacie and security, but also with more wary and powerful Counsels. The principal difficulty, was to beget confidence in the Hugonot Lords, and from those jealousies which possessed them, to bring them to such an assurance as might make them venture to come unarmed to the Court; for which cause (it being necessary to begin at that end) the King and Queen mother imparting their private thoughts onely to the Duke of Anjou, the Cardinal of Lorain, the Duke of Guise, and *Alberto Gondi* Count of Retz (who because greatly favoured, and from a small fortune exalted to a considerable estate, was very much trusted, and very faithful to them) they dispatched strict Commissions to all Magistrates and Governours of provinces, for the executing and observing the Articles of peace, in favour of the Hugonots, to whom they sent as far as Rochelle, the Marechal *de Cossé*, who was now discovered to incline to their party, giving him not onely authority to interpret, and to make the Edict to be fulfilled, in those places where it was doubtful and obscure, but also most ample command to assure the Princes and the Admiral of the Kings favour, and sincere intentions to observe his promises totally and inviolably: nor were his actions different from his words; for the King being minded to grant the Hugonots all possible satisfaction, with severe Orders punished the Insurrections of the Catholikes (which in Provence, Dauphiné, and Normandy, were many against the Hugonot Ministers) and in things doubtful, inclined always to interpret the Edict graciously to their advantage: on the other side, shewing himself toward the Catholike party, either too sharply severe, or of a disposition



1570

very little favourable. By which demonstrations he not only fetled the mindes of the common people, but even the Admiral himself, who was most obstinate in not believing, and firmly resolved not to trust them, began to conceive some hope, that the King, weary of the distractions, and dangers of a Civil War, beginning now to govern of himself, and not by the counsels of his mother, might at last desire sincerely to preserve and establish the Accommodation.

But to make the greater proof, and penetrate more deeply into the Kings intentions, the Princes and the Admiral having conferred of many things with the Marechal *de Cossé*, dispatched to Court *Teligny*, *Briquemaut*, and *Arnauld Cavagnes* a Senator of the Parliament of Tholouse, and a principal counsellor of the Admiral's, to represent their many grievances to the King, and chiefly to insist, That the Cardinal of Lorain and the Guises might be put from the management of affairs of State; shewing, that while matters of the Government were swayed and administred by them, they could not believe the agreement of peace would long continue; nor did right require, that coming to the Court, where those Lords remained with so great authority, they should put their safety into the hands of their bitter enemies. With these they joyned many other Demands; That the High Chancellor *de l'Hospital* should be recalled to the execution of his place: That the *Marquesse de Villars* (whose election to be Admiral was void by vertue of the Agreement) might not be Lieutenant to the Prince of Navar in the Government of Guienne; but that the Prince might have leave to chuse such a one as he liked, *Villars* being no ways acceptable to him, and most to be suspected by the Admiral of Chastillon: That the Prince of Condé might have the Castle of Vallery restored to him, then in possession of the Lords of Achon, who pretended a right unto it: That the Bastard of Navar might have the Bishoprick of Cominges, already destined to one of the sons of Monsieur *de Lansac*: That the Queen of Navar might have free dominion in her County of Armagnac, where she might exercise her Jurisdiction without control: Which things (especially the abasement of the House of Lorain) were propounded not so much for any hope they had to obtain them (being neither included nor named in the Accommodation)

out of a desire, by the effects thereof, to finde out more clearly the intentions of the King, and the designes of the Queen-mother.

These Lords arrived in a time when the Court was wholly taken up with the celebration of the Kings Nuptials; who desirous of issue, had taken to wife the Lady *Isabella*, second daughter of the Emperour *Maximilian* of Austria: and amongst those Feasts and Triumphs, these complaints, rather then retentions of the Hugonot Lords, were treated of; which were favoured with much efficacie by the Ambassadors of the German Princes, who being come to congratulate the Kings Marriage, exhorted him earnestly to observe and maintain peace, which their Princes had learned by experience, could not be kept, but by full liberty of conscience, and by sincere and confident union between the Prince and all his subjects. The King and Queen-mother knew very well that these complaints and propositions had no other ground nor end then to discover their intentions, and to search to the bottom of their designes; and therefore purposing to amuse the Hugonots by the same arts wherewith they themselves were sounded, after some weak denial, not to give them greater suspicion by a too easie willingnesse, they consented to many of the demands, and artificially gave probable hopes of yielding to the rest. To the Queen of Navar they granted liberty of disposing all things in the County of Armagnac, by Laws and Ordinances after her own minde. They for a while suspended the Commission and delayed the sending of the *Marquess de Villars* into Guienne, reserving themselves to treat thereof more particularly with the Prince of Navar. They granted many profits and Ecclesiastical revenues unto the Bastard; promised the restitution of Vallery to the Prince of Condé; but excused themselves by the age of the *Chancellor de l'Hospital*, not thinking his many yeers, and weak constitution, able to undergo such a weight and multiplicity of businesse; and as concerning the Lords of the House of Guain, which was the highest and most difficult proposition, they shewed a seeming desire of consenting to the Hugonots, but with the opportunity of occasions which time should offer, it not being just, nor reasonable, nor peradventure safe, to deprive them all at once (without any cause) of those honours and Offices which they so long had possessed and executed.

*Charles the 9<sup>th</sup> married Isabella the daughter of Maximilian the Emperour, Anno 1570.*



1571 executed. Notwithstanding the King with effectual discour-  
ses, alleadged to the Commissioners, that the Government  
now consisted chiefly in himself: and though the Lords of the  
House of Lorain enjoyed some Offices in the Court, yet he  
would order them according to his own minde, nor did he  
suffer himself to be guided by any other person whatsoever;  
wherefore the Princes of Bourbon, the Admiral, and the rest  
of their party, needed not fear to suffer any prejudice by  
the authority of their adversaries, who though they continued  
at Court, did now live there as Subjects, not as Masters, ha-  
ving no power to do any thing more then duty and reason  
permitted, not daring to meddle with those matters to which  
they were not called.

1571 With these Treaties on every side full of deep dissimulati-  
on, began the year 1571, in the beginning whereof the Com-  
missioners returning to Rochelle, carried back the Condi-  
tions they had obtained, and many interpretations of the Edict  
touching the exercise of Religion, all favourable to their  
party; wherewith the Princes being satisfied, and in part al-  
so the Queen of Navar, onely the Admiral remained doubtful  
and incredulous till he saw more real demonstrations. But  
the King and the Queen desirous once to accomplish their de-  
terminations, resolved to make use of more powerful en-  
gines, and to try more secure efficacious means to induce the  
Hugonot Lords to come to Court: wherefore having sent to  
Rochelle Monsieur *de Byron* (who from field-Marshal, was  
for his great valour made General of the Artillery) they pro-  
pounded to the Queen of Navar (for the better establishment  
and confirmation of the ancient Consanguinity and present  
peace concluded with her) that the Lady *Marguerite* the  
Kings sister, should be given in Marriage to her son the Prince  
of Navar, after which conjunction, there would be no more  
cause to doubt of the love and concord between them, nor  
of those prerogatives and honours which as first Prince of  
the blood did justly belong unto him, nor would any body  
be so bold as dare to interpose, or sowe dissention between  
two so neer Allies: They propounded to the Admiral and  
the Count of Nassau (who for his security remained with the  
rest at Rochelle) that the King, desirous at last to make an  
end of Civil broils, seeing that by reason of the warlike na-  
ture of his people, he could not so easily do it, without be-  
ginnin

nning a forraign War, to busie the mindes and employ the  
 e forces of his Souldiers, had resolved in revenge of those  
 any injuries received, to make War with the King of Spain,  
 against the Low-countries, which were full of Commotions,  
 and ready to receive the Government of any other Prince,  
 and therefore not knowing any more faithful Counsellors, or  
 ore proper instruments for that businesse, then the Admiral  
 and the Count of Nassau (so principal a man banished out of  
 ose Countries) he desired both of them to come to Court,  
 at he might communicate his designs with them, and take  
 at resolution which by common consent should appear best  
 ounded and most profitable. The King and the Queen be-  
 eved (as it was true) that the hope of this War would work  
 nsibly upon the Admiral, and therefore gave order to treat  
 ore effectually upon that then any other particular. These  
 ings were propounded very discreetly by Monsieur de Byron,  
 ho though in the War by his great valour and industry, he  
 ad done much harm to the Hugonot faction; yet by his coun-  
 ls in the Treaties of Peace, he had shewed himself very fa-  
 urable to their interests, perhaps through a secret envie  
 hich many at that time bore to the greatnesse of the Duke  
 Guise and the Cardinal of Lorain, who in that very con-  
 ncture of time, having agreed secretly with the King, seem-  
 d to be very ill satisfied with the conclusion of the Peace, and  
 e favours done to the Hugonots; but much more because  
 e Duke of Guise, having from his childhood conceived  
 opes to obtain in Marriage the Lady Marguerite the King's  
 ster, and to that end had long courted and served her, now  
 w her destined to the Prince of Navar his enemy: and it  
 as true, that the Duke of Guise had been many yeers very  
 uch in love with the Lady Marguerite, and no lesse beloved  
 y her again; whereupon it was commonly believed, that  
 ere was not onely a particular friendship between them, but  
 at already they had with reciprocal promises contracted  
 emselves together secretly: but whether the ardour of the  
 Duke of Guise's affection were in part abated (as it often  
 appens that men who are easily enamoured, as easily forget  
 heir passion, and prove unconstant) or that governed by the  
 ounsel of his Uncle, he preferred his own greatnesse, and  
 he Admiral's ruine, before all other considerations; yeeld-  
 ng at that time to the Kings desires, he consented privately  
 that



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that the Lady *Marguerite* should marry the Prince of Navar but in outward appearance shewing himself infinitely offended, and troubled at it, he increased the satisfaction and confidence of the Hugonot Lords: and the King with the like dissimulation (a quality wherein he much excelled) seemed many times unsatisfied even with the Government of the Queen his Mother, of whom he knew the Hugonots were not a little mistrustful, and much more did he seem displeased with the Duke of Anjou his Brother; and to shew an open desire by some occasion to get him from the Court, he had moved the Admiral that by the means of Monsieur *de Beausvais* his brother (who had been Cardinal, and lived then in England) there might be a treaty of Marriage begun, between the Duke of Anjou and Queen *Elizabeth*, with certain Conditions belonging to the matter, and exercise of Religion; which they did not so much with hope to conclude it, (for the Queens disposition was sufficiently known to incline but little to the yoke of Matrimony, and to the Government of a stranger husband) as partly to beget more assurance in the mindes of the Hugonots; partly to shew desire of putting the Duke of Anjou as far as possibly could be from the Government of the Kingdom; partly also out of a suspicion that the Queen of England (the mindes of women being variable) might perchance agree to marry with the Prince of Navar, who was of her own Religion, and upon whom she might impose such Laws and Conditions as she pleased, which would strengthen the Hugonot party with new interests, and more powerful assistance; for which cause the Duke of Anjou was propounded, that in case she resolved to marry, she might have occasion to make choice of him not onely because he was a greater Prince, but also of greater reputation, and riper yeers, and which best might suit with the Queens inclinations of a person most exactly handsome. And because the Lady *Marguerite* not considering the interest of State, but led wholly by her own affection, refused any other husband but the Duke of Guise, it happened that one night when there was a Ball, he coming into the great Hall gallantly attired, and adorned with exceeding rich jewels (the grace of all which received an addition from his affable behaviour and noble carriage) the King, who stood at the door (without shewing any of his accustomed favours) asked him  
 whither

whither he went ; to which he answering, that he came to serve  
is Majestie ; the King replyed, That hee had no need of his  
ervice ; which, whither it was spoken in jest or earnest, touch-  
d him so to the quick, that the next day hee resolved to take  
o wife *Katherine de Cleves*, Sister to the Dutchesse of Nevers,  
nd widow to the Prince of Porcien, who, though of very no-  
le bloud, and enriched with a plentiful dowry, was in every  
spect, but especially in beauty, much inferiour to the Kings  
ister : but his ambition of governing, and desire to revenge  
is Fathers death, the perswasions of his Uncle, and chiefly fear  
o offend the King, were more powerfull with him then any  
her considerations whatsoever.

1571

The Kings an-  
swer to the  
D. of Guise.

The Duke of  
Guise resolves  
to marry Ka-  
therine de  
Cleves.

These practices were carried with so much efficacy and  
simulation, that not onely most part of the Hugonot Lords  
ere perswaded of their reality, but the Pope himself be-  
n to grow jealous of them ; for the King and the Queen his  
other, for fear they should be discovered, had not imparted  
any body those their so secret counsels : whereupon the  
ope, doubtfull of their proceedings, did not onely deny  
give a dispensation for the marriage between the Prince  
Navar and the Kings Sister, but also sent Commission to  
Nephew Cardinall *Alessandrino*, then his Legat in Spain,  
goe with all possible speed to the Court of France, to  
eak the treaty of that Match, and to perswade the King  
renew the Warre with the Hugonots. Nor was King  
ilip without suspicion of the French designs ; for he saw  
at many ships rigg'd and mann'd in the port of Rochel,  
e King allowing, or not opposing it, made incursions into  
e Indies, and the coasts of Spain ; he perceived also a gather-  
g together of Souldiers about the confines of Picardy ; who  
der Hugonot Captains, gave out that they were to goe  
o the Low-countries to assist the Prince of Orange, with  
e other Lords and people there up in armes ; for which  
ases, besides having made complaint at the Court of  
ance, whereto he onely got ambiguous generall answers ;  
e exhorted the Legat *Alessandrino* to be exceeding carefull  
c found and discover the intentions of the King of France.  
t the Duke of Savoy was in greater trouble ; for be-  
es the same jealousies which gave suspicion to the others,  
ell out about that time, that the Admirall being left a  
dower by the death of *Charlotte de la Val* his first Wife,



1571 married Madam d' *Antramont*, a very rich Lady of his Country, who contrary to the Dukes will and command, was gone to Rochel to consummate the marriage, desirous (as she said) to be the second *Martia* of that second *Cato*: for which reason the Duke greatly feared, lest the Admiral, so great and politick a contriver, should by help of the neernesse of Geneva, kindle the same fire in Savoy that he had done in the Kingdom of France.

The Duke of Savoy grows suspicious of the Admirall for having against his will married Madam d' *Antramont*, a Savoyard.

But these respects slackened not the proceedings, nor interrupted the counsels of the King and Queen-Mother, being assured that the conclusion would at last satisfie all the world of their intentions: Wherefore, persevering in their resolution they had taken, they purposed to go to Blois, that being in a place so much neerer, they might more conveniently treat with the Princes that were at Rochel, amongst whom were various opinions; for Count *Lodowick* (as banished men are commonly inclined to hope, and as one who had less offended, and was lesse engaged to the King then any of the rest) was willing to go to Court, to sollicite and resolve upon the War which the King made shew to desire against the Spaniards; but the Queen of Navar, and the Admiral, who by their conscioufnesse of things past, measured their prognosticks of the future, were still averse and doubtfull; neither willingly consenting to the Princes Marriage, nor to the journey to Court. Wherefore Count *Lodowick* called, and encouraged by the King, took a resolution to go thither alone, but very privately, to negotiate his own businesse by himself, to settle a safe coming for the rest, and to ripen those designs which with so much approbation he nourished in his mind, of the Hugonots desired enterprise against Flanders. Wherefore departing from Rochel with onely two in his company, giving out that he went to his brother the Prince of Orange, when he was a few miles distant from the Town, he took post, and arrived by night secretly at the Court: where being received with many demonstrations of favour and affection, he treated confidently with the King himself, nor assisted by any of his Council concerning the propositions of his party; for *Charles*, the better to increase a confidence in them, continued to make shew of governing his Kingdome by counsels very different from those which his mother had followed during his minority. The conclusions of which meeting were, That the Pr. of Navar should



ould have the Lady *Marguerite* in marriage, with 400000  
 Buckets; whereof 300000 should be paid by the King, and  
 sufficient security given for them; the rest to be paid by the  
 Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon his  
 Brothers; That the Low-country designe against the Spani-  
 ards, should be put in practice with all speed; in which War  
 Count *Lodowick* should go before, and order matters with  
 those that were banished out of Flanders, and the Admirall  
 should be Captain-Generall of the enterprize; concerning  
 which consultations, he was presently to come to Court, ha-  
 ving liberty for the guard of his person to keep about him fifty  
 Gentlemen, that might wear all kinds of arms, even in the Ci-  
 ty of Paris, or wheresoever else the Court should be; and that  
 to gratifie Count *Lodowick*, the Kings Garison and Gover-  
 nor should be drawn out of the City of Orange, and left free  
 to the Prince his Brother, who might absolutely dispose of  
 it and his subjects as he pleased, the King not meddling in the  
 government or superiority to which he had pretended; which  
 things, with many others of lesse moment, being granted and  
 established, Count *Lodowick* returned to Rochel to perswade  
 the Queen of Navar and the Admirall to come to Court; and  
 the King departing from Blois, went into the countries about  
 Paris, where faining only to intend hunting, and other youth-  
 full pleasures, hee gave time leave to ripen the Counsels  
 which had been taken to procure that meeting; for the fa-  
 cilitating whereof, the Cardinall of Lorain, the Duke of  
 Guise, and his Brothers, seeming angry and troubled for the  
 honours and favours which the King so liberally granted to  
 all those of the Hugonot Faction, left the Court and the King,  
 either shewing himself unsatisfied with them, or little to regard  
 them and their merits; received neerer to his person, and into  
 more eminent degree of managing the affairs of State, the  
 Marshalls of Momorancy and Cossé; both partiall to, and  
 by neernesse of blood and friendship interested with the Prin-  
 ces, and the Admirall: wherefore the Duke of Montpensier,  
 who had newly married one of the Duke of Guise's Sisters,  
 shewing the same dislike with the rest of the kindred was  
 also gone from Court, as likewise the Prince Dauphiné his  
 sonne.

But about that time the Kings designes which with so  
 much care and diligence had been kept secret, were like un-



expectedly to have been discovered. The Duke of Anjou did much favour, and was very familiar with Monsieur de *Lignerolles*, a young Gentleman of a very acute wit, and high spirit, who often discoursing intimately with the Duke of the present state of affairs, induced him at last to impart the Kings most secret designs to him; partly, because he was most confident of his fidelity; partly, to hear his opinion upon so important a businesse, and to receive his advice and counsell in that, as he was wont in many other things: *Lignerolles* by means of his favour being grown into such esteem, that the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Guise, and even the King himself made great account of his wit and courage. Hee being one day in the Chamber with the King, who much displeased at the high insolent demands of some of the Hugonot Lords after he had dismissed them with shew of favour, letting loose his anger, and laying aside dissimulation, shewed some token of being extremely offended; either moved with ambition to appear not ignorant of the neereſt secrets, or with the lightnesse incident to youth, which often over-shoots discretion, told the King in his ear, that his Majestie ought to quiet his mind with patience, and laugh at their insolence and temerity; for within a few dayes, by that meeting which was almost ripe, he would have brought them all into the net, and punished them at his own pleasure: with which words the Kings minde being struck in the most tender sensible part, he made shew not to understand his meaning, and retired into his private lodgings; where full of anger, grief, and trouble, he sent to call the Count *de Retz*, thinking that he, who was likewise familiar with *Lignerolles*, had revealed this secret to him; and with sharp injurious words reproached him with the honours and benefites he had conferred upon him, threatening to take vengeance on that perfidiouſnesse, wherewith forgetfull of so great favours, he had betrayed him, and discovered his most secret intentions; but the Count constantly denying it, and offering to be shut up in prison till the truth were known, he called the Queen-Mother, and complained grievously to her, that she had made known those thoughts which hee with such patience, and constraint of his own minde, forcing his nature, had so long dissembled: to which words the Queen smiling answered, that she needed not to learn the art of secrecie from him, and that hee should look whether by his own impatience



impatience he had not discovered something of that, which he  
thought to be revealed by others: the King (as hee was ex-  
ceeding cholerick) fretting and storming very impatiently,  
went at last for the Duke of Anjou; who, without further  
arguing, confessed freely, that hee had imparted the businesse  
to *Ligneroles*, but withall assured them they needed not fear,  
that he would ever open his lips to discover so weighty a se-  
cret. No more he shall not, answered the King, for I will take  
order that he shall be dispatched before hee have time to pub-  
lish it. The Duke of Anjou either not daring to oppose that  
sudden, resolute determination, or else angry at the light-  
nesse of *Ligneroles*, and for fear of the worst not caring to di-  
vert it; the King sent to call *George de Villequier* Viscount of  
Guerchy, who (as Masters are seldome ignorant how their  
servants stand affected) he knew bare a secret emulous hatred  
to *Ligneroles*, and commanded him by all means to endeavour  
the taking away of his life that very day; with which reso-  
lution the King presently taking horse, with the Duke of  
Anjou, as hee often used to doe without staying for any at-  
endants, went to hunt in the fields and woods not far off;  
which the Courtiers no sooner heard, but as fast as their horses  
could be brought, they followed severally stragling after the  
cry of the hounds, and *Ligneroles* by their example instantly did  
the same; but the Viscount *de la Guerchy*, and Count *Charles*  
of Mansfield, who was privie to his purpose, mounted upon  
very unquiet horses, hunted in the same company with *Ligne-  
roles*, and drew neer under colour of talking and discoursing  
with him; which while he endeavoured to avoid, not being  
able to keep his horse in order among theirs that was so quar-  
relsome and unruly; and while they persisted still following  
him as it were in sport, they presently came to high language,  
and then to challenges; whereupon the Viscount suddenly  
drawing his sword, and Count *Charles* at the same instant,  
they fell so furiously upon him, that before hee could be re-  
lieved by those that came to help him, they left him dead up-  
on the place; which being come to the Kings knowledge,  
with great shew of anger and trouble, he caused them both to  
be taken and imprisoned in the Palace; from whence in pro-  
cesse of time, by the intercession of Monsieur d'Angoulême,  
the Kings Bastard-brother, and by particular grace and favour  
they were after set at liberty.

*Ligneroles* kil-  
led by the  
Kings command  
for shewing  
that hee knew  
that which the  
King desired  
to keep secret.

This



This busines being passed over, which for a while had troubled the whole Court, the next was to overcome the obstinacie of the Lady *Marguerite*; who more fix'd then ever to her former thoughts, denyed now absolutely to marry at all, since she was forbidden to take the Duke of Guise; to which the Popes continued denyall of a dispensation being added, the conclusion of that marriage remained still uncertain. The Queen-Mother, by the means of the Bishop *Salviati* the Popes Nuncio, to whom she was neer allyed, endeavored to perswade them at Rome, that the effecting of that Match would conclude to the good of the Catholick Religion; for, to draw the Prince of Navar into so neer a relation and confidence with the King, would be an occasion, that not onely he being young, and easie to be won to better opinions, would come into the bosome of the Church; but also infinite others; part moved by his example; and part out of fear to lose so considerable a prop as the first Prince of the Blood, would do the like; that they often had tryed in vain to overcome the Hugonots with sharpnesse and violence; therefore it was now fit to try some gentle remedies. But when they saw the Popes mind could not be changed by perswasions, they began to try if they could alter it by neglect; the King and the Queen saying openly, That being necessitated to make a match with one of another Religion, they would doe it howsoever, without caring for any dispensation; nor would they suffer the peace and quietnesse of their Kingdome to be disturbed, and by the Popes obstinacy involved in the former wars, dangers, and inconveniencies: Which things confirming the assurance and boldnesse of the Hugonots, the Admirall in the end perswaded by Count *Lodowick* of Nassau, and the counsels of *Teligny* his Son-in-law, and of *Cavagnes*, a man great in his esteem; but much more by the fear of being prevented by the Queen of Navar and the Princes, who already were setting things in order to go to Court, took his journey with a great train of his dependants, and came unto the King, before whom humbly bowing himself and kneeling down in token of greater humility, he was received with as great demonstrations of love and affection. It was very remarkable, that the Admiral, who was grown old in ambitious thoughts, and high pretentions, now conscious of the errors hee had committed, should in the theater of all France, and in the very presence of his

The Admirall after so many wars with the King, prostrates himself at his feet, and is graciously received.

his own principall adherents, bring himself to so publick a penance, as to be seen with tears in his eyes, kneeling at the feet of that King which in times past hee had so hainously offended and despised. But it was much more remarkable, that a King so young, and of so hasty cholerick a nature, seeing the man before him who so often had brought the power of his Crown and Kingdome to such doubtfull hazards, should know so perfectly how to dissemble, that calling him Father, and lifting him up with his owne hand, hee made all the world believe, hee was heartily and sincerely reconciled to him.

After these great demonstrations of favour, followed effects correspondent to them; for the King commanded 100000 Franks, which amount to ten thousand pounds sterling, to be paid him presently out of the Treasury, to make up those particular losses which he had suffered during the late Warres; and assigned him an Annuity of those Ecclesiasticall evennues which belonged to the Cardinal his Brother, who died in England a little before that time; and gave him all his rich and costly household-stuffe, which, as the goods of a Criminall, had lately been confiscate: And though all other Admirals in Councell and publick Ceremonies had ever given place to the Marshalls of France; yet, for his greater honour, it was the Kings pleasure, that he should sit next Monsieur de Momorancy, who was the first Marshall, and above all the rest. To *Teligny*, *Cavagnes*, and to all his dependants and followers, the King voluntarily did many favours; and at Councils, in his own lodgings, and abroad in publick he was still encompassed by many of them. All graces and favours were granted by their intercession, nor was there any thing so difficult, which the Admirall with a word might not bring to a speedy and happy issue; which was proved in the person of *Villandry*, a young Gentleman, who playing with the King, had so exceedingly offended him, that hee was therefore condemned to die; for having denyed his pardon to the Queen-Mother, the Queen his Wife, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Montpensier, at the first word of the Admirall he was set at liberty, and restored to his former degree of familiarity in the Court. With this assurance, and to increase it the more, the enterprize of Flanders was presently set on foot; for the effecting whereof, the Marshall of Momorancy



1571 rancy was sent into England, to treat of a reciprocall confederacy with the Queen; and the Count of Schiombergh into Germany to exhort the Protestant Princes to accept pensions, and to unite themselves with the Crown of France against the Spaniards. These things resolved on, which all were managed by the Admirals advice and direction, hee with the Kings leave went to Chastillon to order his private affairs, and so return to Court to perfect matters already agreed upon.

1572 About this time, being the beginning of the year 1572, arrived the Legat *Alessandrino*, to hinder the progresse of these resolutions, which tended manifestly not onely to the ruine of the Spaniards, then imployed for the defence of Cristendome, in the War by sea against the Turk; but much more to the destruction of the Catholick Religion, and the establishment of the Hugonots. Great were the contestations that passed in this interview; for on the one side the Legats reasons were home and evident; and on the other side, the Kings answers were so obscure and ambiguous, that the businesse seemed not possible to be determined, without alienating his mind utterly from the Pope; to whom it appeared most intolerable, that the most Christian King, who he hoped (mindful of so great assistance received from him) would have favoured the Christian league, now by making an unseasonable War against the King of Spain, should be an occasion of breaking it, and a means of giving so great opportunities to the common Enemy, of doing mischief to all Christendom: But it seemed no lesse strange unto him, that so much money having been spent, and so much blood shed of late yeers to suppress the Calvinist party, the King now perverting all his old determinations, should put all good Catholicks away from him, and of a sudden give himself a prey to the Hugonots, treating leagues and confederacies with forraign Princes excommunicated by the Apostolick Sea, to the dammage and prejudice of those that were most firm and affectionate to the Romish Religion. Nor was he at all satisfied by the Kings answers; who sometimes urging the weak and troublesome estate of his Kingdom, excused the peace concluded with the Hugonots; sometimes with obscure words that might receive a double interpretation, affirmatively promised, that at last all should end to the satisfaction

The King dislikes so with the Hugonots, that he is suspected by stranger Princes.

of the Pope, and the benefit of the Catholick Religion; which nothing abated the doubtfulness of the Legats minde, seeing his words and actions so different. Yet ceased not the King with most effectuall demonstrations to try all means possible to content him, honouring him in publick, making much of him in private, using all manner of art and indutry, even to the presenting him a wonderfull rich jewell with his owne hands; which the Cardinall refused to accept, saying, That by his Majesties unexpected falling from the zeal of the Catholick Religion, all his most valued and precious jewels were no more then dirt in the estimation of all good Catholicks: the sharpnesse of which words, and many other open signes of distaste were not a little resented by the King, knowing the bottom of his own intentions. Nor could this so hard a blow not have been unloosed without a manifest breach, especially because the dispensation was absolutely denyed, had it not been for the news of the Popes desperate sicknesse, for which cause the Legat departing suddenly, businesses remained still uncertain, and undetermined.

Cardinal Alefsandrinio, Legat to Pius Quintus, refuseth a rich jewel presented to him by the Kings own hand.

Pius Quintus being dead, about the later end of April, Gregory the 13 of a more milde easie nature, succeeded in the chair; who in the beginning of his Papacy, perswaded by the Cardinall of Lorain (who partly to seem discontented at the Court of France; partly, to manage the present affairs with more secrecy, was gone to Rome) granted the Bull of dispensation; but in such form as did not then satisfie the Cardinal of Bourbon, and after brought in question the validity of the Contract: but the King and Queen not looking so narrowly to the dispensation, having the Popes consent in what manner soever it were, solicited now to bring it to a conclusion; for the Lady Marguerite, partly by her Mothers perswasions, partly by her Brothers threatnings, partly not to bring her honour in question, which already was something doubtfully spoken of; though she gave no absolute consent, yet denied no more so openly to marry the Prince of Navar.

Gregory the 13 succeeding Pius Quintus, granted a dispensation for the marriage between the Prince of Navar and the Kings Sister.

But all these practices being ripe, in the beginning of June the Queen of Navar comes to Paris, received with so much joy of the whole Court, that France had not seen a day of greater rejoycing in many years. Two dayes after arrived the Prince of Navar and the Prince of Condé, accompanied with Count Lodowick, the Count de la Roch-foucault, and



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all the Trains of the Princes, being the chief Commanders, Cavaliers and Gentlemen that had held the Hugonot party; among which *Piles*, *Brignemant*, and *Pluvial*, Colonels who in the course of that War had by their valour acquired so much glory and renown; the *Sieur de Guereby* he that defended Sanferre, the *Marquesse de Renel*, the *Sieur de Nonè*, *de Colombiere*, and *Lavardin*, famous Commander of Horse, and a great many other men of quality and reputation.

The League Offensive and Defensive was already concluded with the Queen of England; Prince *Casimir* and *William* his Brother, both sons of the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, were already perswaded to receive pensions from the King, when the Admirall, forgetting all his former jealousies, full of incredible pride and intolerable pretensions, returned to Court with a great train of his adherents; and to put the King upon a necessity of making war with the Spaniard, even against his will, he so ordered the matter, that Count *Lodowick*, and the *Sieurs de Genlis*, and *de la Nonè*, who were gotten to the confines of Picardy, where a great many Hugonot Gentlemen and Souldiers were privately drawn together, suddenly surprized the City of Mons in the County of Heinault, a principall place, and of very great importance to the Provinces of Flanders; which rashnesse, though it inwardly much troubled the Kings mind, yet with admirable patience seeming very well pleased with it, he thereby took occasion presently to dispatch *Philippo Strozzi* with a great many old Companies into places neer about Rochel, under pretence of imbarcking them in ships, that were made ready in that Port, to passe them over to those coasts of the Low-countries which were held by the Confederates of Flanders; but indeed they were to be ready upon all occasions to surprize and possesse themselves of that City, as soon as the present designs were brought to maturity: Thus with cunning policies they went deluding the subtilties of the Admirall, who held in the highest esteem, as Arbitrator of the Court and Government, seemed alone to rule the *genius*, and direct the will of the King of France.

And because to begin a War of so great moment, it appeared necessary to take away the obstacle of civill discords, the King earnestly intreated the Admirall, that the en-

The Admirall causeth the Hugonots to surprize the City of Mons in Heinault, in Flanders, to force the King to a War with Spain: he is displeased, but dissembles it.

imities



ities between him and the House of Lorain, might by some means or other be accommodated; which was propounded for no other end, but because the help of the Duke of Guise, and the Duke of Aumale, and the forces of the Catholick party were necessary for the execution of the designs that were in agitation; they sought that colour to bring them to the Court without suspicion of the Hugonots. Under this pretence the Lords of the House of Lorain being come to Paris with all the train of their Faction; they promised, as also did the Admiral, in the presence of the King, that they would no more offend one another, referring all their differences either to his Majesties arbitrement, or to the opportunity of other times, when the King and his Council should think fit: by which ambiguous promises, the inveterate hatred and enmity which had so many yeeres continued between them, and which was the original cause of all the present miseries and troubles, seemed rather smothered for a time, then utterly extinguished.

The Lords of the House of Lorain and the Admirall are seemingly made friends before the King.

But now matters were not onely brought to the point intended, but the execution of them could no longer be deferred; for on the one side the Ambassadour of the Catholick King after the taking of Mons, had not only left the Court, but was also gone out of the Kingdom: and on the other side, the Hugonots, without expecting further order or Commission, tumultuously ran to the aid of their adherents, with too great boldnesse, and too dangerous commotions; whereby, contrary to the Kings intentions, the War with the Spaniards was kindled in the Confines of his Kingdom.

The Warre against the Spaniards breaks out against the Kings will.

The first thunderbolt of so great a tempest fell upon the Queen of Navar; who being a woman and a Queen, they thought fittest to take her away by poyson administred as was reported, in the perfume or trimming of a pair of gloves; but in such secret maner, and in such just proportion, that having worn them a while, a violent feavour seized upon her, which ended her life within four dayes. She was a Lady of a most high spirit and invincible courage, much above the condition of the female sex; by which vertues she not only bore up the degree & estimation of a Queen though she had no Kingdom; but assaulted by the persecutions of so many, and so powerful enemies, she sustained the War most undauntedly; and finally, in the greatest dangers, & most adverse fortune of her party she built up that greatnesse of her Son, from whence, as from the first root, in after yeeres

The Queen of Navar is poysoned with a pair of gloves.



1572 sprung forth the exaltation of his State, and the renowned glory and immortality of his name; qualities (besides her chastity and magnificence) worthy eternal praise, if (thinking it lawfull for her, without the help of learning, to search into, and expound the deepest mysteries in Divinity) she had not obstinately persisted in the opinions of Calvinism. Queen *Jane* being dead, because the Hugonots began to suspect something by that so unexpected accident, the King knowing that the poyson had only wrought upon her brain, caused the body to be cut up in open view, the parts whereof being all very sound, the head, under colour of respect, was left untouched, and the testimony of skilfull Physicians divulged that through the malignity of her feaver she died of a naturall death.

The Prince of  
Navar assumes  
the title of  
KING.

After her funerall, her Son assumed the Arms and Title of King of Navar; but his marriage with the Kings Sister was deferred for a few dayes, not to mingle joy unseasonably with that grief for which the King himself and the whole Court had put on mourning; about which time the Citizens of Rochel (constant in not trusting any body, not willing to return unto the Kings obedience, but fortifying continually, and even in the midst of peace providing all things necessary for War) perswaded the Prince and the Admirall to retire from the Court: which exhortations, as well of the Rochellers, as those of Geneva, and others of that party, were more earnestly reiterated after the Queen of Navar's death; every one thinking that so sudden an accident was the unhappy omen of an unfortunate conclusion. But the Admirall in his present felicity having utterly forgot his ancient Maximes, and wholly laid aside his former diffidence; either believing that by his wisdom he had really gotten the Kings favour, and eclipsed the credit of all others; or deluded by the cunning dissimulations of the Court; or else drawn by the hidden power of fate, presumed so much upon himself and his own authority, and was so infinitely pleased with the thoughts of the enterprize of Flanders, that hee was far from doubting any sinister event; but despising all others, and even the King also, hee esteemed himself the Oracle of France, and believed himself with small pains able to overturn all the attempts and practices of his enemies; and if any of his friends put him in minde of the Guises being at Court

Court with so great a train, and the number of Ships of war and Souldiers which were made ready by *Strozzi*, and the Baron *de la Garde* about Rochel; hee answered, Those preparations were made by his advice, to make incursions upon the coasts of Flanders; and the presence of the Guises at the marriage, was only to give them some little satisfaction, being at one instant deprived of the Kings favour, and the management of affairs of State; that they should neither fear nor doubt, for his wisdom and counsell had at last overcome all the malice of his enemies; and now that he had once set foot in the Counsels, hee was sure his decrees should be the guide and rule of the whole Government for the time to come: with which conceit he was so puffed up, that growing to an unmeasurable height of pride, he spake so boastingly of himself, that hee became almost intolerable to his neereft and most partiall friends; and was often heard to say, that neither *Alexander* the Great, nor *Julius Cæsar* could be compared to him; for both of them had alwayes had favourable and prosperous successe; but he having lost four Battels, had in spite and to the shame of ill fortune, by his valour and policy, alwayes risen again more dreadful and terrible to his Enemies: and lastly, when all men thought hee had no way left to save his life, but to fly, and vander about the world, he had managed his affairs so well, as that he brought his Enemies to a necessity, not only of making peace with him, but also of granting him Conditions more proper for a Conqueror, then one that was overcome. These discourses were not approved by some, and amongst others, *Langoiran*, who resolved to be gone; and when hee took his leave, being asked by the Admirall why he went: *I go* (said he) *because I see you too much made on, and I had rather save my self with fools, then perish with those that are too wise.*

The Admirall  
prefers himself  
before *Julius*  
*Cæsar* and *A-*  
*lexander* the  
Great.

In the interim, the time appointed for the marriage being come, it was celebrated the eighteenth day of August in this manner: The King of Navar, and the Lady *Marguerite* led by the Cardinal of Bourbon, and accompanied by the King, and the whole Court, went to *Nostre-Dame*, the Cathedral Church of Paris; where having left the Lady *Marguerite* kneeling at the Altar (the Cloth of State being there set up) the King of Navar, the Prince of Condé, the Admirall, and the other Hugonot Lords went out of the Church, that they might not be present at Masse; which being ended, and they recalled by the  
Marechal



1572 Mareſhal d' Anville, the Marriage was celebrated by the Cardinal of Bourbon ; in which many obſerved, that the Lady *Marguerite* being asked if ſhe would take the King of Navar to be her husband, answered not one word ; but the King her Brother having with his hand made her yeeld and bow down her head, it was reported that ſhe ſhewed her conſent by that action ; though ſhe both before and after, when ſhe could ſpeak freely, declared alwayes, that not onely to be deprived of the Duke of Guiſe, to whom ſhe had formerly engaged her promiſe, but alſo to make his moſt capitall Enemy her Husband, were things wherewith ſhe could not poſſibly bring her mind to be contented. But the King of Navar, either through the goodneſſe of his diſpoſition, much liker to his Fathers candor, then the hardened pertinacy of his Mother ; or elſe the condition of the times counſelling him to diſſemble, not onely carried himſelf with infinite reverence and reſpect towards the Queen his Wives Mother, and the King his Brother-in-law ; but with a great deal of nobleneſſe and diſcretion bore alſo with the humours and frowardneſſe of his Wife, ſhewing himſelf ſo liberall and courteous to every one, and ſo full of thoughts of honour worthy the greatneſſe of his birth, that ſtopping the mouth of Envie, which had ſo long been open againſt the Princes of the Bloud, his name formerly ſo deteſted at the Court, was now at laſt become popular : which noble demeanour ſpreading far abroad, and winning the mindes of the King and the Queen-Mother, who beſides the powerfull tie of bloud, conceived daily greater hopes of his goodneſſe and moderation, was likewiſe the cauſe that wrought them to a reſolution of ſparing his life and the Prince of Condé's ; as well not to imbrue their hands in the ſhedding of the Bloud Royall (ſo venerable to the French Nation) as alſo for the aſſured hopes, that being taken out of the company, and ſeparated from the converſation of factious men, they might prove as great pillars to uphold the Royal Family for the future, as in times paſt they had been hinderances to the peace and quiet of the Kingdome : Thus, either becauſe of their ingenuity, or becauſe the hidden will of Heaven had ſo decreed, a reſolution was taken to ſpare the lives of the Princes of the Bloud ; and to deliver them from the counſels & government of the Admiral, the K. commanded the D. of Guiſe that the intended deſignes ſhould be put in execution.

The Lady *Marguerite* being asked if ſhe would have the King of Navar for her Husband, answered not ; but being urged by the King, bowed her head.

The



The Duke of Guise was come to Court, with the Duke of Aumale his Uncle, the Duke of Nemours his Father-in-law, the Duke d' Elbeuf his Cousen, and the Dukes of Nevers and Montpensier his Brothers-in-law, and a great company of Barons and Knights that held of the Catholick party, whereof by the consent of all hee had the title of Prince, by long succession derived from his Father, and confirmed by the eminent authority of the Cardinall of Lorain. In the number of his followers, were many Commanders and Gentlemen of divers Nations, who living upon his pensions liberally bestowed upon them, were ready upon all occasions, though with the danger of their lives, to execute whatsoever he commanded; Wherefore having in order to the secret designs, received liberty by the Kings Commission to take away the life of the Admiral, hee put those arts in practice which the other was suspected to have used before, in causing the death of his Father, and committed the businesse to one *Maurevell* (the same who had slain Monsieur de Mui at the siege of Niort) giving him charge to take away his life as hee came from Court, not at all inspecting any such matter. *Maurevell* having received his order, and being of a nature and inclination ready enough to put it in execution, found out a little house neer the Louvre, which with some others thereabouts was appointed for the Dukes Family, and wherein no body else lodged; and having locked himself up in a lower room, and covered the iron bars of the window with an old cloak, he lay there with great secrecy and patience, watching his time to perform what he had undertaken; nor had he waited above three dayes, when the Admiral coming out of the Court in the morning, on the 20 day of August, to return to his own house; whilest, followed by his servants, he walked softly on foot to read a certain paper, he had opportunity to shoot him with a brace of bullets, one of which took off the fore-finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him grievously neer the left elbow. The Admiral feeling himself shot, knew the window whence it came, and shewing it to his followers, the door was presently broken open, and the house searched, wherein they could find no body but a little boy; for *Maurevell* escaping out at a back door, took an horse which he had appointed to be there ready for him, and was already fled out at the port S. Antoine; so that the boy neither knowing the name of

The K. takes order with the Duke of Guise to have the designs put in execution.

*Maurevell* shoots the Admirall in the left elbow, and saves himself by flight.



1572 of him that had done the deed, nor the way hee took, it was not possible to have any certainty concerning him at that time. The news of this accident was brought to the King while he was playing with the Duke of Guise at Tennis in the Court of the Louvre, and feigning himself exceedingly troubled at it, he presently left play, and departed, threatning and protesting aloud, that hee would inflit most severe punishment upon those disturbers of his quiet, who durst presume to commit so hainous a crime even at the gates of his royall Palace. He commanded all the City gates to be shut, except two onely for the bringing in of provisions, at which very carefull guards were placed; and gave order that they should be kept with the greatest stricnesse that might be, pretending lest the murtherer should make escape; but the truth was, lest any of that party should get out and save themselves by flight. The apprehension they had of the fiercenesse, wisdom, and power of the Admiral, was peradventure the cause that they began with him; the Councell doubting, that if hee were alive, and in health, he would finde some means for the safety of himself and of the rest of his Faction: but the principall motive that induced them to do so, was the opinion of *Alberto Gondi* Count of Retz, who at the consultation about that businesse, said, he was really of opinion, that to kill all the Hugonots together was both very easie, and very just; but he desired also that the execution might appear to carry some handsom colour; that causing the Admirall to be killed alone, every one would beleeve it was done only by the Lords of Lorain; whereat the Hugonots, according to their custome, would certainly be enraged, and break out into some uprore against the Guises, to whose assistance the Parisians, and all the Catholick party running together, the Hugonots would be shut up in the net, and utterly suppressed; and so meer chance should effect their designes, and the matter be imputed to private enmities, and not to the publick determinations of the State. But however it were, the King who still seemed very much afflicted, having dined in great haste, went with the Queen-Mother and the Duke of Anjou to visit the Admiral; to whose lodgings were already come the King of Navar, the Prince of Condé, the Marshal *d'Anville*, and all the chief of the Hugonot Faction: There the Admiral, finding that he was brought into a very ill condition

The King and the Queen-Mother visit the Admirall, and under pretence of defending him, set strict guards upon his house.

by his wound, which had broken the bone, and torn all his elbow; as also because he knew hee was in the power of his enemies, asked the King leave that he might retire to Chastillon, where free from the tumults and dangers of Paris, a Citie well-affected to him, and depending upon his enemies, he might be more safely and speedily cured; but the King complaining, and taking it unkindly, that he should not think himself safe in his protection, encouraged him, and (the Physicians joyning in the same advice) perswaded him not to take such a journey, for fear the motion should cause some more dangerous accident, and intreated him to take his rest quietly without suspicion; to which words the Admirall replying, that he doubted not of his Majesties love and favour, but his fear for himself and his friends was of the insurrections of the Parisians: the King seeming carefull and desirous to secure him, commanded that all his chief dependants should be lodged near the house where hee lay, to the end they might be more safe, and more united to defend themselves from the tumults of the people; and gave order to the Duke of Anjou, that drawing the Regiment of his guards into the City, he should appoint a Company for the safety of the Admirall and those of his party: who presently obeying the Kings command, drew in all the guards armed; and to watch that house and quarter where the Hugonots were lodged together, he chose Monsieur de Cossens with his Company, a man who, besides his fidelity to the King, depended neerly on the Guises Faction. The Admirall seeing he could not possibly get away, recommended his affairs to the trust and protection of the King, and with his accustomed spirit (all his followers raging on every side) demanded justice of the insolence committed against him; to which both the King and Queen having answered with great signes of reality, and extreme resentment for the accident that had befallen him, they returned to the Louvre, committing the care and custody of the City of Paris to the Duke of Anjou.

That night and the next day were spent in consultations on both sides; for the Hugonots coming all about the Admiralls bed, debated not onely about the means of securing themselves from the present danger; but being stirred up with anger, and exasperated with the injury, plotted how to renew the War without delay: in which deliberations, though



1572 some exhorted their Confederates to rely upon the Kings promises, yet the Visdame of Chartres spake so earnestly against it, that they determined whatsoever came of it, to remove the Admiral out of Paris, and retire together to Chastillon. *Teligny* being confident hee should get the Kings leave; and the rest offering, in case it were denied, to carry him out of the City by force; resolving afterwards unanimously to take up arms, and never to lay them down till the Catholick party were utterly destroyed, and the House of Lorain quite rooted out; every one speaking so fiercely in those tumultuous consultations, that they neither spared the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, nor the King of Navar himself, whom already they reputed for their enemy; which being discovered by means of the accustomed intelligence, was a spur to hasten the intended designs, and gave a more specious colour to those excuses that were after framed for the justification of them.

But when the Kings Councill saw that the Hugonots venting their fury onely in words, proceeded not to any action that could give occasion to the insurrection; they resolved to lose no longer time, but presently to bring the suppression of them to a period; yet were there very great controversies about the execution; for the Duke of Guise was urgent to have the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé slain with the rest of the Hugonots; but the Queen-Mother, and all the rest abhorred to imbrue their hands in the Bloud-Royall, it seeming (to them) a thing too cruell, too abominable, and to be detested in all ages, that two young Princes of the Royall Family, in the flower of their age, in the imbraces of their dearest Wives, and under the protection of so neer and so late a conjunction, should be so miserably murdered: besides, they hoped confidently, that the Princes, united now by so streight a bond of consanguinity, would be sincerely reduced to the Kings obedience, and to the profession of the Catholick Faith, as soon as they should be freed from the Government of the Admiral, and deprived of the company of their factious fomenters; to which opinion the King inclining who was more then indifferently affectionate to the vertue of the King of Navar, in the next place was debated whether amongst the other Hugonots they should comprehend the Marechal d' *Anville* and his Brothers, who professing the Catholick

tholick Religion, were both by bloud and interest neatly united to the Admirals Faction. In this also the result inclined to mercy; as well to spare the effusion of more bloud, which was the endeavour of many; as also because the Marechal de Momorancy their eldest Brother, and he that was most strictly united to the Hugonots, being newly returned from his Embassie into England, was absent at that time; wherefore they thought it would rather kindle then extinguish the flame of Civil War, if taking away the younger Brothers, the eldest should be left in a condition to revenge their death: besides, they thought many things might be deferred till another occasion, when they might be effected with lesse noise, and more dexterity (nor was that so urgent as the busines of the Admiral, who (if one may so say) mad with wrath and fury, did already contrive new wars and practices, by stirring up new commotions.) A counsell truly which in the like cases hath often proved fatall; when in the midst of bloody designs unadvisedly seeking to be praised for mercy and clemency; and not remembering, that in cases of extremity, it is neither laudable nor safe to use a mean; for the relicks of the disease by dangerous relapses, do frustrate the vigour of the most approved remedies.

But all things being resolved on, the eve of the 24 of August approaching, which was the Feast of *S. Bartholomew*, being Sunday, about twilight the Duke of Guise went from Court, with order from the King to finde President *Charron*, *Sevost des Marchands*, the chief Head of the people of Paris, giving him direction to provide 2000 armed men, who should wear every one a shirt-sleeve upon their left arm, and white crosses in their hats, which upon notice given were instantly to execute the Kings commands: That he should cause to be readinesse the Sheriffs (*Echevins* as they call them) of the severall Wards, and that upon ringing the bell of the Palace-Black, lights should be put in every window through the town; which things, by the inclination of the people, and the great authority of the Duke of Guise, besides Commission from the King, were presently performed. The Dukes of Montpensier and Nevers, with many other Lords of the Court took Arms, and accompanied by their friends, guarded the Kings person, all the guards being in arms at the gate, and in the Court of the Louvre. At the prefixed hour the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Aumale, and Monsieur d' Angoulesme,



The Duke of  
Guise besets  
the Admirals  
house.

Grand Prior of France, the Kings Bastard-brother, with other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of 300 went to the Admirals house, and finding it (by the Duke of Anjou's order) all in arms, and *Coffein's* Company with their lighted matches placed for a guard before it; they forcibly entred the gate of the Court, kept by a few of the King of Navar's Halbardiers, and the servants of the house, which were all killed without mercy. Being come into the Court, the Lords staid there below, and one *Besme* a Lorainer, a creature of the Duke of Guise's, and *Achille Petrucci*, a Gentleman of Siena, one of those strangers which he maintained, with Colonel *Sarlabons*, and the other Souldiers went up to the Admirals chamber. Hee hearing the noise, got up, and kneeling down, leaned against his bed, when seeing *Cornafon*, one of his servants come frighted in, hee asked him what noise it was: who answered, *My Lord, God calls us to him*, and ran out hastily at another door. They presently entred, and knowing the Admiral, made towards him; at which he turning towards *Besme*, who already had drawn his sword against him, said, *Young man, thou oughtest to reverence these my gray hairs; but do what thou wilt, for thou canst shorten my life but a very little*; after which words *Besme* ran him into the brest, and the rest, when they had made an end of killing him with their daggers, threw his body out of the window into the Court, and it was presently dragged into a stable: In the same Palace were slain *Teligny* the Admirals son-in-law, and *Guerchy* his Lieutenant who wrapping his cloak about his arm, fought for his life very manfully, Colonell *Montanmar*, and *Rouray* son to the Baron *des Adrets*, with all the rest that had relation to him.

The Admirall  
is slain, thrown  
out at the win-  
dow, and drag-  
ged into a sta-  
ble.

The King being come into the chamber of the Queen his Mother, and having heard what had passed, sent for the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé, who went thither in great perplexity, seeing that none of their Gentlemen nor attendants were suffered to go in with them: and at the same time Monsieur d'O, Colonel of the Kings guards, began to call the principall Hugonots that were in the Louvre one by one who being come in to the Court, were all killed by the souldiers, that stood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpose: there died the Count *de la Roch-foucault*, the *Marquesse de Renel*, *Piles* who had very gallantly defended

All the chief  
Hugonots in  
the Louvre are  
killed.



Jean de Angely, Pont-breton, Pluzvialt, Bandiné, Francoirt  
Chancellour to the King of Navar, Pardillan, Lavardin, and  
others to the number of 200.

1572

At the same time the bell of the Palace-clock gave signe to  
the Prevost des Merchands; and those that were prepared for  
the deed, having received order what they were to do from  
Marcell, who a while before had had the same Office, and was  
of great authority among the people, they fell a killing the  
Hugonots throughout all the lodgings and houses where they  
were dispersed, and made an infinite slaughter of them, with-  
out any distinction of age, sex, or condition. All the people  
were up in arms under the Masters of the Parishes, and can-  
dles were lighted in every window, so that without confusion  
they might go from house to house, executing the directions  
they had received; but though those that commanded were  
very diligent about it, yet could they not take so good or-  
der, but that many of the Catholicks, either through publick  
raged or private spleen were slain among the rest, as *Denis*  
*Lambin*, and *Peter Ramus*, men very famous for learning, and  
others.

At the ringing  
of the Bell the  
Hugonots are  
massacred, and  
amongst them  
*Denis Lambin*.

The Louvre was kept shut all the day following, and in  
mean time the King and Queen comforted the King of Na-  
va and the Prince of Condé, alledging that they were con-  
tynned to doe that, which the Admiral had so often endea-  
vored, and had still a purpose to doe to them; but they  
whose errors were excused by their youth, and pardoned for  
their neernesse of Alliance, were reserved alive, and should for  
the future be loved and cherished, so they would but professe  
the Catholick Religion, acknowledging, and yeelding obedi-  
ence to the King: to which words the King of Navar, serving  
the time, and dissembling that which could not be helped,  
being resolved to preserve himself for a better fortune; an-  
swered with very great compliance, that he was ready to obey  
the Kings will and commandement: wherewith *Charles* be-  
ing very well pleased, to gratifie him, saved the lives of the  
Count de *Granmont*, and Monsieur *Duras*, who as they pro-  
mised, served him faithfully ever after. But the Prince of  
Condé, either through the inconsideratenesse of his age, or a  
naturall fiercenesse derived from his Ancestors, in his answer  
shew of opposing the Kings commands, saying, he de-  
sired onely that no violence might be used against his consci-  
ence;

The King of  
Navar and the  
Prince of  
Condé are  
kept in the  
Kings cham-  
ber during the  
massacre, and  
after are kept  
prisoners.



1572

ence, whereat the King exceedingly displeased, reprov'd him bitterly, often calling him insolent, mad, stubborn Traitor, Rebell, and son of a Rebell, and threatned to take away his life, if he did not within three dayes turn Catholick, and give evident signes of his repentance; so guards were placed both upon him and the King of Navar, all their chief servants being taken from them, and presently cut in pieces; in whose places new ones were provided by the King according to his own minde. Those Hugonots that were lodged in the Fauburg S. Germain beyond the Seine, among which were the Count *de Montgomery* and the Vidame of Chartres (who presaging some mischief, would not remove to the Admirals quarter) when they heard the noise, the Parisians not making haste enough to hinder their passage, instantly fled but were followed by the Duke of Guise (who at break of day passed the water with a great many Horse and Foot) and being overtaken, some without shooes, some without arms, some without saddles, some without bridles, but all equally unable to make resistance, were scattered and cut off, except the Count of Montgomery and the Vidame of Chartres, who with about ten in company saved themselves, and after many difficulties, getting unknown unto the sea side, escaped over into England.

Ten thousand Hugonots killed in Paris, whereof 500 were Barons and men of quality.

Cruelties used to the Admirals body.

There were killed in the City that day and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen who had held the chiefeft employments in the War, and were now purposely met together from all parts to honour the King of Navars marriage; Monsieur *de Béquemant*, and *Arnauld Cavagnes* were taken prisoners, and sentence of the Parliament were afterwards quartered as Rebels. The Admirals body was pulled out of the stable, and cruelly abused by the fury of the common people, who detesting his very name, tore his head from his shoulders, cut off his hands, and dragging him thorow the streets to Montfaucon the place of execution, left him hanging by one of his feet upon the gallows; and a few dayes after (all the people rejoycing at it) they set fire on the same gallows, half burning it, their barbarous cruelty finding no end, till two servants of the Marechal de Momorancy stole away the relics of his miserable carcasse, and buried them secretly at Charente-levy. Thus died *Gaspard de Coligny* the Admiral, whose name

for the space of twelve yeers had with no lesse fame then terror filled the Kingdom of France; an evident example to the whole world, how ruinous and sudden the end useth to be of those, who not considering any thing but their own interests, think by subtile cunning practices to establish a lasting greatnesse upon the sole foundation of humane wisdom; for it is not to be doubted, but that he, bred up from his youth in the chief commands of War, and brought by his valour and conduct to the highest pitch of honour, would have equalled, if not exceeded all other Souldiers of his time, and have attained to the degree of Constable, and all the greatest offices in that Kingdom, if against the authority of his Prince, he had not chosen to exalt himself by factions and civill dissensions; since that the cleer lights of his industry, valour, constancy, and above all, a marvellous ability in managing the greatest designs, shined forth even in the deepest obscurity of disorders and insurrections.

The day after the Admirals death, the Duke of Anjou going from the Louvre, accompanied by the Regiment of the guards, went thorow all the Citie and Suburbs, causing those houses to be broken open that made any resistance; but all the Hugonots were either already dead, or else being terrified, had put white crosses in their hats, which was the general mark of the Catholicks; endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themselves to save their lives; but being pointed out in the streets by any one, or discovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and cast into the river.

The day before this terrible execution, the King dispatched posts into divers parts of the Kingdom, commanding the Governours of Cities and Provinces to do the like; but this Commission was performed with more or lesse severity, according to their several inclinations; for the same night at Meaux, and the dayes ensuing at Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angiers, Tholouze, and many other places, but above all at Lyons, there was a most bloody slaughter of the Hugonots, without any respect of age, sex, or quality of persons: on the other side, in those places where the Governours were either dependants on the Princes, or followers of the Family of Lomorancy, the order was but slowly and remissly executed; and in Provence the Count of Tende refused openly to obey it;

The like commissions against the Hugonots sent through the whole kingdom. Where executed, and where not.



1572

It is reported  
that 40000 Hu-  
gonots were  
killed in the  
Massacre.

it; for which cause being within a while after at the City of Avignon, he was secretly made away, and as it was believed, by the Kings Commission. Most sad and lamentable stories might be here related; for this cruelty was prosecuted in so many severall places, with such variety of accidents, against people of all conditions, as it was credibly reported that there were slain above 40000 Hugonots in a few dayes: but the rule I have hitherto observed of following precisely the order of this History, will not suffer me to digresse in making the tragick narration of those passages.

The third day after the death of the Admiral, the persecution of the Hugonots not being yet ended, the King, accompanied by all the Princes and Lords of his Court, went unto the Parliament, and though at first he had both by words and letters attributed the whole businesse to a popular tumult, yet there unmasking his designs, with a long relation he laid open the reasons for which he had commanded all those Rebels against his Person and Kingdom to be destroyed, who, notwithstanding his gracious pardons so often granted to their former offences, returned still with perfidious obstinacie to plot new treasons and insurrections; that at last he was necessitated to prevent them, for fear of being prevented, having miraculously discovered their conspiracy to take away his life; and not his alone, but the lives of the Queen his Mother, and the Dukes of Anjou and Alençon his Brothers and even the King of Navar's also, who because he was alienated from their party, was esteemed no lesse their enemy then all the rest: Wherefore he thought good to make those his Magistrates acquainted therewith, to the end they might proceed with the same sharpnesse against so wicked a conspiracy, and make known to all the world the just and necessary causes that had forced him to use such rigour and severity. After these words wherewith hee earnestly endeavoured to perswade them, that the businesse had been sudden, and not premeditate, happening in a manner by chance, and urged by necessity, not ripened by long plotted contrivance, he gave order it should be recorded among the ordinary Acts of that Court; that whatsoever had befallen the Admiral and the rest of his Faction, either in Paris, or any other part of the Kingdom, was done by his will, order, and expresse commission. Then he commanded them to proceed to the examination

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ation of the prisoners; to defame the memory of the dead  
y laying open their rebellions, and by inflicting such punish-  
ments upon them as the strictnesse of the Law enjoyned : and  
lastly, he caused to be published, not onely in the Parliament;  
ut likewise in all the streets of Paris, That they should desist  
om further effusion of blood, that which was already spilt  
aving abundantly satisfied his just severity ; which availed  
omething in Paris, where the number of the Hugonots was  
ready almost extinct and brought to nothing ; but in other  
ities whither the order came too late, it was more or lesse  
beyed according to the distance of places. The Parliament  
easily imbraced the Commission of proceeding against the  
ugonots, and with the examination of the prisoners, legally  
aking their processe, they condemned *Briquemant* and *Ca-*  
*agnes*, who were imprisoned in the Palace, to be publicly  
orn with pincers, and their bodies quartered ; commanding  
also a Statue of the Admirals to be broken in pieces and burn-  
d, declaring him a Rebel, a disturber of the Kingdom, a He-  
etick, and an enemy to all good men ; nor having any  
ounds to their cruelty against his memory, the Magistrates  
ntenced the Hostel de Chastillon to be razed to the very  
round, and all his posterity to be deprived of Nobility, and  
ade incapable of bearing any Office, or possessing any goods  
in the Kingdom of France ; and that their deeds might be  
nswerable to their words, the King dispatched his *Grand*  
*rovost*, with all diligence to seize upon his wife and children ;  
ut his eldest Son, with the widow Lady his Mother-in-  
w, the Wife of *Teligny*, and Monsieur *de la Vall* the Son of  
*Andelot* deceased, were already fled secretly to Geneva, and  
he better to avoid their danger, went to live among the Swis-  
es in the Canton of Bearn ; the younger children, both male  
nd female were condemned to death, in their tender yeers,  
oming to that end, which in the variety of worldly affairs ac-  
ompanies the ruine of great Families.

The Admirals  
Statue burned,  
and his Palace  
razed.

At the same time this execution was done at Paris, la  
Charité, which was still held by the Hugonots, was surprized  
y the Gens d' Arms of the Duke of Nevers, who going into  
ne Town under pretence of being mustered and receiving  
eir pay, possessed themselves of the gates, and principal pla-  
es of the City so suddenly and discreetly, that the town-  
men durst not stir to make opposition ; and so the City re-



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mained in the power of the Kings Officers. The same was attempted by the Viscount *de Joyeuse* at Montaubon, and by *Philippo Strozzi* at Rochel, which if they had succeeded, there might have been some hopes that France would have been quieted; but the inhabitants looking warily to themselves, and keeping very strong guards, both the enterprises failed of the expected event, all those provisions being to no purpose, which had been made under colour of the War of Flanders. But the Viscount *de Joyeuse* having with him onely some Gentlemen of that Country, his designe being discovered, dissolved his party, and retired to the places under his Government: On the other side, *Strozzi* having sufficient strength both of Foot and Horse, began to besiege and streighten Rochel, still exhorting and perswading the Citizens to avoid the tryall of strict justice, and the hazards of a desperate War, by returning willingly to the Kings obedience; to which they answering ambiguously to gain time, were resolved not to hearken, not onely because they presumed upon the strength and situation of the Town, but also because by the great number of Hugonot Ministers and Preachers who were fled thither, they were daily stirred up and encouraged to preserve the liberty they enjoyed, and not to trust the promises of the Catholics, whose Doctrine allowed them to break their faith with any, who being of different Religion were by them accounted Hereticks; against which *Strozzi* opposing other reasons, and shewing the necessity of obedience to the King, and the ruine which by their stubbornesse they would bring upon themselves, the time was more spent in treaties and messages, then in any action or enterprise of War; yet both Horse and Foot lay neer on all sides of the Town, and the Fleet scoured all those coasts, to keep them from supplies of men or victuall.

In this interim the conversion of the King of Navar and Prince of Condé was laboured at the Court, the Queen and all the Councell being of opinion, that the Princes now taken from the Hugonot party, and the male-contents deprived of the pretence and countenance of the Bloud-Royall, the State would remain quite purged from those humours which for so many yeers had with obstinate violence disturbed the quiet of it; finding the severenesse of the late executions produce such hopefull effects, that an abundance of

Hugo-

Hugonots already professed the Catholick Religion, and many leaving their Country, were gone to live out of the Kingdom. The effecting of this conversion was most diligently endeavoured by the Cardinall of Bourbon, Uncle to both the Princes, a man of great integrity and extraordinary vertue, omitting no means which he thought might help to bring their tender minds to the Catholick Religion, and every day with Father *Maldonat* a Jesuite, and other Doctours, spending many houres to instruct them in it. It happened very opportunely that Monsieur *des Rosiers*, who had been a Hugonot Minister, and about that time was converted, either because he cleerly saw his former errors, or to avoid the imminent danger, and to get the favour of those in power, disputed with great eloquence and learning against the Doctrine and opinions of *Calvin*; which gave the Princes a reasonable colour, and specious pretence of coming fairly into the bosome of the Church, following the conversion of him that had been a principall teacher and maintainer of their former Faith. The King of Navar was the first, who yeelding to the time, and having resolved to conform himself to his present condition, with lesse difficulty, and greater expressions of approbation reconciled himselfe to the Church, the greatest part of his servants that were left alive, following his example: But the Prince of Condé, who though of a younger age, perhaps for want of experience, was of a more wilfull obstinate spirit, notwithstanding he was assaulted by continuall threats and perswasions, refused still to turn Catholick, till the King, exasperated by his stubbornesse, causing him to be brought unto him for his last triall, with an angry voyce and terrible aspect spake onely these three words unto him, *MASSE, DEATH, or BASTILE*, not sufferring him to reply one word to the contrary; which terrour joyned to so many other motives that were made use of to overcome him, bent his minde at last to follow the example of all the rest; and being instructed by the Cardinall his Uncle, he came publickly to Masse, together with the Princesse his Wife, Sister to the Dutchesse of Nevers and Guise; and the same did *Louis* Prince of Conty, and *Charles* Count of Soissons his yonger brothers, who persevered afterwards sincerely in the Catholick Religion. From the conversion of all these Princes the King and Queen conceived

The King of Navar turns Catholick.

Words of the King to the Prince of Condé.

The Prince & his brothers turn Catholicks.



1572 infinite hope of more peaceable times; and for the better confirmation of it, the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé sent Ambassadors to render publick obedience to the Pope; who rejoycing at their conversion, which happened in the beginning of his Papacy, answered their Embassie with many demonstrations of affection; the whole Court of France being in the mean time very much satisfied, that by those designs the Kingdom was brought into a most probable hope of a settled peace and tranquillity: for the perfecting whereof they endeavoured all possible means to reduce the City of Rochel.

But as bloody violent counsels are seldome seen to produce prosperous effects, the wilfulnesse of men, or the providence of God had already disposed otherwise: for all those that by divers chances had escaped the slaughter of the Hugonots, and did not comply with the Catholick profession, according to the severall qualities of places, took different courses and resolutions. Those of Britagne, Normandy, and Picardy, provinces along the coast of the Ocean Sea just over against England, fled in great numbers into that Island, not onely to live there according to the Doctrine of their Faith, but also uniting themselves under the command of the Count *de Montgomery*, by the favour and protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, to repasse the sea, and some where or other to disturb the tranquillity of France. Those of Daulphiné, Provence, and Lionois, retired into Swisserland, where writing and enveighing continually against that cruell massacre of all those of the same Religion, they laboured to raise the Protestant Cantons, and to make them break that ancient Confederacie whereby they were united to the Crown of France: among these, as we have said, were the Sons of *Andelot* and the Admiral, who by the fame of their Fathers authority, and the tendernesse of their yeers, and the misery of their present condition, stirred up the minds of every one to great pity and compassion. Those of Champagne and Burgundy were gotten into the Cities of Germany, and there endeavoured to make the actions of the King of France to be suspected, and ill-interpreted by the Hans-towns, and Protestant Princes. But those neer the Mediterranean, and the inner parts of the Kingdom, having no other way to save themselves, took refuge into four strong Towns which were hel

held by those of that party, and there with all their might prepared for their own defence. Those of the Isle of France, Beaulieu, and Nivernois, had possessed Santerre: the inhabitants of Gascony and Languedoc fortified themselves in Nismes, and Montauban: and those of Anjou, Poictou, Saintonge, and part of Guienne, were fled to Rochel, as into a secure harbour. There under the command of *Jaques Henry* Mayor of the Citie (whose authority is chief in the civill Government) all the inhabitants had armed and divided themselves into four Companies, each of two hundred, and were daily exercised to learn the use of their arms: besides which, the Common-councell, to the number of 150, were divided under Colours apart, as the Colonels Company, and commanded by *Arandell* the Mayors Lieutenant, a man of great valour and experience: besides these trained Bands which served without pay for their own defence, 1500 other soldiers were gathered together from the neighbouring Provinces, who under severall Captains were paid by the contributions of the Cities and Towns neer adjacent, being all men of a resolute courage, and who for the most part had been exercised in the late Wars. To these were added about sixty gentlemen fled thither from places thereabout, and fifty seven Ministers, who amidst the noise of arms, and toils of their fortifications, ceased not to stir up and encourage the people to defend themselves to the last man. The preparations of ammunition, canon, and other warlike instruments were not inferiour to the stoutnesse and readinesse of the people; for besides the abundance of powder, which they made continually, having set up mills for that purpose, there were in the City-Magazine great store of Pikes and Muskets, nine very great Culverins, eight Canon, twelve Sacres, thirty eight Field-pieces, and above seventy Faulconets, and Harquebuzes and Croc; the managing whereof the Citizens daily practised with great diligence: Nor was their care lesse in providing victuall; for neither sparing pains nor cost, they had filled their Store-houses with corn and wine, whereof the Isles neer them bore great abundance, as of all other things needfull for the sustenance of men in the longest sieges.

Against all these preparations for War, the King and Queen opposed not the gathering together of arms, but treaties and inducements to peace; for desiring to enjoy the fruits of



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of their designs without new dangers & troubles, they sought to reduce the Rochellers, if not to a reall, at least to a seeming obedience, and to extinguish the remainder of that fire which might kindle and break forth in new commotions. For this cause they appointed Monsieur *de Byron* Governour of Rochel, a man generally held to be a favourer of the Hugonot Faction, and by many thought to have a tincture of *Calvins* opinions; but indeed the course of his life shewed him afterwards to be a true Catholick, though envie made him an enemy to the house of Guise, and his own interests a desirer of War. But though the King and Queen were once minded to have taken away his life among the rest in the late Massacre, yet by reason of their many favours formerly conferred upon him, they were unadvisedly confident of his fidelity in this imployment, and were perswaded that the Rochellers would trust him also, and admit him at least into a seeming, if not an absolute Government; by which mean they might save the Kings reputation, secure their own lives and the liberty of the Citie. But the event shewed how little faith there is to be given to those men, who graving the injuries they receive in marble, while the doers write them but in sand, forget not those dangers, but inwardly conceal thoughts and designs very different from the outward appearance: for Monsieur *de Byron* being come to Rochel, either desiring the continuance of the War, wherein hee had placed the hopes of his advancement; or through a natural pride angry that his services were not sufficiently acknowledged; or because already suspecting the Catholick party he was loth it should prevail absolutely; or fearing they had given him that imaginary government thereby to take away his command of the Artillery; or doubting that all that were suspected in the present Government, should be destroyed one by one; and for his own particular, mistrusting the House of Guise, or for what other cause soever it were, he perswaded the Rochellers under hand neither to receive him nor anybody else into their City, for that the admission of a Governour would bring them to a necessity of submitting absolutely to the Kings obedience, whose intention he knew was not onely to destroy the Hugonot party, but also to take away the immunities and priviledges of the City it self, and bring it to a slavish subjection, to the end it might never mo

be a receptacle or a foundation for the disturbers of the Kingdom: by which secret intimations the Rochellers were confirmed in their obstinacy; and though Monsieur *de Byron* seemed outwardly very desirous, and made shew of taking great pains to procure his admittance, they still refused, alledging that it was directly contrary to the liberties and privileges which the King had alwayes protested hee would allow them.

Many dayes were spent in these treaties, and in the meantime the arts of *Byron* being suspected by the Queen, she began to think of some more fitting instrument to perswade and mollifie the hardnesse of the Rochellers; nor did fortune delay to present a man that seemed very proper for that purpose; for the Hugonots in the Admirals life time, having (to assist their Confederates) passed under Count *Lodowick* of Nassau into Flanders, taken the City of Mons, and begot great jealousies in the Spaniards, who not understanding the artifices of the French King, were inclined to beleieve that action was done by his consent, to give a beginning to the enterprise that was divulged against the Low-countries; all the Forces of the Catholick King drew that way, to quench so dangerous a fire in its beginning, and to interrupt the course of that War which they most confidently accounted all: but the Massacre of the Hugonots following presently after, and the Kings intentions being laid open to all the world, the surprizers of Mons were not onely deprived of their credit and reputation, but also of all hope of reliefe; and being put to great streights and necessities in the siege, were forced to yeeld, dispersing themselves into Picardy, and the Countries thereabout, where they were sharply persecuted by the Governours; and Monsieur *de Genlis* their chief Commander, after his forces were defeated and cut off by Monsieur *de Villiers* Governour of Chaufne, lost his life, with a great many of his souldiers and Officers. Onely Monsieur *de la Nouë*, hee who in the late Wars had been Governour of Rochel, and had with so much honour defended Xaintonge for the Princes, was secretly saved by the Duke of Longueville Governour of that Province, who having obtained a safe conduct for him, brought him to the King, by whom he was graciously received, as one worthy of high esteem, both for his wisdom, valour and experience in arms.

This



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This was a personage thought proper to be made use of to deal with the Rochellers, judging that by reason of the brave exploits he had formerly done in their service, he was likely to have great power in perswading them, and by his policy and eloquence to overcome the stubborn wilfulnesse of the people; for which end the King, and Queen acquainting him with their intentions, and that their ayme was not to reduce the liberties, and priviledges of the Rochellers to a strict servitude; nor to force their consciences to forsake the faith they professed, nor the Doctrine they beleevved; but onely to secure themselves that the City might be no more a receptacle of the Enemies, and disturbers of the State, and with their wonted priviledges, and full liberty of conscience, to make them acknowledge, and obey their naturall King; he undertooke the imployment, though some say, against his will, and departed from Court in the company of the Abbot *Guiananni Baptista Guadagni* a Florentine, to make tryall of the last resolution of the Citizens. But the minds of that people partly by the secret advice of *Byron*, partly by the continuall exhortations of their Preachers, were already so hardened that it was utterly vain to use any further means of bringing them to submit unto the Kings obedience; and Monsieur *de la Nouë* being received (though but coldly, and with little shew of honour) into the City, whether it were his first intention, or whether the doubt of his own safety moved him to it, in stead of perswading them to yeeld to the Kings mercy, resolved not onely to stay there with them, but also to accept the Office of their Captain Generall; which they, wanting a man of valour and authority to command their Forces, had offered to him. Wherefore the Abbot *Guadagni* that came with him, returning to Court, the excuses he sent the King for having accepted that charge, were, the hopes he gave to reduce the people in time to his Majesties obedience, and the fear that (he refusing it) their necessity might cast them into the hands of some other person, who by giving way to the seditious, and to forreigners, might endanger the peace and safety of the Kingdom; with which pretences endeavouring to save his credit, he cunningly held the King in doubt till the succeeding accidents did in part give prooffe of his present assertions.

Monsieur de la Nouë sent Governour by the King to Rochel, turns Generall to the Hugonots.

This was the second errour committed at Court, in pursuing

ring the reducement of Rochel ; for in stead of using force  
first, while the Citizens were doubtfull and uncertain, and  
the Citie then not so well fortified and provided of ammuni-  
on, they fearing to renew the War, and perchance slighting  
at businesse as a thing of no difficulty, tryed to effect it by  
Treaty ; and first by sending Monsieur *de Byron* they in-  
creased the courage and obstinacy of the inhabitants ; and  
then by imploying Monsieur *de la Nouë*, they furnished them  
with a Commander, which was their greatest want. Now be-  
cause they knew at last that policies and perswasions failing,  
was necessary to use force, and found that their example  
encouraged Nismes, Sanserre, Montauban, and some other  
places surprized by the Hugonots, to make the like re-  
stance, the King being resolved (though too late) by one  
means or other to end the businesse, gave order that Monsieur  
*la Chastre* Governor of Berry, without further delay should  
siege Sanserre ; that the Marquesse *de Villars* being at last  
declared the King of Navar's Lieutenant, should go into Gui-  
enne ; that Monsieur *de Joyeuse*, in whom the King and Queen  
confided very much, should undertake Nismes and other pla-  
ces adjacent ; and that *Philippo Strozzi* and Monsieur *de By-*  
(whose arts they either knew not, or neverthelesse would  
not deprive themselves of his valour) should lay close siege to  
Rochel, whither also the Duke of Anjou was presently to  
march with all the forces of the Kingdom.

Of these, Monsieur *de la Chastre*, a man very well affected  
to the Catholick Religion, and a dependant of the Guises,  
camped presently before Sanserre, a Citie within the Go-  
vernment of Berry neer the Loyre, and by help of that river  
easily to be relieved from many places ; but when he saw the  
force assaults he made against it were all fruitlesse, though  
brave, resolving to take it by famine, he encompassed it  
closely on every side, that after the patient endurance of a  
great deal of misery in a tedious siege of eight months, it was  
forced to yeeld at last, having felt all the necessities which can  
possibly be born by humane nature.

Sanserre taken  
after eight  
months siege.

The Marquis *de Villars* (again confirmed Admirall in the  
place of *Gaspard Coligny*) went into Guienne with the same re-  
solution, where chasing the Hugonots from every place, and  
recovering the Towns which they had taken, he drove them  
into Montauban, where hee shut them up so close, that



1573 they were reduced to great extremity, and held out more through wilfulnesse, then power to defend themselves.

On the other side, the Mareshall d' Anville ( without whom *Joyeuse* could do nothing, because having left the Court he resided personally in his Government) being averse from the totall ruine of the Hugonots, both because he knew himself not much favoured by the King, and to have been in great danger of being made one in the Massacre at Paris, nourished other thoughts in his mind, and seeking to spin out the business by artificiall delayes, contrary to the opinion of Monsieur de *Joyeuse* and many other Commanders, he let alone Nismes the seat and foundation of the Hugonots, and besieged Sommier, a little inconsiderable Town in that Country and though hee took it at last to save his own reputation yet he lost so much time, and so many men before it, that he was faine afterwards to be onely an idle spectator of the event of things.

The Duke of Anjou with mighty preparations goes to the siege of Rochel.

But the chief expectation was of the siege of Rochel, every one knowing that the taking of it would be the utter destruction of the Hugonots: wherefore it having been already streightly besieged many weeks by *Strozzi* and *Byron*, length the Duke of Anjou came thither also in the beginning of February 1573, and with him all the Cavalry, all the Infantry both French and Swisse, and the greatest part of the Catholick Nobility, with wonderful preparation of all things necessary for the taking in of a place of strength. There was in the army the Duke of Alanson the Kings third brother, the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé, to take all hope from the Rochellers of the protection of the Princes of the Blood: there were also the Dukes of Montpensier, Aumay, Guise, and Mayenne his brother, of Nevers, Bouillon, d'Alizes, and Longueville, the Prince Daulphin, the Count de Mellevrier, the Marshal de Cossé, the Bastard d' Angoulesme, the Count de Retz, Monsieur de Montluc, and all the Commanders and Gentlemen that had any reputation in war; so that plainly appeared, they all believed the safety of the Kingdom, and the summe of all businesses to consist in the success of that enterprize. The Rochellers having had time to fortifie the Citie exactly well, and to provide themselves at leisure of all things necessary against so great preparations, were resolved to hold it out to the last man; and had given he

charge

charge of the Government to *Jaques Henry* the Mayor, with a Councel of Citizens, and the care of their defence to *Monsieur de la Nouë*.

The seat of Rochel is wonderfull strong by nature, environed with fennes for the space of many miles towards the land, having onely one way to it on the North-side that led to a gate of the Citie, which was fortified after the modern way, with moats, walls, Bulwarks and ramparts, exceedingly favoured by the situation, and drawn in an excellent form to guard and flank one another; art and nature concurring equally to make it impregnable. Toward the sea it hath a very fair haven, but so ordered by nature, that the way to it is by many Bayes, and Points commanded by severall windes; so that which way soever it blow, ships may come in from one place or other; nor can a great and powerfull Navy hinder the entrance of them, for the shore being very flat and shelve on every side, and without other ports, they cannot lie there with any safety, nor ride at anchor to block up the haven, by reason of the long and frequent tempests of that sea; so that it is in a manner impossible to keep the City from reliefe that way; and as it was very easie to besiege it by land, so it was most difficult to storm or assault it; for on that side which is dry and firm, though the situation without is so high, that it almost commands the Town; yet the fortifications were so neer, so high, so many, and so firmly wrought together, that to force an entrance was almost impossible; besides, just within the works there was an open large place, so convenient, that the defendants might there draw up in bodies, and march in order to receive the assault.

The strong situation of Rochel.

Such was the situation and strength of that place, and such the preparations that were made against it: nor did the issue of the siege differ from what was expected of it; for the onsets and assaults made against the Citie in the space of five months were almost innumerable, the Duke of Anjou sparing neither cost, pains, nor danger, but using all military force and industry to storm it: yet the Citizens and Souldiers, and even the very women as well as men defended it with admirable valour and constancy, sustaining for a long time the force and power of a whole Kingdome, and holding out against hunger and famine no lesse then against the assaults and batteries of the Enemy. Among the various e-



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vents of this Siege Monsieur *de la Nouë* had opportunity to regain the Kings favour, and get leave to live privately at his own house; for while the Councell of the Citizens treated of yeelding to that force which they saw they could not much longer resist, he being fallen into a contestation with some of the Ministers, whose authority was infinite over the minds of the common people, and who without any regard to reason, exhorted them still to constancy, one of them named *la Place* was so bold and inconsiderate, that after having basely abused him, and many times called him Traitor, he insolently offered with his hand to strike him in the face, which injury though he seemed to passe by for quietnesse sake, and though the Minister was kept in prison many dayes for a mad man, yet inwardly it troubled him very much: and moreover, foreseeing that at the arrivall of the Count *Montgomery*, who was expected with supplies from England, the chief command would be taken from him, and conferred upon the Count, with whom, by reason of an ancient emulation, he had no very good correspondence, he resolved within himself to leave the Town, and the next day fallying out of the works, as he often used, to skirmish with the Enemy, he went over with some few in his company to the Duke of Anjou's camp, making that passe for the fulfilling of his promise to the King, which upon new considerations he resolved to doe, either for revenge of the affront he had received, or for the securing of his own safety, which he saw exposed to the calumnies and practices of the Ministers. But whatsoever the motive was, his example was followed by a great many Gentlemen and Officers: yet all that shaked not the perseverance of the Citizens, nor abated the courage of the Souldiers, supporting with gallant resolution the furious bloody assaults which night and day were made against them on every side, and enduring with constancy of minde the great scarcity of victuall, and the perpetuall duty which they were forced to undergoe without intermission. For towards the sea were raised two Forts, one at the point called *de Coreille*, the other over against it in the place which they call *Port neuf*, which being mann'd with 1000 Souldiers, were kept by Captain *Cossein*, and Captain *Gas*, each with fifteen pieces of Canon; and between them a great Carack was fastened at anchor, which furnished with Culverins, shot into the mouth of the haven, and hindred the

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entrance into it; so that by continuall industry it was block-  
ed up on that side; and on the other toward the land all the  
Princes and Lords of the Army had divided the work among  
them in such manner, that the trenches and redoubts touched  
one another every where, nor did they cease to redouble their  
faults every hour; and yet the resistance of those within  
equalled the courage and industry of those that were without.  
The valour and constancy of the defendants was much in-  
creased by the intelligence which they secretly received from  
their friends which were in the Camp; for not onely among  
the private Souldiers, but also among those that Commanded,  
there were some that did not desire the destruction of Rochel,  
or the extirpation of the Hugonot Faction; and *Byron*, who  
Commanded the Artillery, following his former intentions,  
and with great dexterity (as many were of opinion) delay the  
progress of the Batteries, and strengthened the resolution of  
the besieged. But for all these arts, their most constant Ci-  
zens, and most valiant Souldiers were already consumed:  
the hopes of relief from England and Germany were vanished  
themselves; for the Protestant Princes perswaded by *Ga-*  
*lorius* Count of Schombergh, who was sent to them by the  
King, had resolved not to interpose in the commotions of  
France; there being now no Prince of the Bloud, who with  
authority and supplies of money might maintain the war:  
and the Queen of England, to whom the King had sent *Al-*  
*phonso* *Gondi* for the same cause, had refused to send them either  
money or shipping; and the Count *de Montgomery* being depart-  
ed to relieve the besieged with a good number of ships, but ill  
equipp'd and armed, though with much adoe he got a ship of  
ammunition to enter the haven; yet being chased by the  
Kings Fleet, and despairing to do any more good in the busi-  
ness, he made out to sea, laid aside all thoughts of raising  
the siege, or relieving the Citie now brought to extremity,  
and onely as a Pirate annoyed the coasts of Britagne and Nor-  
mandy. Their victuals were likewise quite spent, and their  
ammunition almost all wasted; and on the other side, though  
the Duke of Anjou in a siege of so many months had lost the  
Duke of Aumale killed in the trenches with a Canon-shot, an  
infinite number of Gentlemen and Officers, and above 20000  
soldiers killed and dead of the sicknesse, and the Duke of  
Anjou himself, whilst he was viewing the works, wounded,  
though



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though but lightly, in the neck, in the side, and in the left hand by a Harquebuze a croc charged with tarling, had more need of rest then continuall action; yet neither the fierceness nor frequency of the assaults were at all allayed, but there arriving daily new forces at the Camp, among which 600 Swisses newly entered into pay, the siege grew rather streighter, and the service hotter then at first, so that the City was reduced to an impossibility of holding out longer, and would last have been taken by force, and utterly ruined by the King if a new far fetcht occasion had not saved it, and prevented it so imminent destruction.

The Duke of Anjou, not to prejudice his election to be King of Poland, moves slowly in the enterprise of Rochel.

There had been a treaty many months before, of electing the D. of Anjou to be King of Poland, the hope whereof being begun in the life of *Sigismund Augustus* King of that Kingdom with this proposition, that the Duke taking *Anne* the Kings Sister to Wife, should by the States of those Provinces be declared Successour to the Crown, after his death it was much increased; for though *Ernest* Arch-Duke of Austria Son the Emperor, and *Sigismund* King of Sweden were both competitors in the same designe, yet neither of them seemed comparable for valour and glory to the Duke of Anjou, whose name, by reason of his many victories, flew through all parts of Europe with a most cleer fame of singular vertue and renown. The King of France applyed his mind wholly to that end, and much more the Queen-Mother, for the infinite love she bore to that Son; and therefore they neither spared money, promises, pains, nor industry necessary to effect that business, which being brought very forward by the *Sieur de Balagny*, who under colour of travelling to see the world, stayed there, and had gotten the acquaintance of many principall men in that Kingdom; it was afterwards managed with more life by *Joan de Monluc* Bishop of Valence, and *Guy Sieur de Lansy*, and other persons of lesse quality, but not of lesse esteem, appointed to treat with the States of that Kingdom. The greatest impediment which the Kings Agents found, was the opposition of the *Evangeliques* of that Kingdom (in Poland they so call the followers of the new opinions in matter of Faith) who had but small inclination to the Duke of Anjou, partly, because the Victories he had achieved had been against those of the same belief; partly, because the Massacre of Paris, variously spoken of by the Protestants in those places so far as

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note, made them fear, that being chosen King, he would most  
 rest and disquiet those that were averse from the Apostolick  
 see, and not of the Catholick Religion, whereof they knew  
 he was so sincere a professour. The fears of the Evangeliques  
 were fomented by the Letters and Embassies of many Prote-  
 stant Princes of Germany, much displeased at the slaughter of  
 the Hugonots in France, and ill-affected to the Duke of An-  
 jou's greatnesse. For which cause the King endeavoured by  
 divers writings, and by means of his Embassadors, to remove  
 the opinion which was commonly held, that the Massacre of  
 Paris was contrived long before-hand, attributing the businesse  
 (as sudden and accidentall) unto the temerity of the Admi-  
 ral, who seeing himself wounded by his Enemies, began rashly  
 to plot a new conspiracy against all the Royall Family; and  
 declared, that he would tolerate a liberty of conscience, though  
 not the free profession of *Calvin's* Doctrine: nor did this  
 seem sufficient, but fearing more to exasperate the mindes of  
 the Protestants and Evangeliques, he began to proceed more  
 boldly in the enterprize of Rochel, lest the Duke of Anjou  
 taking it by force, should stir up more hatred against him,  
 and by the desolation of the Citie should increase the difficul-  
 ties of his Election, which seemed to be in a fair way of com-  
 ing to a happy issue. Nor was the King alone of this opini-  
 on, but his Embassadors in Poland, and particularly the Bi-  
 shop of Valence, very much pressed the King, that to facili-  
 tate that businesse, he would proceed more gently against the  
 Hugonots in France. For these respects new treaties of agree-  
 ment were begun with the Rochellers; yet still continuing  
 their assaults and batteries, till newes came, that upon the  
 ninth day of May, *Henry* Duke of Anjou was with a generall  
 consent elected King of Poland: Wherefore he seeking to  
 come off from that siege with such moderation, that his repu-  
 tation might be safe, and the mindes of his new subjects not  
 unsatisfied, from whom he endeavoured to remove all suspi-  
 cion of his taking away their liberty of conscience, he pro-  
 ceeded not so violently against the Hugonots; who quite ti-  
 red out, and in despair of defending themselves any longer,  
 forgot their wonted constancy, and were desirous to obtain  
 their peace. This was favoured by the naturall inclination of  
 the Duke, who was weary of the toils of War, and desirous  
 not only to return to the pleasures of the Court, but also  
 shortly



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Rochel yeilded  
to the King.The Condi-  
tions.

shortly to go take possession of his new Kingdom. Wherefore the City having often sent their deputies into the Camp to treat; after many difficulties they agreed at last upon the 11<sup>th</sup> day of July, that the City should yeeld it self unto the King obedience with these conditions: That the King should declare the inhabitants of Rochel, Nismes, and Montauban to be his good and faithfull subjects, and should approve of all that they had done from the month of August the yeer before, being 1572, untill that present time, pardoning all faults and enormities whatsoever had been committed during the Civill War by the said inhabitants, their souldiers or adherents, declaring all to be done by his order. That in those three Cities he should allow the free and publick exercise of the Reformed Religion, they meeting together in small numbers, and without arms, the Officers appointed for that purpose being there amongst them. That in all other outward matters, except Baptism and Matrimony, they should observe the rites and holy dayes observed and commanded by the Roman Catholick Church: That the King should confirm all the liberties, immunities and priviledges of those three Towns, not permitting them to be in any part diminished, altered or violated. That the Rochellers should receive a Governour of the Kings appointment (but without a Garison) who might freely stay there, inhabit, go, and return into the Citie at his pleasure; and that they should be governed by the Lawes, Ordinances and Customes with which they had been governed under the Kings of France ever since they were subjects to that Crown; that they should break all leagues, friendships, intelligences, and confederacies whatsoever within or without the Kingdom, not lending any relief or assistance to those which should continue up in arms, though of the same Religion. That the use and exercise of the Catholick Religion should be restored in those Cities, and all other places whence it had been taken, leaving freely unto the Church-men, not only the Churches, Monasteries, and Hospitals, but likewise all the profits and revennues belonging to them. That all Lords of free Manors through the Kingdom might in their own houses lawfully celebrate Baptism and Matrimony after the manner of the Hugonots, provided the assembly exceeded not the number of ten persons. That there should be no inquisition upon mens consciences, and that those who would not dwell in the

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the Kingdom, might sell their estates, and go live where they pleased; provided it were not in places that were enemies to the Crown: and that for the observing of these Articles, the said three Cities should give hostages, which should be changed every three months, and alwaies should follow the Court. When these Conditions were established, and the hostages given, which by the Duke were presently sent to Court, Monsieur de Byron, the Governor appointed by the King, entred Rouen with one of the publick Heralds, took possession of the Government, and caused the peace to be proclaimed; after which the Duke of Anjou (now King of Poland) having dismissed the Army, went with a noble train of Princes, Lords, and Gentlemen, unto the Citie of Paris; where assuming the title of his new Kingdom, and having received the Polish Ambassadors, he prepared for his journey to go take possession of the Crown.

The Peace is published, and the Army dismissed.

In the mean time Sanferre, which was not comprehended in the capitulation of the Rochellers, because it was not a free town under the Kings absolute dominion as the rest, but under the Seigniory of the Counts of Sanferre; being reduced to extreme misery by famine, without all hope of relief, yeelded itself to Monsieur de la Chastre, who having by order from the King to gratifie the Polish Ambassadors, pardoned all their crimes, fined the Town in a certain Sum of money to be distributed to the Army, and causing it to be dismantled, and the gates, Clock, and Bels to be removed, to take away from it all form of a City, and bring it to the condition of an ordinary village, he put a garison into the Castle, caused the goods and revenues of the Clergy to be restored, and the Churches to the use of the Catholick Religion; and a while after (as it was reported) he commanded *Guillaume Joanneau* the Bailiff of the town, who had been chief Head of the late sedition, to be secretly thrown into a well; though many say, that he being fallen mad with despair, cast himself wilfully into it.

This was the end of the Insurrection which began after the Admirals death; wherein through want of care in those that commanded, or want of fidelity in those that were to execute the severity of those remedies not being used, which with small trouble and lesse difficulty would absolutely have plucked up the very roots of those evils, the sparks were only covered for a time, and not utterly extinguished, from whence afterward



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brake out more violent flames, and more lasting dangerous mischiefs. But no fear of that troubled the Court, which full of pomps and triumphs for the Coronation of the new King, thought it enjoyed a secure quiet in the midst of so many delights; which having lasted for the space of two months, the King of Poland, accompanied unto the confines of Lorain by his Mother and the King his Brother, about the beginning of October went to take possession of his Kingdom. But the King was no sooner returned unto his pleasures, intent onely upon hunting and other youthfull sports, when those humours began to discover themselves, which were more like then ever to disturbe his Kingdom with infinite troubles and commotions.

After the departure of *Henry* King of Poland, the first place of dignity and preeminence belonged to *Francis* Duke of Anjou the Kings next Brother, who was not onely young and therefore void of experience, but also by nature endowed with no great abilities of understanding, of so fickle a minde and so puffed up, that he seemed more to incline to rash precipitate advices, then to a discreet, moderate rule of living; and as he had inwardly been very much displeased at the power which had been given to his brother the Duke of Anjou, and was deeply pricked with the secret sting of envie at his valour and glorious actions, esteeming the greatnesse and reputation of his brother to be a dishonour and lessening to himself; so he bore a concealed hatred to all those that had any relation to or dependance upon *Henry*, loving and admiring the *Admiral de Coligny*, and his adherents (as was often plainly observed but as it were tacitely reprehending the Kings deliberations and secretly desiring to be the Head of that Faction: and though the Queen his Mother knowing his disposition, endeavoured alwaies to keep discreet experienced men about him which might wisely moderate his humors and resolutions; yet was he utterly averse from them, and through a conformity of nature, let himself be rather wholly guided by *Boniface Sieur de la Mole*, a man of ordinary quality, but full of vast unmeasurable thoughts, and by *Hanibal Count de Coconas*, a banished *Peidmontois*, who (as it is commonly the custome of exiles not being able to enjoy quietnesse himself, laboured to mole and disturb the repose of others. The King of Navar and the Prince of Condé were from the beginning united to the Duke

of Alanson, because they saw themselves but lightly esteemed by the Duke of Anjou Head of the Catholick party, and because they watched all occasions that might give them opportunity to revive and raise again their oppressed persecuted faction; and not they alone, but also the Marshalls of *Momorancy* and *d' Anville*, *William* Lord of *Tore*, and *Charles* Lord of *Meru*, all Brothers, who not being able of themselves to attain to the dignity of their Father, nor to the credit and authority he held in his life time, but continuing (especially after the death of the Admiral) meanly regarded, or rather hated and suspected by the King, by reason of their neer alliance to him; and jealous that their ruine was no lesse aimed at then that of others, fought to unite themselves unto that party, whose power might bear them up to a greater height of fortune. To these was also joyned the Marechal *de Cossé*, who was but little favoured by the Catholick party, and all those that either secretly or openly had been inclined to the Admiral; and not they onely, but likewise all who for particular interests, having taken distaste at the present condition of affairs, were still contriving new forms of Government; these being received, and filled with hopes and boldnesse, chiefly by the Lords of *Momorancy*, who carried themselves very cunningly in the businesse, framed a third party, which making no ground nor difference of either Religion, but wholly applying themselves to the reforming of the State, began to be called the Faction of *Politicks* or *Male-contents*.

A third party called *Politicks* and *Male-contents*, composed of Catholicks and Hugonets;

But these new practices and machinations, which while the Duke of Anjou was present, were managed more covertly, for fear of his valour and authority; the curb being now taken away, began to sprout out more freely, not onely because the Duke of Alanson, who favoured them, remained in possession of the chiefest place; but because the power over the Catholick party was still in the hands of the Duke of Guise and his Brothers, the ancient, emulous, inveterate enemies of the Families of *Bourbon* and *Momorancy*; whereby their linking and knitting themselves together to counterpoise the excessive greatness of their adversaries seemed more necessary, and was in appearance more excusable.

The opportunities for the breaking forth of this mischief were much increased by the Kings being sick, who through too much exercise in hunting, running, wrestling, & riding, where-



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with he was beyond measure delighted, falling into a long dangerous sicknesse; could not with that vigour which was proper to his nature intend the rooting up of those growing disorders; but gave greater means to the Duke of Alanson to discover and foment his own pretensions: wherefore the Duke of Anjou being gone away, he began apparently to pretend to, and procure the same title and authority which his brother had so many yeers possessed, being set on to it by the counsels of the Marshalls of *Coffe* and *Momorancy*. But this was not only opposed by the King and Queen-Mother, who neither approved his humour, nor his actions; but also by his own disability, which rendred him much inferiour in wit and valour to the Duke of Anjou, and no wayes able to undergo so great a charge; besides that, the King being now of riper yeers, and of a wary suspicious nature, was nothing willing to grant so great a power to any body again, having perhaps more ardently favoured the election of the King of Poland, because he thought he could neither so easily, nor so handsomly by any other means deprive him of that authority and power, which being voluntarily given him at the first, he afterwards confirmed upon himself by his own courage and renowned Victories. For all these reasons the King refusing him the title and power of his Lieutenant-Generall, his mother began to entertain him with other hopes, of procuring for him some free State, as they had done for his brother, propounding to him a marriage with the Queen of England, or the command of the States of Flanders, which had shaken off their obedience to the Catholick King; the treaties concerning both which were begun, more out of a designe to feed him with hopes, and to keep him in good correspondence united with his brother, then out of any grounded reason or belief that either of them could be effected.

But his hasty impatient nature gave no leasure to her politick delayes; for as soon as the Hugonots and Male-contents knew that he was spitefully enraged at this repulse, and that his mind was ready to attempt new designs; with a common consent they offered him the command of all their party, telling him, that he might by that means create unto himself a more free and absolute power then that which his brother had injuriously refused him. The King of Navar consented to this deliberation, having from the beginning sought some opportunity

Francis Duke  
of Alanson the  
Kings youngest  
brother  
makes himself  
Head of the  
Male-contents  
with hope  
to usurp the  
Crown.



unity to advance his own fortune, and to free himself from the imprisonment (rather then subjection) which he lived in under the King and Queen, his brother and mother-in-law: Besides, disagreeing and displeased with his Wife, he hoped by these tumults and changes to remedy all those inconveniencies, and open some way to his own greatnesse, or at least to his liberty, which by nature he was very much inclined to. The Prince of Condé consented to it likewise, being well assured to have great authority among the Hugonots, if they by any means could rise again; whereas by reason of his Fathers memory he was much depressed among the Catholicks: but above the rest, this designe was approved by the three Marshalls *Cossé*, *Momorancy*, and *d'Anville*, the Heads of the Male-contents, knowing that they should sway and moderate the will of the Duke *d'Alençon*, who unable to govern of himself, would subtilely give them the same power the Admiral had in the minority of the Princes of Bourbon.

After many contrivances and consultations, the web of the finesse was laid by them in this manner; That the Duke of *Alençon* should suddenly and privately depart the Court, and that for his more secure retreat, some Troops of Hugonot Carabry which were drawing together, should secretly go to meet him; that the Marshalls of *Momorancy* and *Cossé* should go along to advise and counsell him in his actions; that the King of Navar and Prince of Condé should get secretly away within two dayes after, and follow them the same way; that the Marshal *d'Anville* Governor of Languedoc, should go into that province a while before, and draw cunningly to himself the absolute power of those places, gather as many of the Nobility as he could, and endeavour the same in Guienne and the parts adjacent, by means of his Nephew the Viscount *de Turenne*, and of his Brother-in-law the Duke of Vantadour, to the end that the Princes departing from the Court, might have a secure place to retire unto, and also forces to defend themselves; these grave solid resolutions were joyned also light youthful lies by some servants of the Duke *d'Alençon*, proposing by witchcrafts and incantments to take away the Kings life, who was ready was in great danger by reason of his sicknesse; and he being dead, and the King of Poland far off, to settle the Duke *Alençon* in the Crown: with these various designes, the setting up of arms was again endeavoured.

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The Marechal *d' Anville* went into Languedoc with the Kings consent, under colour of visiting his Government, and there began craftily to sound the minds of the Gentry, and of the Governors of places; but as a man of great warinesse and discretion, doubting his plots might be discovered, he sent *Chartier* his Secretary unto the King and Queen-mother, shewing that he treated with the Hugonots of Nismes, Montpelli, and other places, to reduce them to his Majesties obedience; and that if men of trust might be sent to treat, he hoped with honourable conditions to bring them unto an absolute subjection: with which hopes the King being moved, presently dispatched Monsieur *de S. Sulpice* and Secretary *Villeroy* to treat joyntly with *d' Anville* about the reducing of the Hugonots: but he having by this artifice gotten a liberty of treating with the Hugonots without being suspected at Court, when he heard the Kings Commissioners were arrived at Avignon, he sent the same *Chartier* to let them know, that matters not being yet ripe, it would be best for them to stay there a while, and defer their coming to him till he had settled a surer foundation for the businesse. So holding the Commissioners in hand, and in the mean time treating in every place, he went by little and little opening his way to an absolute authority in Languedoc; and the same did the Viscount *de Turenne* and the Duke *de Vendour* in other places.

But while the rest not managing their businesse so cunningly as *d' Anville*, spread these designs abroad by discovering them to the Hugonots thorow all the Provinces of the Kingdom, and that *Coconas* and *la Mole* passing yet farther, conspired the Kings death, and the usurpation of the Kingdom; the Duke of *lançon* inconstant in his resolutions, and of a mind very unfit for so great an enterprize, imprudently gave some suspicion of it to his Mother; and while by her wonted arts she sounded the depth of those secret treaties, and searcheth the bottom of those designs, the Hugonots impatient of delay, perfected the discovery of the plot; for the Duke having given them notice that he with the King of Navar and Prince of Condé intended to leave the Court, and retire into the places of their party, there to declare himself Protector of the reformed Religion, and of the Male-contentes of the Kingdom; they not staying for a more mature advice, nor a more fitting opportunity, appeared unexpectedly upon Shrove-tuesday, to the number of

about

ut 200 Horſe, running up and down armed under the command of the Sieur *de Guitry*, neer unto S. Germans where the Court then was, to ſecure the paſſage of the Princes, who were ſecretly to leave the Court: at the news whereof the Duke of Anjou and his Councellors frightened and diſmayed, becauſe their deſignes were not yet ripe, and not thinking that ſmall number of Hugonots ſufficient to execute their deliberations, were ſo different and unreſolved in their opinions, that they agreed not at all; and the King and Queen now certain of what they before ſuſpected, retiring with all ſpeed to Paris, imprifoned the Duke d' Anjou, the King of Navar, and all his Councellors and dependants, as alſo the Mareſhals of *Coffe* and *Memorancy*, with many others whom they thought privie to their deſignes. Onely the Prince of Condé and Monſieur de *Beaufort* eſcaped, flying firſt to thoſe places which belonged to the Prince in Picardy, & from thence without delay unto the Hans Towns of Germany which adhered to the Proteſtant party.

The Duke of  
Anjou and  
the King of  
Navar imprifoned.

The Duke of Anjou and the King of Navar either truſting to their neerneſſe of Blood, or to ſhift off the fault of this ſpiracy from themſelves, and lay it (as the cuſtome is) upon the weakeſt, confeſſed freely, that they had been ſollicitated to depart from Court, and to become Heads of the Hugonots and Malecontents, and that ſometimes they had lent an ear to thoſe motions, rather to diſcover the intents of thoſe ſeducers, than out of any deſire to adhere unto them; and that they waited opportunity to diſcover the whole plot unto the King, as ſoon as they were fully informed of it; and that in the mean time the Duke had given ſome hint of it, though but obſcurely, to his Mother, which might ſerve to prove the ſincerity of their intentions: upon the ground of theſe confeſſions, which contained many particulars, the accomplices of meaner quality being kept cloſe, and ſtrictly examined, *la Mole*, about whom were found certain images of the King in wax, encompassed with enchantments, charms and other fooleries, the Count *de Coconas* convicted of many crimes, and divers others were condemned to die: the Mareſhals of *Memorancy* and *Coffe*, to the great ſatisfaction of the Pariſians, were put in the Baſtile; and for the Princes, it ſufficed onely by a declaration to manifeſt unto the world, that it never was their intention to alienate themſelves from the Kings obedience, nor to offend his perſon in any manner whatſoever, much leſſe to make themſelves heads and protectors



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These matters, whatsoever they were, or from what causesoever derived, happened in the beginning of the year 1574, a year destined to renew the old wounds of France; for towards the later end of March, and all the month of April following the Hugonots already up in arms by reason of the late designs and suspecting themselves to be discovered the fomenters of that conspiracy, breaking again the bridle of all respect, attempted every-where to surprise Forts, Castles & Cities, as if the business at S. Germain had succeeded just according to their own desires, they ran hastily without stop to the taking up of arms in all Provinces, and that with so much the great boldnesse and security, because they were freed from the general fear they were wont to have of the valour and celerity of the King of Poland, whom they had to their exceeding loss found to be so resolute and powerfull an enemy.

A new insurrection of Hugonots, stirred up by Monsieur de la Noue.

The first commotion was begun by Monsieur de la Noue, who staying in Poitou, gathered forces suddenly and possessed himself of Lusignan, Fontenay, and Mele, and with the help

of the Rochellers, raised and disordered the whole Country, shewing manifestly by that action, that neither his desire of peace, nor his promise made to the King had caused him to leave Rochel when it was besieged, but trouble for the affront he had received from the Ministers, and fear lest the Citizens should confer the chief Command upon the Count *Montgomery*. The signall of war being as it were given by this insurrection, it was followed by many others in Daulphiné, Provence, Gasconne & Languedoc; every private Captain, and every Gentleman among the Hugonots endeavouring with his own forces to seise upon some strong place, from whence robbing and pillaging all the Country, cutting off passages, laying taxes upon the people, and plundering the rich houses, they in a few dayes brought the whole Kingdom of France into great confusion.

But a more dangerous fire was kindled on the Sea-coasts of Normandy; for the Count *Montgomery*, after he was hindered by the Kings Fleet from relieving Rochel, being returned into England, & recruited, landed in the Country w<sup>ch</sup> they call *le Pays de Constantine*, belonging to the Province of Normandy, but bordering upon Bretagne, where being welcomed by the Hugonots, and the discontented party of that place, in a few dayes he made himself Master of Danfront, Carentane, S. Lo, and Valognes, and seditious people running to him from all parts, as to a Head of great authority, it was beginning to be doubted that Queen *Elisabeth*, invited by this opportunity (though she made shew not at all to favour or assist the Count) had resolved once again to set foot in that Province just over against her Kingdom, which in times past had long been in possession of the Kings of England her predecessors. At the frequent newes of these tumults and insurrections, the King who by nature was very cholerick, brake forth into such terrible rage and fury, that his sicknesse became daily more violent and dangerous; wherefore neither having strength of body, nor ability of mind to undergo so weighty a businesse; often changing and varying his resolutions, by that uncertainty gave them that were up in arms far greater opportunity to increase their forces; which as soon as he perceived, his disease, which could find no remedy, still continuing, he resolved to refer the whole businesse to the counsell and authority of his Mother, ever giving order and directions to take sharp severe courses, which could hardly be done, because the condition of present af-



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fairs would not permit that Armies and Governments should be trusted in the hands of any but persons of great maturity, and long experience, who by reason of their age and gravity were averſe from bloody violent reſolutions; wherefore the Queen being brought into great ſtreights and difficulties, and unto a neceſſity of proceeding not only againſt her Son-in-law, but even againſt her own Son, endeavoured to find ſome moderate way between the Kings anger & their unquiet deſignes; which was not to be managed according to the proper nature of affairs, and the ancient practice of experience; for it being apparent, that to remove the effects it is neceſſary to take away the cauſes, ſhe quite contrary was forced by meer neceſſity to endeavour the taking away the effects of thoſe tumults and inſurrections in the ſeverall Provinces, thereby to preſerve the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navar, from whom their principall cauſe and originall proceeded.

The Queen ſends three armies into three parts of the Kingdom to ſuppreſſe the inſurrections.

She reſolved to ſend three ſeverall Armies into three ſeverall parts of the Kingdom, one commanded by the Duke of Montpenſier, who ſhould oppoſe *Monſieur de la Nouë* in Poitou; another by the Prince *Daulphine* his ſon, which ſhould go into *Daulphiné*, and the confines thereof; and the third to reſiſt *Montgomery*, commanded by *Jaques Sieur de Matignon*, a man of tryed fidelity, and not inferiour in valour, who was then Lieutenant to the Duke of Bouillon in the Government of Normandy. In the mean time the taking away of the Government of Languedoc from the Mareſhal d' *Anville* was endeavoured; to which end Count *Sciarra Martinengo* was diſpatched with all ſpeed to *S. Sulpice* and *Villeroy*, who were thought to be with him, that they might uſe ſome means to take away his life; or if they could not do ſo, at leaſt to get a Government of ſo great importance out of his hands. But *Martinengo* finding thoſe Commiſſioners ſtill at Avignon, without means to execute the Kings intentions, it was neceſſary to follow the ſecond directions, to take from him all, or at leaſt ſome of the Cities of that Province, which began to be diligently perſecuted by the help of the Cardinal of Armagnac, the Duke of Uzès, the Viſcount de *Joyenſe*, and the Sieurs *Maugiron*, *Quelus*, de *Rieux*, and de *Suze*, Lords who had very great dependents in thoſe parts.

But the ſagacity of d' *Anville* was very great, and great was the inclination of the people to his name, hee having



by his liberality & politick government, generally gained their affections, whereupon when he received the news of what had passed at the Court, faigning on the one side that he was not at all offended at his brothers imprisonment, and that he did not in any thing participate of his counsels, and publickly testifying, that he would not only lay down his government, but moreover his Office of Marshal; untill the King being certified of his loyalty, should willingly restore him to his former dignities: he laboured on the other side to assure himself of the Forts & Cities, and to bring the Gentry & Souldiers as much as he could to his own devotion; by which arts he presently put himself into a posture of defence, & the Commissioners not having effected any thing, were fain to return to Court, which when the King knew, being infinitely offended, he caused him by publick decree to be deprived of his dignities, and commanded the Prince *Daulphine* to march thither with his Army.

The Marehall  
d'Amville son  
of Anna de Mo-  
morancy is by  
the Kings de-  
cree deprived  
of his digni-  
ties.

The Duke of Montpensier being entred into Poictou, had already taken Talmont, and laid siege to Fontenay, seeking all possible means to draw Monsieur *de la Nouë* into the field, who being again declared Generall of the Rochellers, was exceeding diligent in gathering souldiers and Gentlemen together; but finding himself not able to keep the field, he resolved to defend the strongest places, which he had furnished with all things necessary, endeavouring by advantage of situations, by conduct, industry and diligence to do some mischief to the enemies: in which time Monsieur *de Matignon* desirous to shew his fidelity to the King and Queen, by whom he found himself to be much esteemed, and to raise himself to a more eminent degree of fortune, marched with the third Army directly to the place where the Count of *Montgomery* was, much increased both in strength and courage. His Army consisted of 5000 French Foot, and 1200 Horse; to which were added many Gentlemen and Voluntiers, who excited by letters and commands of the King and Queen, very sollicitous for this enterprise, came thither to serve without pay: besides, there were 14 peeces of Canon, w<sup>ch</sup> were taken out of the fortrels of Caën, & other Cities adjacent, with a sufficient proportion of all sorts of ammunition. The field-Marehall was *Jehan d'Hemery* Sieur de *Villers*, who stirred up by his own valour and naturall ingenuity, far from those dissimulations and double dealings which then were every where in fashion, and being of

*Villers* Brother  
in law to the  
Author.



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one mind and counsell with his Generall, a man also of a cleer uncorrupted loyalty ; having to deceive the Enemy, made shew of moving toward Volognes (a place lesse defensible, but more abounding in spoil and plunder) he set forward about Sun set, marching all night with infinite diligence toward S. Lo, in which place was the Count of *Montgomery*, w<sup>th</sup> his son & his son in law.

S. Lo is besieged by the Catholics, *Montgomery* being in it.

S. Lo is a Town in the lower Normandy, not very great, but indifferently strong, being seated neer the sea, upon the river Vire, which falling into the Ocean not far from thence, is by the help of the tide made navigable to the very gates of the Town; and as a safe harbour secureth those ships that come in from the frequent storms of that coast ; here lay those ships which had brought the Count *Montgomery* out of England, ready upon all occasions to weigh anchor and put out to Sea. But *Villers* arriving unexpectedly with the Van of the Army at the very peep of day, sent the *Sieur de S. Colombe* with his Regiment, that might be some 1200 French Foot, and four small peeces of Cannon, to possesse the bank of the river below the place where the ships lay at anchor, to hinder them from getting out of the Port. *S. Colombe* advancing with the expedition which was requisite for that purpose, instantly took his post upon the bank of the river, and at the same time began to entrench himself and plant his Canon ; which he performed so well, that the passage of *Montgomery's* ships being cut off within a little time, by reason of the narrowness of the river, he being inferiour in strength, could no longer hope to save himself with his Fleet. *Villers* as soon as he saw that passage stopped, wherein consisted the chiefest point of the enterprise, placed himself with the light Horse, and the Regiment of *Lavardin* at the foot of a hill right against the gate toward the Sea, and began to fall upon those of the Town who were come out to discover the forces of the Enemy ; and whilst they were kept in a hot skirmish on that side, Monsieur de *Matignon* arrived on the other with the rest of the Army, and presently made good those passages toward the Land ; so that in lesse then three hours the City was blocked up, and besieged on every side. In the mean time the Squadrons of Cavalry under *Malicorne* and *Meleraye* being come up those that sallied out were within a little while beaten in again, though with losse on both sides, there being slain above 60 of the Catholics, and about 80 of the Hugonots. The Catholick Army being divided, lodged it self in two several quarters

es, shutting up the wayes both by sea and land; for it was their chief design to keep the Count from any means of saving himself; and as soon as it was quartered, they presently began their trenches, and to plant their Canon, beleeving the Town was able to hold out but a very few dayes. But the Count knowing his weaknesse, and making it his chief aim to save himself, during the night following often given them alarms in severall places to try and amuse the Catholick Camp, at last he with a few of his souldiers forced a *Corps de Guard* of the *Sieur de Lu-* his Regiment, which kept a passage toward the Land, and knowing the Country very well, by the help of the night saved himself undiscovered in certain low moorish grounds, which are to be overflowed by the tide, and then passing an arm of the sea in certain small Fisher-boats which he found by chance, went to Danfront, having left his son & son in law at S. Lo, but with an assured hope of relieving them within a few dayes.

Montgomery  
flies from S.  
Lo.

His flight was not known unto the Catholicks (for the darkness of the night, the small number of his company, and his means of getting away had concealed his escape) till grown long in Horse by the help of many Gentlemen of his party, he began to run about the Country, cutting off passages, and making shew that he would relieve the besieged, whereby being at last assured that he was slipped out of the net, and insulted furiously over the neighbouring Country, they called a Council of War; wherein the opinions being various, the *Sieurs de Ferwaques*, *Ruberpré*, and many others counselled the prosecution of the siege of S. Lo (a business which they esteemed but of a few dayes) to take away that secure retreat from the Enemy, and cut off all hopes of saving themselves by sea; but *Villers* and *S. Combe* were of opinion, that leaving S. Lo still besieged, to divide the forces of the Enemy, they should with the same celerity they came thither follow the Count *de Montgomery*, thinking that to suppress him would quite extinguish the War. This resolution being approved by *Matignon*, having left *Ferwaques* and *Malicorne* to block up S. Lo, he himself with *Villers* & *S. Combe*, taking with them two Regiments of Foot, 600 Horse, and onely four small peeces of Canon, marched so speedily to Danfront, that they prevented the Enemies intelligence; who though the walls of the City were very weak, yet trusting to the river Mante, that runneth about one side of it, and to the port, which seated upon the top of a hill guards it on the other side,



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side, were resolved constantly to defend the place. The night following the Canon were planted, and in the morning, there being hardly 40 yards of the wall beaten down, *Villers* despising the hindrance of the river, passed over at the head of the Infant up to the breast in water, and assaulted it so boldly, that the souldiers being terrified, fled without resistance into the Castle, and the Town remaining in the power of the Catholicks, was by the fury of the souldiers almost utterly ruined and destroyed. Much greater was the difficulty of assaulting the Castle, seated upon an intire Rock, where the Sap could do little good, and high above the plain, that they were forced with infinite difficulty to raise Cavaliers for the planting of their Ordnance; while the Catholicks put in execution, with the same speed and courage, the Hugonots still molested them with sharp bloudy sallies, which at last ceased; for one Cavalier being finished they began furiously to batter the Curtin. After the battering followed a fierce assault, in which though the Catholicks lost *S. Colombe* with a great many Voluntiers, and about 200 of their most valiant men; the Hugonots received so much loss by the death of a great many Gentlemen, and the greatest part of their souldiers, that they were able to hold out no longer for which cause, lest the assault which was preparing with more forces then at first, should be renewed the next day, they yielded themselves the same night to the discretion of the Conquerors: and *Monfieur de Matignon* entering the Castle, caused the souldiers to be pillaged, and let them all go, keeping only some few Gentlemen prisoners, and the Count *de Montgomery*; who with a very strong guard was brought to Court, where by the sentence of the Parliament of Paris, he was publicly executed as a Rebel, in the place appointed for malefactors: The King & Queen not only rejoycing that they had freed themselves of so fierce an enemy, who held perpetuall correspondence with foreign Princes, but also that they had revenged the death of *Henry the Second*, slain by him, though accidentally (as we have said) in a Tournament, from the occasion of whose death proceeded afterwards all those following calamities.

The Count *Montgomery* is taken in *Danfront*, sent to the Court, and executed.

*Danfront* being taken, *Monfieur de Matignon* returned to *S. Lo*, which he began to besiege more streightly, and the 7 day *Villers* storming it with the chief of all the Infantry, remained Master of the wall (though with the losse of much bloud and of a Tower which placed in the flank, defended the av

that led toward the gate: The assault being renewed in the morning by break of day, the victorious Army entred the Town; where the son in law of *Montgomery* being slain, and Monsieur *de Colombiere* a souldier of great valour and noble birth; Monsieur *Lorges* son to the Count was taken, who being condemned to the same punishment which his father had suffered, corrupted his guards, and saved himself by flight. *Carentane* and *Vogues* yeelded without staying to be besieged; that fire being thus extinguished, which with so much danger had been kindled in the most suspected parts of the Kingdom.

But at that time the Kings life was drawn almost unto the last period; for having begun some months before to spit blood, being afterwards oppressed with a slow, but a continued intermitting fever, he had in the end utterly lost all strength; whereupon knowing himself to be already neer his death, he caused all the Lords and Officers of the Crown which were then at Court, to be called unto him, and having told them the danger of his sicknesse, and neernesse of his death, he declared his brother *Henry* King of Poland to be his successor in the Kingdom, and untill his coming, the Queen his Mother to be Regent, strictly commanding the Duke of *Alanson*, the King of *Navar*, and all others, under pain of Rebellion to obey and serve her faithfully untill the arrivall of the lawfull King. After that the Secretaries of State, and *Renato de Birago* (who a while before was chosen High-Chancellor in the place of *Michal de l'Hospital* already dead) had passed the Patents for these matters, and registred them in the Parliament, the King recommending the peace of his Kingdom to his Councell, and his little daughter the onely child which he had by the Queene his Wife, and *Charles* his Bastard son, who was yet a child, unto the care of his Mother, with grave and pious discourses, having dismissed all those that were present, he held his Mother by the hand, and ended the course of his troublesome reign upon the 30 day of May, before he was full 25 years of age; leaving his Kingdom, after the revolution of so many Varres, in no lesse danger and confusion then he had found it in fourteen yeers before, when he came a childe unto the Crown.

*Charles the IX*  
dieth the 30  
of May 1574.

*The end of the fifth Book.*



1947

THE  
CONTINUATION  
AND  
CONCLUSION  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF  
FRANCE:

Written

Italian by HENRICO CATERINO  
DAVILA.

Translated out of the Originall.

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LONDON, Printed by *Ruth Raworth*, 1648.

And to be sold by *Thomas Heath* at the signe of the *Checker* in *Russell street*,  
neer the *Piazza* of *Covent-Garden*.



ON 23/11/14

ON 23/11/14

CIVIL 2014

FRANCO

FRANCO

DAVID

FRANCO

FRANCO

FRANCO

FRANCO

FRANCO



THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA:

*The Sixth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

His sixth Book contains the Arts used by the Queen Regent, to hold matters in suspence till the coming of the King Henry the Third out of Poland. He departs secretly from that Kingdome, and passing through Italy, comes to Turin: The Queen sends thither to inform him of the affairs of France; and thither also comes the Mareshal d' Anvile. The King denyes to resolve upon any thing till hee have conferred with his Mother; hee restores those places to the Duke of Savoy, which for security, had till then been kept from him. Hee passes at Pont Beauvoysin; is met by the Duke of Alançon and the King of Navar; by him they are set at liberty: hee meets the Queen his Mother, and they enter the City of Lyons. The Kings designs and ends, to which hee intends to direct the course of his government, are particularly set down; he desires peace, and to procure it, resolves to make warre coldly: he treats of Marriage, and resolves to take to Wife Louyse of Loraine, daughter to the Count de Vaudemont; hee is crowned at Rheimes,

G g g

and



*The History of the Civill Warres*

and there marrieth her : hee labours to get his Brother elected King of Poland ; but hee is put beside it : the War continues in the mean time , and Mombrun Head of the Hugonots in Daulphiné is defeated, taken, and executed. The King alters the manner of government, to lessen the authority of the great ones. The Duke of Alançon deprived of the hopes of Poland, and not being able to obtain the Title of Lieutenant Generall, flies from Court, and becomes Head of the Politicks and Hugonots ; and all the other Lords of that party put themselves under him, and the Prince of Condé sends him great Supplies out of Germany ; which passing through Champaigne, are routed and dispersed by the Duke of Guise. The Queen Mother goes to conferre with the Duke of Alançon, and concludes a truce : in the meantime the King of Navar leaves the Court, flies into Guienne, and declares himself Hugonot ; The Prince of Condé advanceth with the German Army, and at Moulins joynes with the Duke of Alançon : The Queen returns, and concludes a peace, but with such exorbitant conditions, that all the Catholicks are offended at it. The Duke of Guise and his Brothers lay hold of the occasion, declare themselves Heads of the Catholick party, and make a League to oppose the establishment of the Hugonots ; the grounds and progresse of that League are related : The King of Navar there upon pretending that the Catholicks began first, by the mean of the Prince of Condé takes up arms. The King assembles the States generall in the City of Blois, to settle things in order : but after severall attempts and contrivances, they break up without concluding any thing. The King desires peace ; but seeing the Hugonots inclined to war, raises two Armies against them the Duke of Alançon with one of them takes la Charité, Isoire and other places ; the Duke of Mayenne with the other takes Thone-Charanté & Marans. From Warre they come to a Treaty of agreement, peace is concluded, and the Queen-Mother goes to confer with the King of Navar to make it the stronger. The King intent upon the designe of his hidden thoughts, imploy his time wholly in Religious exercises, assumes all Offices to himself, and disposes of them to his Favourites, among whom the Dukes of Joyeuse and Espernon are especially exalted by him. He institutes a new Order of Knighthood called du S. Esprit. The Queen-Mother goes from the King of Navar, and visits a great part of the Kingdom. The Duke of Alançon, to obtain

Queen

*Queen Elizabeth in marriage, goes over into England, is much honoured; but notwithstanding publick demonstrations, nothing is determined. The Hugonots renew the Warre; the Prince of Condé takes la Fere in Picardy, and the King of Navar possesseth himself of Cahors, and other places: The King dispatcheth severall Armies against them, by which la Fere is recovered, but little done in other places: The Duke of Alancón being returned into France, interposes and settles the peace again. Hee goes into Flanders to command the States that had cast off their obedience to the Crown of Spain, does little good there, returns into France, and dyes.*



**H**is death of Charles the Ninth happening just at that time when the remedies used by him, to purge the humors of his Kingdom were in the height of their operation; He left not onely all parts of France in great disorder and confusion; but also the state of the Crown in exceeding danger and uncertainty, by the subversion, or at least weakning of all the foundations of the Government: For besides the absence of the lawfull Successor, so far distant in a strange Country, who if hee had been present, might by assisting at the helm in a time of so great perill, have steered and moderated the doubtfull, troublesome course of the Commonwealth, all the instruments of rule and power were also either very much weakned, or utterly perverted; and even those means which usually maintain and preserve others, were universally bent to the distraction and ruine of that Kingdom.

The Duke of Alancón and the King of Navar, neereſt of the blood-Royall, and by that prerogative chief of the Council of ſtate, were held as guilty of a moſt hainous crime, and ſtraitly guarded as priſoners. The Prince of Condé, though very young, yet of an ancient reputation by the fame of his Anceſtors, not onely abſent and fled from Court, but protected by the favour of the Proteſtant Princes, and ready to forraign Forces to bring in new inundations. The Hugonots up in arms in every Province, and manifeſtly intent by



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all means possible to surprise and possesse the chiefeſt Citie and Fortreſſes. Many of the greateſt Lords, ſome ſecretly ſome openly alienated ; and divers of thoſe who had moſt experience in affairs, moſt authority with the people, and moſt reputation in warre, were already (if I may uſe that word *Cantonized* in their ſeverall Provinces and Governments ; the Treasury empty, or rather deſtroyed ; the Gentry wearied and impoveriſhed ; the *Militia* waſted and conſumed ; the people ruined and undone ; and yet not onely the diſſention in matters of Religion, but alſo the emulations and enmitie of the great ones were ſtill more then ever kindled and ſtirred up. In this miſerable condition no other prop upheld the State from a finall ſubverſion contrived and plotted by ſo many, ſave onely the wiſdome and magnanimity of the Queen Mother, who by long uſe accuſtomed to reſiſt the heavielt ſtrokes of Fortune, having preſently after the Kings death taken poſſeſſion of the Regency, endeavoured conſtantly by the beſt means ſhee could, to ſtop the dangerous precipice of the preſent affairs.

But the diſeaſes of that Kingdome were not ſo light, nor the humours that diſtempered it ſo weak, as could by gentle medicines be cured in a ſhort time, eſpecially in the Kings abſence ; wherefore the Queen, by the experience of ſo many years, well acquainted with the nature and quality of the ſickneſſe, not preſuming more upon her own ſtrength then in reaſon ſhee ought to hope ; thought in that preſent conjuncture, ſhe ſhould doe enough, if ſhe could keep the ſtate of the Kingdome from growing worſe, and preſerve it from falling into greater diſtractions, ſuſpending the preſent diſorders till the Kings coming ; who afterwards with a well-grounded reſolution might apply ſuch remedies as hee thought moſt proper : and in this ſhe imitated the ordinary cuſtom which Phyſicians obſerve in the cure of the moſt deſperate maladies ; who having in hand a body full of groſſe, corrupt humours, either in the heat of the Dog-dayes, or the extreme cold of Winter (both times unfit to cleanſe and purge them away) endeavour by gentle lenitive medicines to allay the violence of the diſeaſe, till the convenience of the ſeaſon gives them opportunity to make a perfect cure. Shee was the rather perſwaded to take that courſe, becauſe ſhee knew not what the King would reſolve on ; who though hee had ſeverely perſecuted the Ha-

gonor

onots, during the reign of his Brother, yet mens opinions and resolutions changing, according to the alteration of affairs, he could not be certain whether he would incline to peace or war; and therefore shee thought best to reserve things in such manner, that hee might have power to follow that which hee most approved. Wherefore being resolved to dissemble, and to value the substance more then the appearance of things, shee determined first of all to make preparations for Warre, that shee might not be taken unprovided; and then in other matters, with delayes and prolonged hopes to lull and entertain the expectations and inclinations of the Great ones, endeavouring chiefly to keep forraign Armies from invading any part of the Kingdome.

With this resolution she with all speed sent *Gaspar Count of Chomberg*, to raise 6000 Swisses, and some Troops of German Cavalry; to the Duke of Montpensier (who by reason of the Kings desperate sicknesse was come to Court) she gave charge, that returning presently to the Camp which was left in Poitou, he should recruit both the Horse and Foot as much as he could: and the same commission she gave to the Prince Daulphin, who with the other Army was in the confines of Dauphiné and Languedoc: and neverthelesse at the same time giving still a regard to those ends she had secretly proposed to herself, though she took not away the guards which were placed upon the Duke of Alençon and the King of Navar, yet she began to use them with wonderfull shews of honour and affection; for alledging that it stood not with their reputation to be set at liberty without some previous testimony of their innocencie, and without the decree and consent of the lawfull King, lest the neer nesse of blood and relation might seem to have had greater power with her then truth and reason; in all other things shee shewed such an entire confidence in them, that she did nothing of importance without their advice; and promised besides to be a particular instrument in effecting their hopes and pretensions: by which means the Duke of Alençon, being of an unconstant nature, and allured by his Mothers flatteries, suffered himself to be easily guided by her subtilty: and the King of Navar, finding no opportunity to advance his fortune, feigned to give credit to all shee said. Thus these two Princes either drawn (though not sincerely) to her party, or quieted, and as it were lulled asleep,

the



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the Regency being confirmed in her without opposition, shee jointly with her Son and Son-in-law, writ to the Magistrates Governours of Provinces, and other Officers of the Crown not because their assent was necessary to make her Orders authenticke, nor because she had any great confidence in them but to shew shee was both in mind and counsell united with those Princes, and to take away all hopes of their protection from those, who desiring new changes, had set their eyes upon them with wondrous expectation. These Letters, beside the notice of the Kings death, and his election of the Queen Mother to be Regent, contained also the confirmation of those Edicts granted (by *Charles* lately deceased) to those of the Reformed Religion; as liberty of conscience, the free permission of their Ecclesiastical rites; and finally, an effectual exhortation to them all, to live under the obedience of those Edicts and of the ordinary Magistrates, in quietnesse and tranquillity: on the other side, exhorting those Magistrates to conferre all persons in their own just rights, and to prohibite any kind of molestation to all sorts of people whatsoever; which things were by Monsieur *de Villeroy* Secretary of State, his most assured Confident, laid open with many artificiall flourishes, and with interpretations, and commissions favourable to the Hugonots, to withdraw the fuel from that fire; and among so many discords, in part to qualifie and mitigate the mindes of such as were most credulous, those so turbulent dissensions kindled in matters of Religion.

To these satisfactory words, joyning deeds no lesse proper and efficacious, shee dispatched the Abbot *Giovanni Baptista Guadagni*, to Monsieur *de la Nouë*, to treat of a cessation of arms in Poitou and Xaintonge, where the Duke of Montpensier still increasing his Army, did purposely slacken his proceedings; it being the intent of the Queen Regent, rather to suspend the causes, then prosecute or hasten the effect. With the same directions shee dispatched Monsieur *de St. Estienne* to the Marshall *d'Anville*, to the end that by giving him hopes of his Brothers liberty, and of his confirmation in the Government of Languedoc, he might endeavour to settle the commotions also in those parts, and bring things to a truce, which shee was resolved to accept of, though upon disadvantageous conditions. The Abbot *Guadagni's* negotiation produced its effect; for the Rochellers, and other people the ab-

bets,

ts, who by wofull experience had sufficiently known the  
our and severe resolutions of the new King, when, as his  
others Lieutenant, he made war against the Hugonots; be-  
in very great fear of him, inclined easily to the truce, as it  
ce to a forerunner & introduction of peace; for which cause  
as concluded, that there should be a cessation of arms for  
two next ensuing months, *July* and *August*, and for as  
ch longer as the King should think fit, to whom they re-  
ted themselves in that businesse; and that 12000 crowns  
uld be paid unto them by the Regent, to maintain their gar-  
ons without annoying or molesting the Country.

In the absence  
of the new K.  
Hen. the 3. a  
truce is made  
for two  
months.

But the treaty of *S<sup>t</sup>. Sulpice* wrought not the same effect:  
though the Marshall *d' Anville* was more disposed to  
maintain himself by arts and dissimulations, then by force, and  
efore inclined to the Truce; yet of his own party *Mom-*  
*n* in *Daulphiné*, who made war rather like an outlaw  
inst every body, then like a souldier against a certain ene-  
, would not hearken to any agreement, which would ne-  
itate him to lay down his arms, and cease to over-run and  
ile the Country: and on the other party the Catholicks  
*Languedoc*, and especially the Parliament of *Tholouse*, were  
enflamed against the Marshall *d' Anville*, that they hardly  
elded to the cessation, though commanded by the Queen  
gent; yet it would at last have been effected, if *d' Anville*,  
the same time aiming by any means to secure and pos-  
se himself of those places that depended on him, arrogating  
Kings power to himself, had not by deeds contrary to his  
ords, summoned the States of that Province, and by means  
his own adherents published decrees and ordinances, which  
d more of an absolute Prince, then of a Governour. Where-  
on the Parliament of *Tholouse*, infinitely incensed at those  
ceedings which did manifestly impair their authority, not  
ely refused the Truce themselves; but forbid all those of  
e Catholick party either to accept, or put it in execu-  
on.

The Parlia-  
ment of Tho-  
louse ordains,  
that the truce  
shall not be ac-  
cepted nor ex-  
ecuted.

But neither the injuries of her enemies, nor the disobedi-  
ce of her friends could alter the Queens determination, who  
aking small account of outward appearances, minded onely  
e compassing of her own ends: wherefore continuing the  
finesses which were set on foot, shee treated still with him,  
d with his Agents, to gain the benefit of time, by the same  
arts,



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The Rochellers break the Truce.

arts, wherewith he endeavoured to settle the foundations of his own estate: which things, while they were in agitation, the Rochellers, fickle and unconstant in their resolutions, either because they were excited by those of Languedoc, or because the 12000 crowns which were paid them were not sufficient to maintain their souldiers, who wanting the spoiles of war, disbanded, and forsook them daily, upon a sudden broke the truce, which a while before was so willingly accepted and concluded, and in all places round about committed most grievous cruell outrages: yet neither for all this was the Queen anything dismayed; but dissembling all injuries with marvellous patience, to accomplish her own designs, dispatched new agents to the Rochellers, and to *d'Anville*, that they might renew the treaty; it sufficing her, though the businesse could not be effected, that till she had notice of the Kings arrivall, the time might be spun out, without new troubles and distractions; and therefore everywhere mingling Treaties of accommodation with actions of Warre, both sides proceeded with equall slownesse, not concluding any agreement, and employing the armies onely in businesses of small importance.

And now affairs were brought almost to the point which the Queen before desired: for Monsieur *de Montpensier* with his Army, kept the Forces of the Hugonots at a bay in Xaintonge; the Prince *Daulphin* with another opposed their attempts in Daulphiné; and *d'Anville*, who, doubtfull in his mind, thought more to establish himself, then to make any new conquests, being held in hand with arts and promises, drew out the time, without making any more expresse Declaration. But the Prince of Condé, residing in Strasbourgh, one of the Hans Towns of Germany, was already resolved (following the steps of his Father) to make himself Head of his party; and therefore treated with the Protestant Princes about the raising of new forces, and by Messages solicited the Hugonots in France to unite and gather themselves together, and to assist him with some reasonable summe of money, whereby while the King was absent, hee might without delay enter with a powerful Army into Burgongne.

For this cause the Deputies of the Hugonot Provinces (then called them the *Reformed Churches*) being met together at Millaut, with the Agents of the Marshall *d'Anville*, (who though he fained the contrary, and entertained the Queen's

ent with words and promises, was yet secretly united to  
 em) they consulted as well about the means of procuring  
 money, as about the conditions upon which they should admit  
 the Prince unto that command ; Which the Queen no sooner  
 knew, but she presently dispatched fitting persons (whereof  
 she judiciously chose many, and with her liberality maintain-  
 ing a great number) who under colour of treating an agree-  
 ment, should by sowing doubts and discords, hinder and delay  
 the resolutions of that *meeting* ; nor did the Deputies agree ve-  
 ry well among themselves ; for though they all knew well e-  
 nough, that without the name of a Prince of the Blood, they  
 could, both within and without the Kingdome, want autho-  
 rity and reputation, and by consequence the strength of all  
 their forces ; yet were their opinions diverse concerning that  
 Prince : for many had yet set their eyes upon the Duke of An-  
 goulême ; many desired the King of Navar ; and some were  
 satisfied with the youth of the Prince of Condé, doubting  
 that his want of yeers and experience would be accompanied  
 with weaknesse and contempt. To this was joyned the ambi-  
 tiousnesse of *d'Anville*, who though his chiefeft aim was his  
 owne security, and the conservation of his Government of Lan-  
 gedoc, yet could he not altogether withdraw his thoughts  
 from pretending to the first place, which though he could not  
 obtain for himself, yet hee desired at least that he that had it,  
 should acknowledge it principally from him : nor could it  
 much please *la Nouë*, whose power with the Rochellers was  
 very great, to see a superiour chosen, whose eminence and re-  
 putation would much eclipse and diminish the authority of his  
 command. But neither the Q<sup>s</sup> policy, nor their own particular  
 divisions could restrain the generall ardor and inclination with  
 which most of them voluntarily concurred, to put themselves under  
 that Prince, whose Ancestors they were accustomed to obey, &  
 whose very name alone made deep impressions in the mindes of  
 the people, by reason of the so famous, & so much deplored me-  
 mory of his Father. Wherefore the Articles of agreement were set  
 down in the name of the Provinces (*d'Anville* & *la Nouë* assent-  
 ing to them of necessity, though secretly) whereby after their  
 counted pretences and protestations, the power and command of  
 that party was conferred upon the Prince of Condé, commit-  
 ting to his protection both the liberty of their consciences,  
 and the ordering of that War which was thought so necessary

The Prince of  
 Condé is made  
 Head of the  
 Hugonots.



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for their common safety. To these capitulations joyning convenient summe of mony, they appointed three Deputies to assist the Prince, both in the conduct and sudden expedition of the Germans, and to relate to him the state of their affairs and their common resolutions.

At this very time the Hugonots using all possible means to help themselves, printed an infinite number of little Pamphlets under divers titles, but all with biting stings, and fabulous narrations against the Actions and Government of the Queen Regent, to whom many of them being brought, and the Councell purposing to decree severe punishments against the Authors and Printers of those defamatory pamphlets, and seditious libels; she opposed that opinion, alledging, that to prohibit them, was a certain means to make them authentick and that there was no greater proof nor tryal of the good, than when they were hated, and abused by malicious people; and persevering in her resolution not to regard outward appearances, she dissembled all those injuries with admirable patience but when she saw the preparations for the coming of the Germans, being most resolute to oppose them with force, if policies were not sufficient, she went from Paris accompanied with the D. of Alençon and the King of Navar, who not yet set at liberty, followed her, but without constraint; and being come into Burgongne, shee her self mustered the Swisses and Germanes confirming the affections of the Commanders with liberal gifts, and many favours; and then marching with them towards the Provinces that were up in arms, which were the same where the Kings coming was expected, and through which the Army of the Protestants intended to enter the Kingdome, shee resolved to stay in Lions as a convenient place to move which way soever need required.

In the mean time, the King having had notice of the death of *Charles*, brought to him by Monsieur de Chemerant, within thirteen dayes, though the Nobility of the Kingdome of Poland, infinitely satisfied with his valour and comportment, did use all possible means to stay him there; yet hee not willing to forgoe his hereditary right to France, for the election of the Kingdome of Poland, there being so great a difference between them; and solicited by those urgent affairs which called him away, to remedy such violent dangers, departed secretly by night with a small retinue, and passing through A-

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tria with all possible speed, went forward toward his own Kingdome by the way of Italy. He was continually hastened by Letters and Messages from the Queen Regent, who with much adoe smothering the sparks of that fire, which was ready to break into a flame, infinitely desired her Sons presence, that shee might without further delay apply such remedies as were proper for the malignity of the disease: wherefore the King suspending no longer time then just what necessity required in the entertainments of the Princes of Italy, and particularly in the delights of Venice, where hee was received with wonderfull pomp and honour, about the end of August arrived at Thurin, where it was expected he would begin to prepare, and lay the ground-work of his designes.

The Mareshall *d' Anville*, upon security of the Duke of Savoy's word, came thither to him, as also *Philippe Hurant* Viscount of Chiverny his old Chancellour, *Gaspard* Count of Chombergh, *Bernard de Fizes*, and *Nicholas de Neuville* Sieur de Villeroy, both Secretaries of State, who all were sent from the Queen Regent, to give him an account of the affairs of his Kingdom. But the King having heard their relation, with the secret designes of his Mother, and on the other side the pretences and excuses of the Mareshall, though not onely *Roderic* Sieur de Bellegarde, & *Guy de Pibrac* his favoured Counsellours; but also the Duke of Savoy, and the Lady *Margaret* laboured all they could to bring him to some determination that might be favourable to *d' Anville*; yet nourishing high thoughts in the depth of his mind, and making his excuse that he would resolve nothing without the assistance and approbation of his Mother, to whose vigilance and prudence hee was so much obliged, he dismissed *d' Anville* with ambiguous answers, and hastened his journey so much the more, lest hee should be put upon a necessity of referring that to the determinations of others, which he purposed to reserve to the execution of his own premeditated designes; for the better compassing whereof, seeing he had so many busineses to settle in his own Kingdome, that for many decads of yeers it would be in vain to think of any enterprise on that side of the Mountains; and desiring absolutely to gain the Duke of Savoy and the Lady *Margaret*, that he might make use of them afterward in the effecting of his purposes, he resolved to restore unto them *Pignerol*, *Savillan*, and *la Vallée de Perouse*, which for security

Hen. the 3. returning out of Poland, stayes at Thurin, and restores certain places to the Duke of Savoy, kept by the Kings of France for security.



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of the intentions of those Princes, had been held by the King his predecessors; thinking it superfluous to keep places with vast expence, out of his owne Kingdome, which were of no other use but in consideration of those hopes, which as affairs then stood, were very far off, and unlikely. Yet many condemned that his precipitate restitution of them, and *Lodovic Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers Governor of those places, and a man of equall wisdom, and loyalty, after having used all possible endeavours that they might not be restored, layd open his opinion finally in writing, which he desired might be kept for his discharge, among the Records, and Charters of the Crown, whereat the King was offended, though he wisely dissembled it, thinking them vaine and ambitious, who would seeme to know more of his owne secrets then he himselfe.

The fifth day of September, he came into the confines of his owne Kingdome at Pont-Beau-voysin, where the Duke of Anjou, and the King of Navar expected him, who having till then (though with much gentleness) been kept as prisoners were with demonstrations of much honour and affection fully set at liberty by him at the first meeting; and to give the greater testimony of his good will toward them, he placed himselfe in the midst between them both, to receive his subjects which were come thither to the confines to shew their dutifull respects unto him. The next day he met the Queen his Mother, who was purposely come to a little castle near Lyons, and being entered together into the City, they began without further delay, to treat of businesses, concerning the peace, or warr which they were to make with their armed subjects.

The King knew very well not only the wavering trouble some estate of his Kingdome, but also the miserable condition to which he himselfe at that time was reduced; for the whole Kingdome being divided into two different factions, the one of the *Catholikes*, the other of the *Hugonots*, both which had their chiefe heads appointed and established long before hand and through the long reiterated distractions, not onely the Cities, and Provinces, but also all particular persons divided betweene them, he found that he was left (as we use to say) dry between two rivers, and that his power being shared and dismembred between those two great parties, he retaining nothing but the name of a King, was utterly deprived  
both

both of his forces, and due obedience; and moreover, that to avoid misery and contempt, he was necessitated to become factionious, and partiall; and mixing in the dissensions of his subjects, to make himself the authour of his own misfortunes, and necessary instrument to imbroyle and destroy his own Kingdome. For though the *Hugonots* and *Politicks* were called by the name of *Rebels*, as those who first had shaken off the yoke of their obedience to the King, and openly opposed him; and though the *Catholicks* fought under a colour of so specious and so necessary a cause as the defence and preservation of their Religion; yet for all that the malice of mankind had mingled with it the venome of private interests, and under that honourable pretence, the ambition of the Great ones had to the prejudice of their Kings, built up their own power, and established a kind of unsufferable authority.

The Guises, whilest in the reign of the late Kings they were the principall sway in the Government, had very fair opportunities to raise and confirm their own Greatnesse, by putting the commands of strong places, and the governments of Provinces into the hands of their own creatures, and neerest confidants; by placing their dependants in the Courts of justice, in the Kings Councell, in the chief honours of the Court, in the management of the *Finances*; and by drawing an infinite number of men to their own devotion, who were straitly engaged to them for many favours, gifts, riches and dignities obtained by their means; which things, whilest the minds of men were passionately inclined to that party, and taken with the specious mask of Religion, to many seemed tolerable, and to many very reasonable and just: But now they were taken notice of to be united in one body of a Faction, they appeared as a great engine erected to oppose, and upon any fit occasion to resist even the authority and pleasure of the King himself. But on the other side, the Hugonots had no lesse conveniency of establishing themselves, and strengthening their own power; by having by the ostentation of liberty, and by promising Offices and Authority, drawn unto themselves all the male-contented and turbulent spirits, who once entangled, could no more disengage themselves; and the Edicts of so many several pacifications, having still confirmed those Offices and Governments to those upon whom they had been conferred by the Princes and heads of the Faction; in proceesse of time, the

Provin-



Provinces were incumbered with them, places of strength possessed by them, many chief Offices of the Crown replenished with their adherents, and a great part of the Nobility, with many popular men, were united and interested with them through the whole Kingdom. Wherefore the late Kings, who by reason of the shortnesse of their reignes, had given great opportunity to the building up of those two powerfull factions, remaining utterly deprived of all the means and instruments of Government, were forced by necessity to become Champions of the passion, and promoters of the greatnesse of other men; so that being unable of themselves to execute any solid resolute designe, in stead of governing, they were governed; and in stead of bridling that violence, they themselves were carried away by the impetuous stream of those factions which indignities being seriously considered by the present King, full of high thoughts, and of a lively generous spirit, he made such an impression in him, that though hee used his utmost indeavours to dissemble and conceal it, he could not but with deep sighs often break forth into the words of *Le XI* (one of his predecessors), \* *That it was now high time to put Kings out of their Pageships*: meaning, that they having so long been subject to the lash and discipline of the Heads of those factions, it was then seasonable to shake off their empire and dominion. With these considerations having even in the time of his brothers reign begun to observe and deplore the weaknesse of the Kings, and insolence of the Subjects, and having made a greater reflection upon them in the thoughts of his late voyage, after the Crown was fallen into his hands, resolved with himself to use all possible force to shake from their neck the wretched dishonourable yoke of those Factions, and to make himself a free absolute King, as so many of his glorious Ancestors had been.

\* *Qu' il estoit temps de mettre les Roys hors de Page.*

But as this thought was certainly very necessary for one that desired to reign, and very just in the lawfull possessor of a Crown, so was it also infinitely hard and difficult to be put in execution. Hee wanted the sinews of the Treasury, already wasted and consumed; hee wanted the obedience of his Subjects, who were so obstinately interested in their severall Factions, that the majesty and veneration of a King was already become fabulous and contemptible: hee wanted faithful trusty Ministers; for every one by some strait tie or other was engaged

gaged to one of the parties; and the businesse of it self by  
 son of their so excelsive power, was a work of mighty art,  
 extraordinary care, infinite diligence; and for the perfecting  
 ereof propitious Fortune was no lesse requisite then great  
 gth of time. But notwithstanding all these so weighty ob-  
 cles, the Kings mind being so inwardly wounded, that hee  
 ld not take himself off from the perpetuall meditation of  
 t designe, and thinking no enterprize (how painfull or dif-  
 ult soever) impossible to his youth and valour, firmly de-  
 mined to apply all his most powerfull endeavours to com-  
 e that end, which hee was not onely perswaded to by pub-  
 k respects and his former considerations, but was also mo-  
 and incited thereunto by his own private passions and par-  
 lar inclinations; for having conceived an inveterate ha-  
 l against the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé, from  
 time that he was imployed against them, in that war where-  
 e he had been nourished and brought up from his very child-  
 od; he ardently desired to see the ruine of them, and of all  
 rest of their faction, from whom, by reason of former inju-  
 e, he beleevd hee could never have any reall nor faithfull  
 vice: and on the other side, calling to mind the offence re-  
 ed from the Duke of Guise in the person of his Sister the  
 ay *Margaret* then Queen of Navar (of whom it was repor-  
 t that he had obtained more then ordinary favours) hee had  
 orted all the love which hee formerly bare him into so  
 at a spleen, that (although he dissembled it) hee burned  
 in a most fervent desire of revenge; and for her sake could  
 endure any interest, dependance, or allyance of blood  
 in the house of Guise; so that publick causes concurring  
 in private enmities, hee so much the more easily resolved to  
 elroy both those so potent Factions.

*Hen. the 3. ill  
 aff. & ed to the  
 King of Navar  
 and Prince of  
 Condé Heads  
 of the Hugo-  
 nots, as also to  
 the Duke of  
 Guise head of  
 the Catholicks:*

But in contriving proper means to attain that end, the first  
 o be met withall was this, Whether the establishment of  
 eace or continuance of War were more profitable for the ad-  
 cement of this designe; and though partly to discover  
 er inclinations, partly to draw from them some considera-  
 ons agreeing with his own intents, hee heard the opinions  
 f his Councillours in that point; some exhorting him to im-  
 ree peace, and others encouraging the prosecution of the  
 Vr; yet he concluded with himself, that War continually  
 orishing and increasing the force and power of the Factions,

was



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was disadvantageous for his present purpose ; and that peace which would lull asleep turbulent spirits, and with the benefit of time quiet the passions and animosities of both parties was much more helpfull and proper to the effecting of his desires. For whilst the war continued, new abettors and adherents were daily added to the Factions, new places fortified which were in the power of the Heads of those parties, new garrisons brought in, and youth was bred up in the profession of arms, and in the obstinacy of civill dissensions : whereas in peace, the feuds and enmities between particular men would be extinguished, the course of the Factions stopped, the fortifications already made (as the custome is) would be demolished, the number of those, who (wanting other means of living) maintained themselves by war, would be dissipated, the remembrance of past hatreds buried, and the old engaged Leaders (so accustomed to discord) dropping away, young men free from passion, and bred in peacefull thoughts, would spring up in their places. To these reasons was also added this other important respect, that it being necessary for the execution of so great a designe, to furnish the Treasury with some store of moneys for the foundation of his own power and the sufficient maintenance of a Greatnesse, and more proper for a King ; this could not be put in practice but to the benefit of peace, since War did continually destroy and consume the publick stock, wasting that in a few months which with much labour was a whole yeer a gathering from the people. Besides this, that old consideration wrought also which had ever produced the conclusion of peace ; for the Prince of Condé being ready to come out of Germany with a great forraign Army to the evident danger of France, it seemed much more to the purpose to divert that tempest by an agreement, then by resisting it with force in that weak beginning of his reign to put the state of his Kingdome in so manifest hazard. These reasons which perchance by the desire of rest, and of the delights of the Court (to which hee was very much inclined) were made to appear more valid and powerfull, persuaded him to imbrace an accommodation ; yet because the occasions of the War were so just and reasonable, and because the Hugonots on their part provoked him daily with new injuries, in so much as *Mombrun* coming from the mountain of *Daulphiné*, had plundered his own carriages as they passed

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from Savoy to Lyons; and on the other side, because the Catholick Princes unanimously exhorted him not to forsake that path of constancy and valour which in former times he had so gloriously trodden, for the suppression and extirpation of heresy; he feared his designs would easily be discovered, if it were observed that he a young warlike Prince should refuse to show himself against the Rebellious, and not care to punish the insolence and contumacy of his own Subjects: for having no cause to think that his former actions could argue him guilty of either baseness of minde, or weakness of understanding, they would rather believe he had directed his aim at some further and more important ends, which he thought it would be impossible for him to compass, when once they were laid open by more then probable conjectures: Wherefore resolving to make use of the continued ordinary means of dissimulation which by nature and custome hee was very well versed in, hee determined in himself to continue the War, but with such cold faint proceedings as should not alter the state of affairs; and in the mean time by convenient opportunities dextrously and dissemblingly to bring in peace, upon the ground whereof he would after go on to neerer and to more effectual means; for feigning sometimes to be taken up with exercises of devotion, sometimes with pleasing delightfull entertainments, he thought by a shew of negligence and carelesnesse in him to delude the wisdom of the most politick observers, as in nourishing onely soft effeminate thoughts, he had wholly given himself over to ease and devotion.

With those arts he thought he might easily lull the vigilancy of the faction, and afterward have both time and opportunity, as occasion served, to build up his designs. He purposed to cherish, and exalt in Court quick-witted and crafty-natured men, to whom he might securely commit the administration of the government; in time he intended to draw into the hands of his creatures, and confidants, not so much the name and title as the substance and essence, both of the greatest Civill and Military offices; he hoped with those opportunities which time uses to afford, by degrees to take away the greatness and reputation of powerfull factious men, either by depriving them of their places, diminishing their adherents, lessening their credit, or finally by cutting them off; by which meanes prudently managed he promised himselfe, (though with some



length of time) that he should ruine and pull downe by little and little, those powers which had been built up, and now appeared so eminent, and terrible; which things wisely disposed, and discreetly contrived, might perhaps in the end have succeeded happily, if the King in proceſſe of time, had not suffered himself to be transported by his owne nature, and inclinations.

Now being upon these considerations, resolved to continue the name, but to slacken the effects of war, he recall'd the Prince Dauphin from the command of the army, who with an ardor equall to his courage, and a sincerity equall to his nature, had done his businesse so handsomly, that having taken, and sacked Pauſin a place of very great consequence, and overrun all the Province of Vivarez, he had filled the *Hugonots* with infinite terror, which progresse being contrary to the Kings intention, having sent for him from the army, under colour of being present at his consecration, he committed the charge thereof unto *Roger Sienr de Bellegarde* newly created Mareſhall, who was not only an interested friend to d' *Anville*, with whom chiefly he was to make warr in that Province, but one esteemed by the King so faithfull to him, that he was confident he might dispose of him at his own pleasure; and because the Duke of Montpensier on the other side having razed Luſignan, taken Fontenay, and other adjacent Towns, pressed the *Hugonots* so home that they were already as it were shut up in Rochell, he commanded away some of his forces, pretending that they were more necessary in Campagne, to hinder the entrance of that forraine army, which under the Prince of Condé, was not far distant from the borders of the Kingdom; and because *Henry* Duke of Guise the principall head of the *Catholike* party, Governor of Campagne, had the command of the forces of that Province, he made *Armand Sienr de Biron* his Lieutenant who no lesse famous for wisdom, then valour, had already shewed himselfe very favourable to the *Hugonots*.

Matters of warr being settled, and ballanced in this manner, the King began to think of marriage; for the hopes of the family depending upon him, and the Duke of Alençon, both without children, it was necessary to provide for the succession of the Kingdome. Before he went into Poland he was not a little taken with *Louyse* the daughter of *Nicolas* Count of Vaudemont, and Niece to the Duke of Loraine, being besides the beauty

beauty of her person, infinitely pleased with the modesty of her disposition, and discreet behaviour; but the feare of augmenting the greatnesse of the house of Loraine, and of bringing the Cardinall into the management of affairs, whose genius was wont to rule the wills, and sway the affections of his predecessors, did much dissuade him from that thought, and recalling to minde the late occurrences, under the reignes of *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth, and the great pretensions, and authority of the Cardinal, he could not binde his mind, to suffer by that meanes, a new increase of that power, the abatement whereof he had with so much labour, and so long patience propounded to himselfe. For which considerations turning his thoughts another way, he purposed to demand *Elizabeth* sister to *John* King of Sweden, a Princessse for her wit, and beauty not inferiour to any; and Secretary *Pinart* was presently sent to treat about the match. But in the meantime while the King stayed at Avignon, the Cardinal of Loraine (whose power and wisdom he so much feared) chanceing to dye of a burning feaver, he suddenly changed his determination, recalling *Pinart* from his treaty, and being swayed by affection, which in all, but especially in great minds, prevailes above all other respects, he tooke to wife *Louyse de Audemont*, who in the beginning of the next yeare was brought to Rheimes by the Duke, and Dutchesse of Loraine.

The King demands the Sister of the King of Sweden to wife.

The death of the Cardinal of Loraine

The Kings third consideration, was how to settle his brother the Duke of Alançon, who of a seditious Spirit, and a tickle, turbulent nature, was not likely to be more quiet in the raigne of the present King, whom he already hated, and envied, then he had been in the late raigne of *Charles*, who had not given him such causes of hatred, and emulation. Two propositions came into his mind for that purpose; one was to procure *Elizabeth* Queen of England in marriage for him, but that had been often treated of and alwayes waved, by his resolution not to marry: the other to resigne the Crown of Poland to him, but that could not be done, but by the consent, and election of that people, the which (they beleiving themselves injured and deprived by the King, in his so secret departure from them) was very hard to be obtained. But not being to be discouraged by difficulty, from making triall what might be done, he chose two Ambassadors to treat about the



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businessse, Guy Sieur de *Pibrac* a man of great learning, and experience, one of his intimate Counsellors, and *Roger* Sieur de *Bellegarde* substituting in the command of the Army, *Alberto Gondi* Count of *Retz*, who because he was an Italian, brought up, and rayfed by King *Charles*, and the Queen Mother, was infinitely trusted by him, and made pertaker of many of his most hidden secret intentions.

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The King is consecrated at Reimes by *Lewis* Cardinal of *Lorraine*, brother to the Duke of *Guise*, and next day married *Loyse de Waudemont* Neece to the Duke of *Lorraine*.

With these designes, but with a shew of feasts, and triumphs began the yeare 1575. for the King being departed from *Avignon*, to be consecrated with the accustomed ceremonyes, was come to *Rheimes*, where the holy oyle is kept in a vial (commonly called the *S<sup>re</sup> Ampoule*) destined by ancient veneration, for the anoynting of the Kings of France. The ceremonyes were performed with Solemne State, by *Lewis* Cardinal of *Lorraine* the Duke of *Guises* brother; and the next day after the King married the *Princesse Louyse*, all the sadnesse of former troubles, dissolving it selfe into delightfull thoughts, dances, tournaments, and all manner of pompe, and jollity: then having visited the Church of *S. Maclou*, where the Kings with a fast of nine dayes, and other pennances, use to receive that famous gift of healing the Kings Evill with nothing but a touch, the King in the end of March came into the City of *Paris*.

In the beginning of April, the Deputies of the Prince of *Condé*, the *Marshald' Anville*, and of the associated Provinces, were come thither by his permission, to treat of peace; to whom were joyned the Ambassadors of the Queen of England, and of the Cantons of *Swisserland*, to exhort and perswade the King, to grant those conditions to the *Hugonots* which they thought necessary for their security; but their demands were so exorbitant, though the King were of himself inclined to imbrace peace, yet could he not bend his mind to hearken to them, and the *Catholike* party with bitter murmurings spoke openly against the insolence, and impertinence of their propositions: wherefore after a long ambiguous negotiation, the Deputies tooke leave, returning to relate the Kings pleasure, to those that sent them; and left *Arenes* one of their number at the Court, to keep the businessse in agitation, and not utterly to cut off the treaty of peace, which was so much desired on both sides.

About this time (though in were contrary to the Kings intent

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the warr was not at all lesse active, then it was before; for his mindes being inflamed of themselves, by the fire of each one, much bloud was dayly spilt in severall encounters; and happened, that *Mombrun* grown proud by the successe of many victoryes, thinking to have his wonted fortune, in a sudden disorderly charge, which he gave the forces of *Monfieur Gordes* the Kings Lieutenant in *Dauphiné*, was not only repelled, but also so straightened, between a River, and a hill, by multitude of the *Catholikes*, that all his men being defeated and scattered, he was first wounded, and after taken prisoner, so being brought to *Grenoble*, he was by publike decree of Parliament condemned to death, and the sentence executed without delay: he not onely bearing the punishment of those private troubles, which he had brought upon that Province, but also of his boldnesse in daring to plunder the Kings Carriages, and servants. From this battaile wherein *Mombrun* was defeated, escaped *Francis de Bonne* Sieur de *Lefdi-*ers, a man of great wisdom, and no lesse boldnesse and activity, who in proceffe of time, being made head of the *Hugonot* faction in *Daulphiné*, advanced himselfe by his prudence, and courage so farr above his own private condition, that in the end he came with incredible reputation, to be made High Constable of the Kingdom.

*Mombrun* who had taken the Kings carriages is taken himselfe and executed.

*Francis Bonne* made head of the *Hugonots*, and after high Constable of the Kingdom.

Nor was the state of affaires any quieter in the other provinces; for the Mareschall d' *Anville* having called a meeting at *Orléans*, and another afterward at *Montpellier*, had declared himselfe head of the *Politicks*, and joyning in confederacy with the *Hugonots*, had openly attempted those places, which held of the Kings party; In the Province of *Perigord* *Jerry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*, had caused many places to revolt unto the *Hugonots*, in *Normandy* the Rebels had taken the Mount *S. Michell*, though within a few dayes after, it was recovered by the care, and valour of *Matignon*; and in all those Provinces, there happened dayly little, but frequent encounters, which though they altered not the condition of businesse in the maine, yet did they nourish discord in mens minds, and augment the power of the faction; which reasons confirming the King so much the more in his resolution of procuring a peace, he sent *Monfieur de la Hunnaude* a man of much popular eloquence, to treat with the *Novë* and *Rochellers*, to try if by any means they might be removed from



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Henry the 3.  
frames a new  
modell of Go-  
vernment.

The manner  
observed at  
Court in the  
granting of  
Petitions.

from those high conditions they demanded ; and still continued the negotiation of agreement with the Agents of the Prince of Condé and Monsieur d'Anville : He also very politickly gave a beginning to those arts which were already contrived, and shewed openly that his minde was averse from the troubles of businesse and the toyles of war ; and on the other side, much addicted to a devout solitary life, entertaining himself with softer pleasures, and more gentle quiet conversations : but in the mean time he ceased not to consult privately, and as much as he could to draw forward his designe ; which that it might be kept the more secret, he continued his custom of not propounding his most weighty affairs in the open Council of State, but to treat of them onely in the Cabinet-Council, which was begun in his Brothers time, and by him reduced to a very small number, which were the Queen his Mother, *Renato di Birago* an Italian, High Chancellor, *Alberto Gonzaga* Count of Retz, *Philip Hurault* Viscount of Chiverny, *Pompey* Sieur de Bellieure, *Sebastian de l'Aubespine* Bishop of Limoges, *René* Sieur de Villeguier, and the two Secretaries, *Pinart* and *Villeroy*. To these not communicating the whole secret, he onely those things which were presently to be done, he revealed as he saw occasion, and dayly drew persons of wit and honour to the Court, but such as taken from moderate fortune, ought to acknowledge their advancement onely from his hand. And to bring the disposing of the publick monies, and the giving of all grants into his own power, that so no man might be obliged to him alone, and the dependants be taken away from the Heads and Princes of the Factions ; seeming to find fault with the ill ordering of those two most principall things in his Brothers time, he decreed that the Treasurers not giving other account to the *Chamber* appointed for that purpose, nor to the Superintendent of the *Finances*, might make up their accounts and reckonings with nothing but acquittances signed with his hand ; by which means disposing of monies according to his own pleasure, he caused it secretly to be conveyed where he thought most convenient, without making any body acquainted with it but himself. In the businesse of grants and favours, hee commanded that no one should intercede or beg for another, but that every one should present their own Petitions, which being once signed with his hand, the Secretaries of State were presently to dispatch them without delay,

rely

ly or contradiction; for during the reigns of the late Kings, Princes and great men of the Kingdom, and the Favourites the Court were wont to present Petitions for private men, purring their requests by their authority, and the Petitions were sent to the Secretaries of State and the High Chancellor, who, if they found any thing in them contrary to Law, or the Institutions of the Kingdome, rejected and refused them without further consultation; but if they were such things as might be granted without inconveniency, they registred them in a Roll orderly head by head, which Roll was alwayes read in so many dayes before the King and his Councell, and every request being maturely weighed, those that were granted were signed by the Kings hand, and those that were denied were crossed out of the Roll, and that being copied fair was called the Counter-roll; which was no sooner done, but the High Chancellor sealed it, and then the Secretaries dispatched them presently. But *Henry* desirous to deprive the great ones of that means of gaining adherents and dependents, resolved to alter that course, and therefore ordained that private persons should bring their Petitions immediately to himself, which he did at convenient times, signed those which he was pleased to grant, and would have the Secretaries of State without further debate or exceptions instantly to prepare the warrants; such new custome, though it seemed strange to the great ones of the Kingdome, and gave occasion of distaste to many, yet brought it the grant of all Gifts, Pardons, and Offices to the Kings absolute disposing, taking away by little and little the followers that flocked after the Heads of the Factions, reducing all Petitioners to acknowledge their obligations particularly to himself.

On this manner did *Henry* go politickly advancing his designs; but as all things which must be effected with length of time, receive diverse alterations, according to the variety of worldly accidents, there happened a thing, which for a season checked and interrupted the Kings purposes. The Duke of Alençon had till then been kept in hand by the hopes of attaining the Kingdom of Poland: for though Monsieur *de Bellegarde* dissuaded at many things, and seeing himself lessened in the Kings favour, was retired into the Marquesate of Saluzzo, whereof he was Governor, and had refused to treat concerning the Election, yet Monsieur *de Pibrac*, a man of perfect abilities,



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The Duke of  
Alañcon ex-  
cluded from the  
Crown of Po-  
land, and Ste-  
phano Batori  
a Hungarian e-  
lected to suc-  
ceed Henry the  
Third.

lities, went thither, and for a time hoped to bring it to an happy conclusion. But when he once saw that expectation vanished, (for the Nobility and Commons of Poland being much displeased with the Family of France, had elected *Stephano Batori* an Hungarian of great fame, and remarkable valour) not being able to live under his Brother, and expect the change of his fortune from his will and pleasure, he fell upon a new designe of building up his own greatnesse by himself; and finding he was repulled in his pretending to the Office of Lieutenant Generall, and that, to sowe discord between him and his friends, it was sometimes given out that the Duke of Lorraine, sometimes that the King of Navar should have it, he thought that making himself Head of the Hugonots and Catholick Male-contents, as were the House of *Moinorancy*, and the *Mareschal de Bellegarde*, either he should obtain a very absolute power among them, or else constrain the King to grant him that by force, which he despaired to obtain by his good will. Having given some little hint of these his vast thoughts to *Madam de Sauve* (of whom he was passionately enamoured, but not answered with a reciprocall affection) and she having in part signified her suspicions unto the Queen-Mother, his discontents encreased very much by the bitter words and kind looks which he received daily; wherefore being by disdain and anger brought unto a violent resolution, he determined rashly to absent himself from Court, and to make himself the Head of those, who had often wooed and persuaded him to it. This resolution (he being a man of mean capacity, and more ready to undertake, then able to manage so great an enterprise) was put in execution so unseasonably, and with so little appearance of reason as made many doubt that it was a plot agreed upon by the King his Brother, and the Queen his Mother, that hee should faine himself discontented, and alienated from them, to deceive the Hugonots, and under colour of friendship and assistance, to open a way to the oppression and destruction of those that were up in arms. But it is most certain (and I have heard it affirmed by a person who having had principall Offices in the Government, was partaker of the most hidden secrets which were then in agitation) that this action of the Duke of Alañcon was so far from being contrived by the King and Queen-Mother, that on the contrary, it was so terrible and so unpleasing to them, that being

were astonished with the blow, they neglected no possible means, nor thought scorn of any indignity how great soever it were, so they might but withdraw him from the party of those furious men, and restore him to his former neernesse and obedience.

Now the Duke of Alançon having to some of his most familiar confidants secretly communicated his intention of leaving the Court on the fifteenth day of September this present year, went into the Faux-burg of *S' Marceau*, under pretence of visiting a certain Lady which he loved and enjoyed, and entering the house where she dwelt about the shutting in of the day, while his Gentlemen expected him on the street side, he went forth at a private back gate which led into the fields, and being come where he was expected by those that were privie to his purpose, he presently got on horse-back, and with a small train, but very great speed, riding all night, arrived at the city of Dreux, a place that was under his command, and there published a Declaration next day, wherein he shewed that the causes of his departure were the unworthy dealings that had been used towards him and other great Lords of the Kingdome, who were kept in prison without any fault or desert, and the imminent ruine which he foresaw did hang over the common safety by reason of the Kings evill Counsellors; exhorting all France to joyne with him to make a Generall Assembly of the States, and by means thereof remedy the unjust burthens of many, moderate the heavie taxes laid upon the people, regulate the abuses of justice, establish the liberty of conscience so often by publick solemn decrees promised to those of the Reformed Religion, and restore peace and happinesse to all sorts of men in the Kingdom: for which things (but without offence to the Kings Majesty) he protested to spend the last drop of his blood, as he was necessarily obliged to doe by his affection to his Country, and love to all good men. By which Declaration divulged particularly in those Provinces and places most abounding with the Hugonots, it was plainly to be seen, that he aspired to the command of that party, which by the authority of so great a Prince, and the number of his followers, which were many, was like to be very much augmented in strength and reputation.

But the King hearing of his Brothers departure, that very night dispatched *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers with some

The Duke of Alançon his flight and Declaration,



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certain Horse, to try if by any means possible they could take him; which not succeeding by reason of the great speed the Duke of Alençon made, and the advantage of so many hours he being unresolved in his own thoughts, called his Cabine Councell together (on the 16 of September at night) and began to treat of those remedies which were to be used against so sudden and so unexpected an accident: in which consultation the Queens opinion concurring with the Kings inclination, and with the advice of the major part of the Board, the conclusion was, That not regarding any conditions howsoever, they should try by all possible endeavours to withdraw the Duke of Alençon from his new begun designe, and separate him from the commerce of those turbulent people; to which end, though the King (being a cruell enemy to the Heads of the Factions) bare an ill will to the Marshalls *Coffe* and *Momorancy*, who were still kept prisoners in the Bastile; yet to appease and satisfie his Brother, by whose occasion they were fallen into that rebellion, and to take away the fuell from that fire, they were both set at liberty in that very conjuncture of time; the Queen intending to make the instruments of reconciliation with her Son, to whom she resolved to goe in person, not believing that any could be so powerfull and prevalent to perswade him as the authority and flatteries of a Mother, accompanied with those Arts which shee was wont in all occasions to use with marvellous dexterity.

The Marshalls  
of *Momorancy*  
and *Coffe* set at  
liberty.

The Duke of Alençon was come into Poictou, where he was presently met by Monsieur *de la Nouë*, Gilbert Sieur de Vantadour, a Lord of principall note in Limosin, and the Viscount of Turenne, both allyed to the Marshall *d'Anville*, and all the Hugonot Towns sent to honour and acknowledge him by messages full of duty and respect.

The Prince of  
Condé comes  
with a great  
Army out of  
Germany.

Nor did the Prince of Condé (who being joyned with Prince *Casimir* upon the confines of Germany, had drawn together a mighty Army) shew himself lesse ready or desirous to obey him then the rest; for knowing his ambitious nature, and how much credit and reputation he gained by the name of the Kings Brother, he thought it was to no purpose to contend with him for the first place, being confident, that though hee carried the name of the supreme power, yet the real authority of command would neverthelesse still remain in him,

at

as well by reason of the ancient assurance he had of the Hugonot Faction, as because that forraign Army was paid and raised by his own industry; so that in his imployment he acknowledged no other Superiour, but onely his authority under whose conduct and direction he first took up arms: Wherefore, preventing the motions, and in a manner the very desires of the Duke of Alançon, he declared him Captain-Generall of his party, and seemed to content himself with the title of his Lieutenant in the command of the forraign Army; which drawing neer to enter into France with 14000 Swisse and German Foot, three thousand French Firelocks, and seven or eight thousand Horse, and fearing too long a delay by reason of the greatnesse of his Army, and the tedious difficulty of the way, he resolved to send *Guilliaume de Momorancy* Lord of *Thoré* before with 2000 German Horse, two hundred Gentlemen, and two thousand Foot of severall Nations, thorow Champagne (which is the neereft way) to joyn with the Duke of Alançon; who he thought stood in need of present assistance. *Thoré* entring the Kingdome neer Langres in Burgogne, and thence by the shortest way crossing over Champagne, hastened by the swiftnesse of his march to avoid the opposition of the Catholicks, and passing the river Marne, to get as soon as hee could into security: but being overtaken by the Duke of Guise, who with his Brother *Charles* Duke of Mayenne, *Armand* Sieur de Byron, the Count of Retz, and fresh powerfull Army followed to intercept his passage; either the temerity of his Souldiers (as he said afterwards) or his own desire to fight perswaded him to stay neer Dormans, and alter the thoughts of hastening his voyage into a designe of encountering the Enemy. Their Forces wanted much of equality, though both their courages were ardent and resolute; for the Duke of Guise had above a thousand Lanciers, two thousand other Horse, and ten thousand good French Foot, and the Souldiers of *Thoré* weary and tyred with the length of their march, were not neer so great a number: yet he that under favour of the woods might have gotten to the river which was hard by, and have passed it at a foord called *du Verger*, facing couragiously about, fell to skirmish with the first Catholick Troops led by Monsieur *Fervaques* Marshall of the Field, the Rhyne-grave, and Monsieur de Byron; but when he found the skirmish succeed prosperously, ordering his men

The Prince of Condé declares the Duke of Alançon Generall of the Hugonots.



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onely in two divisions, whereof one was led by the Count *la Val*, and the other commanded by himself, he began fiercely to give the on-set, and though the place in respect of the open field, was very advantagious to the greater number, the issue was uncertain for many hours, till the Duke of Mayenne with the Van of the Cavalry, and the Duke of Guise with those Gentlemen that accompanied him in the Battell, charged into the body of the German Horse, who having nothing but Pistols against the violence and fury of the Lances, being routed and trodden under foot, lost their lives desperately in the place. In this encounter all the Germans were utterly defeated, and by order from the Commanders cut in pieces without mercy, except onely one Cornet of the Reiters, who being placed in the Rear, and seeing the slaughter of the rest, yeelded himself to their discretion, and was spared rather by the wearinesse then pity of the Conquerors. Colonel *Stine* the chief Commander of the Germans was slain, with many Gentlemen of quality, *Clerwant* a famous Leader of the Hugonots taken, and *Thoré* passing the River with a few Horse saved himself by flight. Nor was this Victory gotten by the Catholicks without blood; for besides the losse of an hundred and fifty of their best Souldiers, the Duke of Guise, whilest valantly following the execution he pursued the fugitives, who fought as they ran away, was himself shot in the left cheek, the skar whereof served afterward for a memorable mark to win him the love of all those who being affectionate to the Catholick Religion, honoured the signes of that bloud which had been spilt; and of that danger which had been undergone fighting in person for the service of the Church of God.

The Duke of  
Guise is shot  
in the face.

Monfieur *de Feruaques* carried the news of this Victory to the Court, who departing before the Duke of Guise was wounded, made a lame imperfect narration of the businesse, yet much to his own advantage; but *Pelicart* the Duke of Guise's Secretary arriving a few hours after, who brought word of his Lords being hurt, and many other particulars of that Action, *Feruaques* was not onely slighted by the King, but laughed at by the whole Court, thinking that he with a false story of the Encounter would have attributed the honour of the day unto himself, which was due to the worth of those who had purchased it with their bloud: whereupon he conceived himself to be very hardly used, considering the valour that really he had shewed

wed against the Enemy; with whom he had fought gallant, first of all: and therefore hee was excited by his naturall constancy to make one in the managing of a new designe, which not many dayes after caused a great disturbance in the Court.

In the meane time the Queen mother, attended by the Marshalls of *Coffè*, and *Momorancy*, arrived at Campagny in Picardie, to meet with the Duke of Alançon, who was so puffed up with the present ambition of commanding so many, and with the near assistance of the forreign army already came to the confines of Burgongne, that she not being able to agree with him concerning articles of peace, at last procured a cessation of armes, about the end of November, which was to continue for six monthes, in which time she not only hoped that the German Army would waist away; but also that the Duke himselfe being of a fickle unconstant humour, might be drawn to a more reasonable, and more secure peace; the conditions of the truce were, That the King should pay 160000 ducats, to the Prince of Condé and the Germans, provided they passed not the Rhyne; nor entred into the confines of France, nor the Cities of Angoulesme, Saumur, Nyort, Bourges, La Charité and Meziere, should be assigned unto the Hugonots, for their security, which should presently be restored as soone as the truce was expired, if the peace were not concluded in the meane time; that the King should give the Duke of Alançon where withall to maintaine an hundred gentlemen, an hundred *Gens d'Armes*, an hundred firelockes, and Fifty Swisses for the guard of his own person; that the deputies of the associated Provinces, and of the Politick and Princes, should come to Paris in the middest of the month of January next ensuing, to treat about conditions of peace, and in the mean time all acts of Hostility should be forbidden through the whole Kingdome. Which Truce being published about the twentyeth of December, the conditions thereof were not so punctually observed: for Monsieur de *Effec* Governour of Angoulesme, and Monsieur de *Montigny* Governour of Bourges, refused to resigne those places to the Duke of Alançon, pretending in excuse that they thought they could not be secure in any other places, by reason of the blood they had drawn upon themselves in the service of the King, and of their Religion; but the Queen (with whose consent

A cessation of  
Armes for six  
monethes.



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consent it was doubted those Governors had made resistance in lieu of those two Cities gave them S. Jchan d' Angely, and Cognac, places of much lesse importance; and on the other side the Prince of Condé, and the Germans fearing the same thing which the Kings party hoped, would not consent to forbear entering into the Kingdom; Knowing that if their arms should lie still in Idleness, it would certainly consume, and destroy it selfe.

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Hereupon the Queen-mother leaving the Duke of Montpensier, and the Mareſchall of *Momorancy* with her son, that they might entertain him with thoughts of peace, returned speedily to Paris, to be present at the treaty with the Deputies, which was begun in the moneth of January 1576 with assured hopes of bringing it to a happy conclusion; for the King by his own inclination already affecting peace, and the Cabinet Councill to deprive the Rebels of the person of the Duke of Alençon, and free themselves from the imminent danger of a forraigne army, were content that very large conditions should be granted; which afterward either by an assembly of the States, or by some other meanes they were resolved not to observe; which negotiations while they were prolonged by the many pretensions of the Malecontents, beheld a new accident interposed it self, before the accommodation was concluded; for the King of Navar being already 22 years of age, of himselfe full of sprightly thoughts, and spurred on by so frequent examples, and by the emulation of other Princes his equals; not enduring to be ill looked on, and almost despised at the Court, whilst the Duke of Alençon, a vain indiscreet man, and the Prince of Condé his inferiour both in yeares, and honour, arrogated to themselves the cheife command of that party, which he was wont to rule; and his spirit not suffering any longer to beare the humors of the Queen his wife, which while he stayed at Court he was forced to dissemble; either drawn by some supernaturall hidden cause, or set forward by his own inclination to a beginning of eminent successe, tooke a resolution to leave the Court, and retiring himselfe to his Government of Guienne, to try if he could draw that power to himself, which he saw was going to be settled upon the other discontented Princes.

The difficulty was to put this thought in execution, some was not only carefully watched by his guards, who under shew of

doing him honor were his diligent kepeers, but even the neer-  
attendants upon his own person, depended wholly upon  
the King and Queen-mother, who mixing hopes with feares,  
held him gently in hand with continued ambiguous promises,  
to hold him in an opinion that they would trust him with the  
charge of Lieutenant Generall, which they had refused to ven-  
re upon the unsetlednesse of the Duke of Alançon; but he  
being secretly advertised by *Daielle* a Provençal Gentlewoman,  
one of the Queenes maids, whom he privately enjoyed, and  
*Madame de Carnavelet*, with whom he had a very neer fa-  
miliary, that those were but arts to keep his hopes fastened  
at the Court, he tooke a resolution to try his fortune, know-  
ing that he should be assisted and followed by *d' Aubigny*, and  
*de Magnac*, the one Gentleman, the other groome of his bed-  
chamber, the only men that remained with him of his old fa-  
mily. But this not being sufficient for the well effecting of  
his designe, (embracing the opportunity which occasion offer-  
ed) he communicated his intents to *Guiliaume* *Sieur de Farva-*  
*des*, with whom by a certaine Sympathy of extraordinary  
spirit, he had contracted a familiar friendship; who highly  
sensible at the present affaires, the unquietnesse of his mind  
being accompanied with great Subtilty, and no lesse courage,  
approved the resolution, and warily contrived both the time,  
and manner of their escape, for which purpose being gone out  
of the City upon the thirtyeth of February with a few Gentle-  
men and servants, under colour of hunting the stagge, which  
the King of Navar was wont much to delight in, and having  
deceived his guards by many severall wayes, they passed the ri-  
ver with all possible speed below Poissy, and thence changing  
their voyage, in stead of continuing toward the west, they  
turned presently toward the south, and avoyding the great  
high wayes, arrived at Alançon, without the least stop or delay;  
where staying no longer then was necessary to refresh them-  
selves, they suddenly passed the river Loyre by the bridge of  
*Sumur*, and preventing fame by their so speedy journey, came  
before they were looked for into Guienne, where the King of  
Navar taking the opportunity of his so unexpected arrivall,  
(because they knew not yet whether he was come as a friend,  
or as an enemy to the King) with an incredible diligence,  
which gave them who were unprepared no time to arm or cer-  
tific themselves, still making use of his Authority as Gover-  
nour

The King of  
Navar displea-  
sed for many  
causes, flies  
from the Court  
and proceeds  
against the Ca-  
tholicks.



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nour for the King; and with that authority mingling force he began to make himself Master of the chiefeſt places, calling in and reducing all thoſe who for the memory of his Father, and his own late command, were willing to follow and depend upon him.

Although this ſudden turn did at firſt diſturb the mind of the King and Queen-Mother, who while they laboured to remedy diſorders, ſaw daily new unexpected troubles to ariſe yet as ſoon as their thoughts were quietly ſetled, they began to finde both advantage and ſatisfaction by it, hoping that the multiplicity of Heads would bring forth diſcord and emulation; whereby the power of the Male-contentſ would be weakened, and being divided into many parts, every one of which would be ſeverally governed by particular intereſt would in the end be unable to maintain it ſelf: with the hopes they ſhewed ſo open a joy at the departure of the King of Navar, either for that conſideration, or becauſe they would not ſeem dejected at ſo great an oppoſition of Fortune, that many believed the King of Navar was perſwaded to that reſolution by *Monſieur de Ferwaques*, rather by the advice and conſent of the Queen, then out of any faithfull care of his advancement; which was the more credibly believed by many who knew not the truth of the buſineſſe, when they ſaw that *Ferwaques* within a little while after forſaking that party, returned again unto the Kings obedience. But I have ſince heard *Monſieur de Ferwaques* himſelf affirm, that the occaſion of this ſo ſudden change, was becauſe he ſaw the King of Navar (not whom (as one that had run the ſame fortune) he hoped for the firſt place) was faine to let himſelf be governed by thoſe of more ancient authority in that Faction, and many were preferred before him, that were not onely leſſe affectionate to his affairs, but of leſſe ability and meaner condition.

But it is certain that this revolt of the King of Navar produced an effect not much unlike that which the King and Queen hoped; for though at firſt it was probable, that it would give a great addition of power unto the Hugonot faction, to which he had joyned himſelf with open Declarations, acknowledging that his converſion to the Catholick Religion ſeveral years before, had been conſtrained and forced by the imminent terrour of a cruell death; yet it was the occaſion that the Duke of Alençon, being as it were eclipsed by the luſtre of the Prince of

The King of Navar publiſheth that he was forced to turn Catholick.

Condé and King of Navar, who by reason of the ancient confidence had of them, were in greater esteem and reputation, did the more easily condescend to a conclusion of Peace, knowing that the true essentiall authority would be in them, and in him onely the title and appearance; for the King of Navar having with much ease assumed the command of Guienne, and the protection of the Rochellers; and on the other side, the Prince of Condé commanding the forraign Army, the Duke of Alençon had no power but what they pleased to conferre upon him, who making shew to honour him very much for his title of the Kings Brother, in all other things reserved to themselves as well the priviledge of resolving, as the authority of executing, he having nothing left him but the weak dependence of some few Male-contents.

About this time the German army marched toward Burgogne, against which (the Duke of Guise not being yet cured the wound he had received on his face) Charles Duke of Mayenne advanced with the Kings Forces, which being much feriour to the strength of the Enemy, he still encamped in the Quarters neer the Suburbs of those Cities where he passed, endeavouring to cut off passages, and spoil the wayes, (which themselves were much broken by the extremity of ill weather in the winter time) by that means to hinder their progress, as well in marching, as of being able to take any place that was of importance for the War: whereby the Prince of Condé alwayes receiving damage, as well in his Quarters, as sending out to forrage, and very much annoyed by the vile and snow which fell in great abundance, was forced to move slowly, and in a very close Body, endeavouring by the pillage of the weakest places to satisfy the greedinesse, and supply the wants of his Souldiers; wherein as his discreet conduct plainly appeared, being able in so tender an age to govern an Army made up of severall warlike Nations, and keep it within the unusuall limits of obedience to military discipline: so likewise the prudence and industry of the Duke of Mayenne was very remarkable, who not of much ripeness of years, neither sparing any pains, nor avoyding any sufferance so sharp a season, either in his own person, or his souldiers, with admirable diligence keep still close to the forraign Army, and oppose their march with so much carefulnesse, that except some few open places which were quitted, no



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Charles Duke  
of Mayenne  
commands his  
mutinous sould-  
iers to be cut  
in pieces.

City nor walled Town felt the calamities and miseries of the German incursions; and it happened, that he having one night when it was late, given order to march away from a place where his Army was quartered, to prevent the Enemies advancing some Companies of Foot, not onely terrified by the obscurity of the night, which was exceeding dark, but also by a thick storm of hail, snow and rain together, refused to go along with the rest of the Army, that marched in order under their colour with infinite patience; which being told the Duke of Mayenne he caused them all to make a halt, and commanded the Cavalry to cut those mutinous Souldiers in pieces; which being performed without delay, as he confirmed that discipline in his Army which Civil Warres (as they are wont) had for a long time corrupted and destroyed; so did he give a testimony of the severe gravity which ever after was proper to that Prince in all his other actions in the war.

The Duke of  
Alañcon mu-  
stered 35000  
fighting men.

But neither could the valour of the Generall, nor the discipline of the Army, with so great a disadvantage of strength absolutely hinder the progresse of the Germans; wherefore notwithstanding all rubs and delayes, they at last joyned with the Duke of Alañcon about the beginning of March in the confines of Bourbonnois, who having mustered his Army which he found amounted to the number of 35000 fighting men went to Moulins, where with the Prince of Condé, Monsieur *de la Nouë*, the Deputies of the King of Navar, and the Marechal *d'Anville*, he began to advise what was fittest to be done. The Commissioners appointed for the treaty of Peace being returned from Court, and the Marechal of *Momorancy*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and Monsieur *de Bellièvre* being there for the King, both parties consented, though for diverse respects and with severall intentions to the conclusion of peace; which though it were opposed by the Marechal *d'Anville*, who having already procured his brothers liberty, and established himself absolutely in the Government of Languedoc, was not willing to an Accommodation to return to that obedience from which (as a thing of danger) he had by force & cunning withdrawn himself: yet the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé, who were not pleased to see the Duke of Alañcon enjoy that place which they were wont formerly to possess, and took it ill that he should reap the fruits of their past and present labours, desired the agreement might be concluded, by which means he returning o

the Court, and into his Brothers favour, the chief power of that party would remain in them, believing that as by his continuance on their side, hee did much prejudice their authority, and also greatly hinder the execution of important designes; so if on the other side he could obtain from his Brother the command of the Catholick Army, he by his want of experience would give them many occasions to advance and establish themselves; wherefore their inclinations, and the nature of the Duke of Alençon prevailing, it was in the end resolved, that they should propose the Articles of their demands unto the King, which if they were accepted, they would conclude Peace; but if rejected, they would resolutely continue the Warre.

Their demands proposed were very high and exorbitant, but the Kings inclination to peace, and the desire of the Council to obtain the same, were great enough to digest them all, both to free themselves of the imminent danger of a forraign Army, and take away those vast expences which (the Treasury being empty) fell all upon the poor miserable Subjects; also to ease themselves of that burthen which had so generally tyred mens minds and bodies; wherefore the Queen already ghesing at the Kings designes, having by many conjectures sounded the depth of his intentions, came herself in person (as her custome was) into the Duke of Alençons Camp about the beginning of May, and there settled the conditions of peace, which by a decree of 73 Articles were ratified by the King, and solemnly published upon the fourteenth of May, he himself being present in the Parliament.

This was the fifth Peace concluded with the Hugonots; by which, after the accustomed clauses belonging to the appropriation, and oblivion of all that was past, full liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their Religion, without exception of times or places was granted to the Hugonots, with a power of erecting Schooles or Colledges, of calling Synods, celebrating Matrimony, and administering the Sacraments with the same freedom as was allowed to the Catholicks. All men of the Reformed Religion were permitted to execute any places or Offices, and enjoy any dignities of what quality ever, without that distinction and precedency of the Catholicks, which had formerly been observed; promises were made to settle a Court of Justice in every Parliament, half whereof

The King of Navar and Prince of Condé offended at the Duke of Alençon's power, think to free themselves of him by a peace.

Peace is made with the Hugonots the fifth time.



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should be of the one, and half of the other Religion, to judge the causes of the Hugonots; eight Towns were granted to the Princes for their security, till the articles were fully, and perfectly performed, viz. *Beaucaire* and *Aiguemorte* in Languedoc; *Perigieux*, and *la Mas de Virdun* in Guienne; *Nyon*, and *Serres* in Dauphiné; *Isoire* in Auvergne, and *Seine la Grand Tour* in Provence. The sentences against *la Mole*, the Count de *Coranas*, the Admiral *de Coligny*, *Briquemant*, *Cavagnes*, *Montgomery*, and *Mombrun* were revoked, and declared null: and further it was declared, that no fault was to be imputed to the Visdame of *Chartres*, and *Beauvais*, for having contracted, or negotiated any agreements with the Queen of England; for the Duke of *Alançons* *Apennage* (so they call the maintenance which is allowed to Kings Sons and Brothers) they assigned *Berry*, *Touraine*, and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, three of the greatest and most fertile Countries in all France: and 10000 Crownes of annuall pension: To the Prince of *Condé* they allotted the Government of *Picardy*, and for his security the City of *Peronne*, a very strong place seated neer the Sea. To Prince *Casimir* the Principality of *Chasteau-Thierry*, pension of 14000 Crowns, the maintenance of one hundred Lances, and the entire payment of all arreares due to the *Germane Armie*, which amounted to 1200000 Ducket. To the Prince of *Orange*, the restitution of all those States hee was wont to possesse in the Kingdome of France, which for Rebellion had been taken from him by the sentence of Parliament, and added to the Kings revenue; finally an Assembly of the States Generall was promised within 12 moneths; who were to represent unto the King the grievances of his Subjects, and consult of their remedies: which condition proposed by the Princes to set a better gloss upon their cause, and to winn the applause of the people, was willingly received by the King, as a convenient meanes to dissolve, and disannull the Articles agreed upon, which (which many others lesse considerable, but not lesse unreasonable, and exorbitant) as soone as they were known to those of the Catholike party, exasperated most of their mindes in such manner, that they not onely murmured freely against the King himself, as one of a meane spirit, drowned in the excessive delights of the Court; and the Queen-mother, as to recover her Son the Duke of *Alançon* from the way of perdition

Conditions of  
peace not ob-  
served.

The Prince of  
Orange formerly  
declared  
Rebell is re-  
stored to his  
State.

had she neglected the Majesty of Religion, and precipitated the generall safety of the Kingdom: but many were already disposed to rise, and would have taken armes to disturbe the trustnesse of that Peace, which was Generally esteemed usefull and not fit to be kept, if within a while they had not manifestly understood, that the King, and Queen purposely recover, and draw home the Duke of Alançon, had consented to conditions in words, which they were resolved not to serve in deeds; for the forreigne army being first of all sent away, by having disbursed part of the arreares to Prince Casimir, and given him security for the rest, partly by pawning Jewells, partly by engaging the word of the Duke of Lorraine; and having exactly performed all things promised to the Duke of Alançon, none of the other articles were observed, either to the Hugonots in generall, or to the King of Navarre, and Prince of Condé in particular: but the King permitting, and tacitly consenting to it, the assemblies of the Hugonots were everywhere violently disturbed; the government of Picardy was not given to the Prince of Condé, nor the City of Perronne assigned to him; the courts of Justice which were to be formed in the Parliaments, were deferred with severall excuses; and of so many Counsellors which ought to have been elected, the King having named only *Arenes*, one of the deputies which had treated the Peace, to be President of the Parliament of Paris, they refused to accept of him, the King not being at all displeased at it: which things cleerly discouraging the Kings mind, though they quieted those Catholikes, who judged of the State of affaires without interest, or Passion, and disposed the most part of peacefull natured men, to expect the issue of the assembly of the States, which the King had appointed to be in the City of Blois, on the fifteenth day of November; yet the Guises, who were not slacke in laying hold of any opportunity, to augment their owne greatnesse, and to secure the state of that Religion, which was so straightly linked to their interests, began upon the conjuncture of so great an occasion, secretly to make a League of the Catholikes, in all the Provinces of the Kingdome, under colour of opposing the progresse, and establishment of Heresy, which the Articles of peace was so fully authorized, and established; but in effect to reduce the forces of the Catholike party, to one firme entire united body which they might dispose

The Assembly of the States appointed at Blois the fifteenth of November.

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of as occasion served, for their own security, and for a foundation of that party whereof they held the principality.

*Henry Duke of Guise, Charles Duke of Mayenne, and* lesse then they, *Lewis Cardinal of Guise* their third brother, were left not only heires to their Fathers greatnesse, and reputation, and possessors of the rule, and government of Catholike partie, but had also by their proper valour and industrie, acquired wonderfull renowne and love among the people, partly by their liberall popular nature, partly by their care, and zeale shewed in preferring before all other respects, the Protection, and maintenance of that Religion, whereof they were the sole Champions and defenders. These brothers (to whom were joyned the Duke, and *Chavalier d'Anmale*, the Duke d' Elbeuf, the Duke de Mercure, with his brothers, (though allyed unto the King, yet all of the same house of Loraine) when contrary to their expectation they saw the peace concluded, and ratified with Articles so unjust, and prejudiciall to the Catholike Religion, and to the credit, and power of their partie; stirred up with anger and disdain (which often use to lay open mens resentments) began to enter into a great suspition of the Kings Counsellors and designs, thinking that a Prince of a noble, warlike nature, would never have suffered the temerity of his subjects, to draw him to such shameful conditions, but that he concealed some deeper thoughts, and more weighty undiscovered resolutions: wherefore though the King by meanes of the Queen-mother, and many others which they both confided in, gave them to understand that his intention was to break, or at least to moderate those conditions, by the assembly of the States at Blois, and that he had consented to those dishonorable articles, only to deprive the Hugonots of so powerfull a prop, as the person of the Duke of Alançon; but that he would settle all by convenient, proportionable remedies; yet those Princes were not altogether satisfied, but every day by various conjectures, penetrating more deeply into those mysteries, as also being highly displeased at the Kings Decree, whereby taking away the power, and appearance from all, but in effect form them alone, of procuring gifts, and interceding for favours, for the followers and Dependants of the Catholike partie; and falling into a great distrust of his affection towards them, they resolved either by that opportunity to establish the foundation of their

owe

own power, or else by so great an obstacle to hinder those designs which the King had begun and contrived in his mind; to bring their followers and adherents into one well united Body, drawing together & confirming that engine of power, which though swift and mighty, was yet spread and dispersed as bloud in the veins, through all the parts of the Kingdom. And because the present occasion gave them a wonderfull opportunity to allure mens minds with honourable specious pretences, to affright the fearfull into a consent to their desires, and to stir up the anger of those that were unsatisfied, and utterly displeased at the conclusion of the Peace, they began to work upon the Parisians and Picards; *Those*, as in all times jealous of the preservation of the Catholick Religion; *These*, as terrified with the fear of being commanded by the Prince of Condé, to whom the Government of their Province had been promised.

The way of meeting together, and holding intelligence with one another, was opened to them by the Kings own institution, who either moved by his inclination to piety, by the exhortations and writings of Father *Bernard Castor* a Jesuite, and many other religious men of that and other orders; or else to cover and palliate those hidden intentions which hee had resolved on for the course of his future Government; had brought in the use of many *Fraternities*, who under divers habits and different names met together upon dayes of devotion, to spend their time in processions, prayers, disciplines, and other spirituall exercises, under the pious pretence of appeasing Gods wrath, of imploring a remedy for their present divisions and calamities, and of procuring unity, peace, and concord amongst all the people of the Kingdome; by which means the Catholicks did not onely meet freely together in all places, but also found matter and opportunity to discourse of present affairs, and to bewaile the miserable condition to which the Crown was reduced by division, and by the increase of heresie: from which lamentations coming to talk of busines of the Government, and the affairs of State, it was not hard both for those Brethren themselves, and perchance for others more crafty, and better acquainted with the designs of the principall contrivers, to sowe the seeds, and ingrasse the beginnings of that league, which had a neer connection with that devout pretence for which the Catholicks assembled themselves in so many severall places.

By the Duke of Guise his cunning, politick discourses are brought into those assemblies which were instituted for devotion.

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This practice was first begun in Picardy by *Jaques Sieu d'Humiers*, Governour of Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye who being a remarkable man for riches and followers in those parts, and for some private causes an enemy to the House of *Memorancy*, and by consequence to the Prince of Condé whose authority he hated, and whose greatnesse he apprehended, for fear of being put out of his Government, began by means of those Assemblies, which were no lesse frequent there then in other places, to exhort the inhabitants of Peronne not to suffer their Town to be made the nest and receptacle of Heresie, nor to let that fire be kindled in their bosomes which was like in time to inflame their whole Country, and consume all the other parts of France: hee perswaded them that the first day of the Princes admission would be the last of their liberty; for being made subject to the tyranny of hereticks, seditious men, and forreigners, there would no longer be any possibility for them to enjoy their estates, houses, wives nor their own children, all which would become a prey to the covetousnesse and cruelty of those that governed: he added, that they could expect nothing but mischief which whatsoever things were carried; for if the Hugonots prevailed they would certainly be exposed to the slavery of the English with whom it was known the Prince had made an agreement to give them places and Fortresses in Picardy: and though the Catholicks should prevail, they were to look for no better then long sieges, miseries and calamities of War and Famine since he was so earnest to get the possession of that Government for no other reason, but by the help of its strength to resist the last assaults of his evill fortune: By which plausible reasons that people being moved, and the inhabitants of Mondidier, Roye, and Dorlan their neighbours being perswaded to the same, they consented to make a league among themselves to hinder the Prince from taking possession of the place, and of the Government of Picardy, and to maintain and preserve the Catholick Religion in their Province. Nor was this practice lesse advanced in the City of Paris, where the zeal of the common people in matters of Religion, and the open enmity which they had at all times professed against the Hugonots, afforded them very fit matter to foment those designs: wherefore there being many of the Parliament men and Sheriffs of the City (*Eschevins*, as they call them) and

of a few of religious Orders, who in those meetings and Fraternities laboured cunningly the promoting of that League, a great number of men of all degrees and qualities were by a strict Oath already tyed and united in the bond of that Association.

The example of the Picards and Parisians was followed by the Nobility of Poictou and Tourain, as neereſt to thoſe places poſſeſſed by the Hugonots, and more expoſed to the imminent danger of their authority; and being led by *Louis de la Trémoille* Duke of Tours (a Lord of great dependents, and of ancient nobility and reputation, but a man full of turbulent and unruly thoughts) were already united and associated, drawing after them not onely the greater part of the Clergie, but ſo a great many of the Communalty. Nor did the other Provinces want either Heads to introduce, or fit matter to receive the ſame Confederacy, which being propoſed by men of great ability, and no leſſe authority, under a plaufible name and precious appearance, eaſily gained credit even among the wiſeſt, and ſpread wonderfully through all Cities and Provinces.

The form of that League and Covenant which was to be ſigned by all thoſe that conſented to it, was this :

*In the name of the moſt holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, our onely true God, to whom be glory and honour.*

The form of  
the League or  
Covenant.

*The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion ought to be, and is made for the eſtabliſhment of the Law of God in its firſt eſtate, and to reſtore and ſettle his holy ſervice according to the form and manner of the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Church, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary unto it.*

Secondly, *For the preſervation of King Henry, the Third of that name, and his Succeſſours the moſt Chriſtian Kings, in the State, Honour, Authority, Duty, Service, and Obedience due unto them from their Subjects, as it is contained in thoſe Articles that ſhall be preſented to him in the Aſſembly of the States, which he ſwears and promiſes to obſerve at the time of his Conſecration and Coronation, with proteſtation not to doe any thing againſt that which ſhall be ordained and ſetled by the States.*

Thirdly, *To reſtore unto the Provinces of this Kingdome, and to thoſe other States which are under it, thoſe ancient rights, preeminences, liberties, and priviledges which were in the time of*



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Clovis the first most Christian King, or yet better and more profitable (if any such can be found) under the said protection.

In case there be any impediment, opposition, or rebellion against that which is aforesaid, be it from whom it will, or proceed it from whence soever it may; those that enter into this Covenant shall be bound and obliged to imploy their lives and fortunes to punish, chastise and prosecute those that shall attempt to disturb or hinder it, and shall never cease their indeavours till the aforesaid things be really done and perfected.

In case any of the Confederates, their friends, vassals or dependents be oppressed, molested or questioned for this cause, be it to whom it will, they shall be bound to imploy their persons, goods and estates to take revenge upon those that shall have so molested them, either by the way of justice or force, without any exception of persons whatsoever.

If it shall come to passe, that any man after having united himself by Oath unto this Confederacy, should desire to depart from it or separate himself upon any excuse, or pretence (which God forbid) such violators of their owne Consciences, shall be punished both in Bodies, and Goods, by all means that can be thought of, as enemies to God, Rebels, and disturbers of the publike Peace, neither shall such revenge be ever imputed unto the aforesaid Associates, nor they liable to be questioned for it, either in publike or private.

The said Associates shall likewise sweare to yeeld ready obedience, and faithfull service unto that Head which shall be deputed; to follow, and obey him, and to lend all Help, Counsell, and Assistance, as well for the entire conservation, and maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that shall oppose it, without partiality or exception of persons; and those that shall fail or depart from it shall be punished by the authority of the Head, and according to his Orders, to which every Confederate shall be obliged to submit himself.

All the Catholicks of severall Cities, Towns and Villages shall be secretly advertised and warned by the particular Governours of places, to enter into this League, and to concur in the providing of men, arms, and other necessities, every one according to his condition and ability.

All the Confederates shall be prohibited to stir up any discord or enter into any dispute among themselves, without leave of the Head, to whose arbitrement all dissensions shall be referred, as al

determining of all differences, as well in matter of goods as name, and all of them shall be obliged to sweare in this manner and forme following,

I sweare by God the Creator, (laying my hand upon the holy spell) and under paine of Excommunication, and Eternall damnation, that I enter into this holy Catholike League, according to the forme of that writing, which hath now been read unto me, and that I doe faithfully, and sincerely enter into it, with a will to obey to command or to obey, and serve, as I shall be appointed; and I promise upon my life, and honour, to continue in it, unto the last drop of my bloud, and not to depart from it or transgresse it for any command, pretence, excuse or occasion, which by any meanes whatsoever can be represented to me.

The copies of this League framed with so much art by the wisest (that making a shew to obey, and maintaine the King, tooke from him all his obedience, and authority to transfer it upon the head of their union) were very careful, and with much cunning dispersed, by the hands of discreet men, and such as were deeply engaged to them; so that little and little it began to spread in every place, the cause originall not at all appearing; whereby making very great, and hidden proceedings, because custome had already disposed men minds to a desire of novelties; they easily, and in short time, drew all those into one body, whom either for love of Religion, dependence of interest, desire of change, hatred of the Hugonot Princes, they thought fit to bind together in that League, and confederacy. But it being necessary, to provide moneyes for the nourishment, and maintenance of that united body, and to finde out some protection, great power and authority, to shelter, and defend it from the Kings forces; the Lords of Guise turning their eyes out of Kingdome, thought that both for their Religion, and themselves, it was as lawfull for them to make use of the helpe, and aid of forreigne Princes, as it had been for the Hugonots to require the assistance of the Queen of England, and the Princes of Germany: and therefore they began secretly to goe to Rome for Protection; and in Spaine for men and money: nor did they find in either place any aversnesse to their desires: for the Pope being displeased at, and affraid of the Peace concluded with the Hugonots, willingly gave ear to those proposals, which might conveniently oppose their establishment.



ment: and the Catholike King grown jealous, that the signes of the Duke of Alañon would at last breake out upon Flanders, and that the King to quench the fire of his owne house, would be content to kindle it in his neighbours, willingly concurred to foment those in France who laboured to renew the warr, hoping that the discords in that Kingdom might one day give him an opportunity of some grand designe, and in the meane time preserve the peace and quietnes of all his owne.

*Nicholas Cardinal de Pelle-vé*, bred up in the house of Guise, treated the interests of this union at Rome, which by *Gregory* the thirteenth, a man of great Candor, and goodnesse, but of a facile nature, was harkened unto with much readinesse; it pretending nothing but faith, Religion, Charity, Zeale to the public good, correction, and reformation of abuses; though in effect it contained private passions, mingled with particular interests: which not being unknown to the Court of Rome, many discourfing of so new and high a designe, ascribed the cause of it, to a desire the Guises had to govern to the Kings will; who excluding their help and Counsell, shewed that he would rule as it pleased himselfe; others drawing the businesse another way, attributed it to their care of conserving their owne greatnesse, which they had with much sweat, and labour been so long a building up. Nor did there want those who passing yet further, (perchance through the malice they bore to that partie) taxed the heads thereof, to ayme at vaster ends; which whether true, or false, were afterwards published to be the deposing of the King himselfe, as a dissolute, incapable, meane spirited man, and in time to settle the Crowne in the house of Guise, which some did openly maintain to be derived in a right line from *Charlemagne*. Be whether these designs were indeed plotted from the beginning, or whether they tooke birth from the emergent occasions which happened after, it is not so evident; for as they were divulged and amplified by the Hugonots, so were they closely concealed, and firmly denied by the Guises; But they themselves could not deny two great and powerfull occasions: one a discontent because they could not sway, and Govern the present King, as they had done *Charles*, and *Francis* his last predecessors; the other a desire to rule the Catholike part, founded long before by their Ancestours, and encreased and confirmed

confirmed by themselves; and to these was added as a third, the necessity of opposing the King's designs, which they now saw ended openly to their ruine, thereby to free his neck from the yoke of Factions. These interests which could not be wholly concealed from the Pope (for that Court most wise in judging all things, did easily penetrate into them) made him so much the more reserved and wary what to resolve, by how much the parent respect of preserving the Catholick Religion spurred him on to consent unto it.

But whilest the approbation of this League is treated on at home, the Pope inclining but ambiguously unto it, the business was very easily determined on the other side in the Court of Spain; the propositions being such, that the Catholick King ought rather to have desired that the League should put itself under his protection, then make himself be long entreated to comply with those requests, which for that purpose were effectually made unto him: for indeed it was a gate which did not onely open unto him a passage to the security of his own States, but also to very great hopes of acquiring more, and at least (if no better) to keep the King of France's Forces divided and imployed, with which the Crown of France had had so long and so obstinate contentions.

The King of Spain becomes Protector of the Catholick League.

These practices, especially those which were managed in France, were not unknown to the King, for they were reported unto him by the Queen-Mother, and other his intimate confidants; nay, the Count *de Retz* had particularly advertised him, that Monsieur *de Vins* negotiated that confederacy in Provence; and the Prince of Condé by the means of the Count *de Montant*, had made him acquainted with the union of the Duke in Poitou; besides, that at the same time one *Nicholas de Vidy*, an Advocate of the Parliament of Paris, was stayed taken in his journey, which he confessed he was imployed by the Guises to negotiate that business at Rome: The Jesuits dispersed certain writings, which under title of a commission given to him, contained the designs of the Catholick League, and their end and intention to possess themselves of the Crown; but for the most part full of exorbitant, bold, and incredible things; so that they were generally believed to have been maliciously forged and spread abroad to discredit the Lords of Guise, and to render them odious and detested; who did not onely absolutely deny the tenure of those



those Commissions, and account *David* a fool, and no better then a mad man if he had any such writings about him; but they also caused them to be answered by some of their party proving many things in them to be absurd, and without any appearance of truth. But those divulged papers generally believed to be false, wrought not so great a suspicion in the King as the Letters of Monsieur *de S' Goart*, his Lieger Ambassado in the Court of Spain, who gave him notice how he had discovered that some French Catholick Confederates did earnestly treat of secret businesses in that Court. But whether many discords and confusions springing up daily, they could not all be provided against at the same time, and therefore they neglected those which at first seemed lesse materiall to remedy others which were more urgent and weighty or whether the King taken up with his secret designs of opening a way to future matters, did slight the present danger being confident he should cut off all those plots and conspiracies at one time: which soever of these causes it were, it is most certain, that though the King knew all these practices, he was so far from opposing or hindring them, that hee seemed not displeased to have one Faction struggle with the other thinking that by those jarres which would arise between them he should remain absolute Arbitrator, and enjoy the fruits that weaknesse which they would bring upon themselves falling upon one another. Besides, he thought this so big and so generall resentment of the Catholicks, gave him a very lucky occasion to break the conditions of peace granted to the Hugonots, and to make appear to the world, that hee did it not of his owne resolution because he had so intended from the beginning; but because of the generall discontent of his Subjects, of whose good, and of whose desires he was obliged as a Father to be much more carefull, then of complying with the will of those that were rebellious and disobedient; in which cause hee did not onely tolerate the continuation of those practices about the League; but by ambiguous actions, obscure words, and dark answers, that admitted severall interpretations, he almost made it be believed, that all was managed by his order and permission.

But if the King resolved to make use of that opportunity to break the Articles of Agreement; the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were no lesse disposed to doe the same;

who having thrust the Duke of Alençon out of their faction, sought to lay hold of any occasion that might kindle the war again, by which they hoped to establish their own greatness: therefore the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé having often complained to the King and Queen; the King of Navar, at his interests were utterly forgotten in the conditions of the peace; and the Prince of Condé, that neither the Government of Picardy, nor the City of Peronne were assigned to him; and the King having still interposed delays and impediments, had at last remitted all to be determined by the Estates: now upon this new occasion of the League, they renewed their complaints the more earnestly, urging that they could not continue in that uncertainty of their present condition, whilst their adversaries united their forces in a League to suppress and destroy them: with which importunities the King being troubled, and having (rather to hold him in hand, then with an intent to perform it) offered the Prince instead of Peronne and Picardy, to give him S. Jehan d'Angely and Cognac, in those parts where the strength of the Hugonots lay; he not staying for the assignement, suddenly made himself Master of them, and following the success of that beginning, sent for Monsieur *de Mirabeau* under colour of treating with him concerning other businesses, and forced him to deliver up Brouage into his hands, a Fort of great importance, as well for that it lies upon the Coast of the Ocean-sea, as because it abounds with such store of salt-pits, which yeeld a great and constant revenue; he made the Sieur *de Montaut* Governour, and put into it a strong Garrison of his dependents, furnishing it with ammunition, and fortifying it with exceeding diligence: nor content with that, but vigorously prosecuting that enterprise, by the means of his dependents; in a few weeks he reduced into his own power, Royan, Pons, Tlemont, and Marans, with many other considerable places in Xaintonge.

But the King of Navar, who with more deliberate considerations had raised his thoughts to higher designs, making use of the ready boldness of the Prince of Condé in those matters where force and violence were needfull, with infinite moderation (to which as well by choice, as nature he was much inclined) under title of being Governour of the Province, reduced the principall Cities to himself, shewing both in words and actions;



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actions, a great deale of gentlenesse to the Catholicks, a great deal of reverence to the Kings person, singular desire to help the advancement of every one, and very much trouble for the losses and outrages which by occasion of the war he was necessitated to bring upon that Country; by which arts having gained all the people of Perigort, and the Towns of Loudun, Agen, Ganache, and many lesser places, he possessed all that Country except Bourdeaux, where the Parliament residing the Citizens had ever refused to admit him; yet ceased he not after many repulses, sometimes to allure them with kind messages, sometimes to assure them with large promises, shewing himself to be utterly averse from the animosity of the factions, and the cruelties used by others in Civill Warres, since he of his own accord had settled the use of the Catholick Religion again in those places that were of his own Patrimony from whence his Mother had taken it away, and with much modesty, respect, and favourable Declarations treated with the Church-men concerning the interests of Religion; which artifice, or nature, or rather (as it often happens) artifice derived from nature, won the hearts of all the people, and took off that hatred, which (as enemies to the Common-wealth) they were wont to bear to others who had held the chief command of that faction; which hee desiring to joyn and unite into one body, as he saw the Heads of the Catholicks endeavoured to do on their side, having obtained leave of the Citizens to enter Rochel (the command whereof he knew to be very necessary for him) he was so skilfull in managing the affections of the people, that having tamed and assured the mind of the Citizens, which were full of suspicions, and unapt to give credit to any body; by their Councill, and with the consent of all the Cities which followed their party, the Deputies whereof he had assembled in that place, he in the end made himself be declared Head and Protector of that party, and the Prince of Condé his Lieutenant Generall, shewing himself everywhere so full of sincerity and moderation, that he thereby gained not onely their inclination and good will, but also a very free and absolute authority over them; which among so many jealousies, and so many pretenders, perchance he could not have obtained by other arts: for neither the Prince of Condé, nor the Marshall *d'Anville*, nor perhaps Monsieur *de la Nouë*, nor Monsieur *de Rohan* would so easily have

The King of Navar declared General of the Hugonots, and the Prince of Condé his Lieutenant Generall.

ve yeelded to him, if they had not been forced (besides the  
glendor of his Roy all name) to give place to his popularity,  
and his arts of Governing. Now having obtained the power  
that Faction chiefly by the favour of the Rochellers, and  
knowing that Monsieur *de Ferwaques* as a subtile man, and not  
rusty, was suspected of all, but especially the Citizens of Ro-  
cell, who desired for their security, that Messieurs *de Rohan*,  
*Moüy*, *de la Nouë*, *Langoiran*, and other old abettors of that  
party, might have the first place in their Councils, and in their  
Civil and Military Offices; or else perswaded by *d'Aubigny*,  
who affirmed he had discovered that *Ferwaques* at the very last  
point had revealed his intended departure to the King, and  
that they were not stayed, because the King having a won-  
derfull ill opinion of him, gave no credit to his words; he  
unnecessarily gave him occasion to go his way (as hath been al-  
ready related) and making up his Councell of men that were  
famous for integrity and honest intentions, did not onely take  
away the jealousy of the Rochellers, and of all the neighbour-  
ing Provinces, who feared he would change his Power into a  
tyrannicall Government, but won the hearts of many Catho-  
licks; who, so they might enjoy the liberty of living in the  
Religion of their forefathers, were also disposed to serve and  
follow him. He interposed his authority that the Rochellers  
might give way to the exercise of the Catholick Religion in  
their City, and before he departed procured leave for Masse  
to be said in a little Church, many being present at it: which  
things accompanied with his modest temperate speeches,  
they gained him a great deal of affection from those of his  
own party; so did they lessen and extinguish that hatred which  
the Guises by imputations of revolt and apostacie, endeavour-  
ed to fasten upon him among all degrees of people in the  
Kingdome.

At the inter-  
cession of the  
K. of Navar,  
the Rochellers  
permitted the Ca-  
tholicks to say  
Masse in their  
City.

But the King in so great a combustion of all things, and  
in so miserable a condition of his Crown, which was openly  
assailed by the Politicks and Hugonots, and secretly conspi-  
red against by the Catholicks of the League, having concei-  
ved great hopes of finding a way to compass his designs by  
means of the Generall Assembly of the States, was intent up-  
on calling them together in the City of Blois, where he, with  
his Mother, and the Duke of Alençon his Brother arrived the  
tenth day of November; and having by his Letters given no-



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The Assembly  
of the States at  
Blois.

tice to the Deputies of the severall Provinces to meet together without delay, the businesse was followed with so much diligence, that the sixth day of December gave a solemn beginning to the Assembly. The Kings intention was (prosecuting his owne designs) by means of the States, to settle a firm generall Peace, which being established by the common consent of the whole Nation, no man should have cause to find fault with all, but lasting in a firm continuance, might quite abolish the interests of the severall parties, cause the present animosities to be forgotten, and give him time and opportunity to execute his own resolutions of abasing and weakening the strength and credit of both the Factions. He hoped that a moderate agreement would readily be laid hold on by all the three Estates: For the Clergie were alwayes faine to contribute verily largely, as to a Warre wherein they were more interested then any others; the Nobility wearied with the toyls of Warre and exhausted with the vast expences of it; and the Commons, who besides the continuall and intolerable taxes and contributions, being (in the fields by the insolencies of soldiers, in the Cities by the interruption of trade) subject to all the miseries of War, seemed greedily and impatiently to desire Peace.

King Hen. the  
Third his  
speech at the  
beginning of  
the Assembly  
of the States at  
Blois.

With these ends and hopes, the severall Orders of the States being met together in his presence, hee began with a grave effectuall Speech to deplore the miserable calamitouse state into which the Kingdome of France, formerly so powerful and flourishing, was then reduced; since every degree and part of so great a Monarchy being fallen from their former greatnesse and prosperity, into a labyrinth of discord and confusion, was manifestly brought to terms of lamentable ruin and desolation: That the obedience and veneration of the Royall Majesty, which had in all times been so proper and peculiar to the French, was now utterly lost: That the bond of that charity which the love of one common Country useth ordinarily to knit faster among men of right understanding, was broken to pieces by the violence of inveterate intestine hatreds: That by the licence of Civill Warres, which had lasted so many yeers, the due respect to justice was taken away, the fear of Magistrates trodden under foot, and the sincerity of mens manners exceedingly corrupted: That he knew, whatsoever calamities the people suffer are alwayes attributed to

The Prince's evill Government ; yet he was satisfied with the  
conscience of his own conscience, and doubted not but equall  
judges would free him from all blame, considering the tender  
age of the King his Brother, and of himself, when the begin-  
nings of that mischief brake forth : That all the world knew  
how much care and pains the Queen his Mother had under-  
taken to remedy those misfortunes, which from what causes  
they were derived, was sufficiently apparent : That the con-  
servation of the Kingdome, and the inheritance of her Sons  
and children (conspired against with so much cunning, and o-  
nely assailed with so much violence) was to be ascribed to  
her prudence, constancy, and magnanimity ; but if her vertues  
and indeavours had not been able to extinguish those mis-  
fortunes, too fierce and powerfull in their beginnings, perchance  
it was the permission of divine Providence, to punish the sins  
of both Prince and People together : That it was likewise  
manifest to every one, what he himself had done for the sup-  
pression and extirpation of the present evils ; that under the  
guidance of the King his Brother, he with those victorious at-  
chievements which were not unknown unto the world, had  
used the rigour of the sword ; but he had found by experience,  
that the letting of blood onely weakened the body, but neither  
lessened the violence nor malignity of the disease : That by  
all intestine Warres Religion it self (which receives its  
nourishment from Peace) was much impaired and abased, so  
that instead of gaining those souls that were gone astray, by  
other means they did indanger the losse of those that were  
most zealous in the truth ; for which cause he had both before  
when he went into Poland, laboured to bring in peace by a cessa-  
tion of those calamities ; and since God had called him to the  
throne, endeavoured by all means possible to procure the re-  
pose and quiet of his Kingdome : That to that end he had  
called the Assembly of the States, that by the advice of his  
good and faithfull Subjects some way might be found to stop  
the course of those present miseries ; wishing, rather than  
that they should continue, that the thread of his life might be cut  
before he had seen the half of his dayes : That it was there-  
fore time to think among themselves of some wholesome re-  
medy, by which putting an end to the reciprocall enmities,  
discord, warres and animosities, they might with gentlenesse  
and moderation perfectly restore the candour of Religion,



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bring mens minds again to their due veneration and obedience, reduce the integrity of Justice to its primitive condition, banish the pernicious liberty of vice, recover the ancient simple honesty of manners; and finally, give breath to the dangers of the Clergy, to those toyles of the Nobility, and those losses and distractions of the Common people, which by occasion of the Warre he was (to his great grief) not only forced to continue, but also to increase and multiply without end: That he thought for the procuring of those blessings, there was no more secure nor effectually means, then a good, moderate, and lasting agreement: and yet that he was ready to give ear to any reasons that could be objected to the contrary, and to any other means that could be propounded, that so he might make choice of those which should be thought the best, most easie, and most profitable: That therefore he did earnestly exhort every one of them, that laying apart all passions and interests, they should study sincerely to find out such propositions as they thought most fit, to ease the troubles of the State, and quiet the distractions of the Kingdome; that as he was very willing to consult of all things in common, so was he absolutely resolved, that whatsoever they concluded and established, should be most exactly and punctually observed.

The High Chancellour *Birago* spake then to the like effect, and with a longer Oration shewed the same things, concluding at last, that since the admirable wisdom of the Queen Mother, and the valour and generosity of the King had then preserved France in the midst of so many troubles and dangers, the States ought now to offer their generall opinion and advice, every one striving to propound such profitable, seasonable remedies, as might relieve the Kingdome from present, and keep it safe from future miseries. All the three Orders severally gave the King many thanks for his affectionate care, and praised his just intentions, every one promising for their own parts to assist with faithfull loyalty and sincerity of heart.

But though in these first appearances the Kings intention and that of the States seemed both to be the same, yet afterwards they were very different; for the Deputies of the provinces were for the most part such as had subscribed to the Catholick League, and were swayed by the counsell and superintendency

tenen

endency of the Duke of Guise, who being absent himself had sent his brother the Duke of Mayenne, *Pierre Espinac* Archbishop of Lyons, the Baron *de Senecey*, and many other of his dependents thither; and therefore the Deputies whom it concerned to propose and conclude matters in the Assembly, were for the most part resolved, not onely to moderate the last Articles of peace, which the King would willingly have agreed to; but also to break them utterly, and again with more force to begin the Warre against the Hugonots, who having violated the conditions, had already taken arms for their owne advantage. But the Kings mind was absolutely averse from that, which being known to the Deputies, who had discovered it by many signes, especially by his Speech unto them, and foreseeing that by his power he would delude and frustrate all their designs, as long as he was able to resolve upon one of whatsoever was propounded; they sought cunningly to take away that Prerogative, and settle it in a certain number, who should have power to conclude and determine all busineses without contradiction or appeal. Wherefore the Deputies of the Nobility and Clergy partly consenting, and the Deputies of the Commons not altogether opposing, they thought it unfit to dispute openly whether the States were superiour to the King, or no (a very ancient question, though improved by the manner of holding the States, and alwayes eluded and made vain by the Kings authority) but to petition the King, that for the dispatch of all busineses with speed, and with the generall satisfaction, he would be pleased to erect a number of Judges, not suspected by the States, who together with twelve of the Deputies, might hear such motions from time to time should be proposed by every Order, and conclude and resolve upon them, with this condition, that whatsoever was joyntly determined by the Judges and Deputies together, should have the form and vigour of a Law, without being subject to be altered or revoked.

It's an ancient question whether the Assembly of the States or the King be Superiour.

The King was not ignorant of the importance of that demand; and though he was inwardly much displeased that they went about to deprive him of the power which was naturally his, and from a free King bring him to the slavery of his Subjects; yet by how much the greater the force of that storm was, with so much the more dexterity endeavouring to overcome it, he answered graciously, that as often as the States should offer any propositions



1576 ons or demands, he would without delay hearken to the twelve Deputies (which he gave them power to nominate,) and that as soon as he had maturely weighed their reasons, they should have a speedy and resolute answer to determine whatsoever was necessary for their generall contentment; and that for the better satisfaction of them all, he was willing to deliver unto the States the names of such as were admitted to his Councils, to the end that they might know the qualities of those persons by whose advice he meant to govern, which he would consent to doe by the example of any of his predecessors; but to confirm and ratifie whatsoever others should determine without himself, it was not possible for him ever to yeeld to in any manner, it being contrary to all precedents observed by the Kings his Predecessours. The States being excluded from that hope, and despairing of being able to compass their desires, since the cunning of the demand was taken notice of, turned another way, and began to propose, That matters of Religion might first of all be decided; for it being once established to admit no other but the Catholick (which neither the King himself would dare to oppose, nor any of the Deputies, though there were many of them who secretly were of another mind) all hope of peace would be laid aside, and the warre with the Hugonots presently be resolved on. Wherefore the Archbishop of Lyons proposing for the Clergy, the Baron *de Senecey* for the Nobility, with the consent of *Pierre Versoris* one of the principall Deputies for the Commons, a man depending upon the House of Guise, and one of the chiefeft sticklers in the League; the Clergy concurred in this Vote, That the King should be moved to prohibit the exercise of any other then the Roman Catholick Religion; and that all sorts of people subject to the Crown should be forced to live according to the Rites of that Church; the same proposition was followed by many of the Nobility, who suffered their Votes to be swayed by the will of others, though many of that Order were against, not the integrity of the Roman Catholick Faith, but the taking up of arms, desiring the preservation of Religion, and the reducing of such as were out of the way, but by those means which might be used without War. The Commons assented to this last opinion, because the burthen of the War lay chiefly upon the meanest people as Merchants, Tradesmen, and Husbandmen: nor could any

the Deputies (who in particular reaped fruit by those troubles, and being engaged with the heads of the League, did therefore obstinately follow the Vote of the Prelates) have power to perswade any of them to change their verdict; for *an Bodin*, a man famous for learning and experience in state-affairs, one of the Deputies of the Commons of Vermandois, and who was secretly induced by the King to contradict the Church-men in that particular, endeavoured by a long course to make appear unto the Assembly how ruinous and all the new taking up of arms would be, repeating from the beginning all the dangers and miseries of the late Warres, which made a very deep impression in the mindes of the third estate, and would have done the like in both the other Orders, if their consciences had been absolutely free and sincere; at meeting with men who were not onely carried by the zeal of Religion, but whose opinions were byassed and prejudged, it was determined by plurality of voyces, that request should be made unto the King to establish onely the Catholick Religion in the Kingdome, and to exclude for ever communion with the Hugonots. Neverthelesse, *Bodin* proposed certain words to be entred in the Records of the Order of Commons, to certifie their desire of unity in Religion without the noise of arms, and the necessity of war.

*Jean Bodin contradicts the Prelats in the generall Assembly.*

This motion of the States being propounded to the King, who had already sounded the secret practices of the Assembly, made him resolve no longer to oppose (knowing that the plurality of voyces would be cleerly against him) but to delude the propositions of the Deputies; for by opposing, he saw those armes of the Catholick League would be turned upon him, which were then prepared against the Hugonots: wherefore seeking obliquely to hinder that determination, he proposed to the States, and perswaded them, that before it were enacted, Commissioners ought to be sent to the King of Navar, the Prince of Condé, and the Mareſchall *d'Anville*, who by true substantiall reasons should perswade them to obey the will of the States, without returning again to the fatall sword of arms, hoping by such delays to find some remedy against that resolution which he saw the major part of the Deputies was obstinately bent upon. To that purpose they chose the Archbishop of Vienne, Monsieur *de Rubempré*, and the Treasurer *Menager*, Commissioners to the King of Navar: the



1576 the Bishop of Autun, Monsieur *de Momorine*; and *Pierre de Rate* to the Prince of Condé; the Bishop of Puits, the Sieur *de Rochefort*, and the Advocate *Toley* to the Marescall *d' Anville* to know the last resolution of every one of them. But the King of Navar having notice which way the States inclined and seeing so terrible a storm preparing against him, whilst the time was spent at Bloys in consulting, and things were drawn out in length by diversitie of opinions, and other obstacles which were interposed; he being resolved to make ready for War, busied himself in gathering Souldiers within finite diligence from all parts, and in seising upon many places convenient for the defence and maintenance of his party which succeeding according to his desires, he had possessed himself of Bazas, Perigueux, and S. Macaire in *Guienne*, Chivray in *Poictou*, Quimperley in *Bretagne*, and with a more warlike then numerous Army laid siege to Marmande, a great Town seated upon the bank of the Garonne neer to Bourdeaux, and therefore very commodious to streighten that place which was the only principall City of that Province that made resistance.

1577 In the mean time the States Commissioners being come unto him, he gave them audience at Agen, in the beginning of the year 1577, with demonstrations of great honour and respect. There the Bishop of Vienne having eloquently declared the resolution of the States, to suffer no other but the Catholick Religion in the Kingdom of France, exhorted him effectually in the name of all the Orders to come unto the Assembly, to reunite himself in concord with the King his Brother-in-law, to return into the bosome of the Church, and by so noble and so necessary a resolution to comfort all the Orders of the Kingdom; by whom, as first Prince of the Blood, he was greatly esteemed and honoured; and afterwards enlarging himself, he represented the severall commodities of Peace, and the miserable desolations of Warre. The King of Navar with succinct but solid words replied punctually, That if the happinesse of Peace, and miseries of War were so great and many as he alledged, the States ought therefore sincerely to establish that Peace which was before concluded, and not by new deliberations, and by revoking Edicts already made to kindle again the sparks of War which were almost extinguished: That it was an easie matter to discourse of the roo-

out of a Religion by the sword, but experience had al-  
 yes shewed it was impossible to effect it; and therefore it  
 s to be esteemed a more discreet advice to allow a spirituall  
 ace, thereby to obtain a temporall one; then by disquiet-  
 g mens consciences to fancy the conservation of an outward  
 ace: That for his part, he was born and brought up in the  
 religion he professed, and he believed still that it was the right  
 d true faith; but yet when by sound reasons urged to him  
 men of understanding, and not by force and violence, he  
 ould finde himself to be in an errour, he would readily re-  
 nt his fault, and changing his Religion, endeavour the con-  
 rsion of all others to the belief of that faith which should be  
 knowledged the true one: Therefore he prayed the States  
 t to force his conscience; but to be satisfied with that his  
 od will and intention, and if that answer were not suffici-  
 t to content them, he would expect new and more particu-  
 demands, for the better answering whereof he would pre-  
 tly assemble a full Congregation of his party at Montauban;  
 t in the mean time, while he saw all things prepared to make  
 r against him, he was constrained to stand armed upon his  
 n defence, to prevent that ruine which he plainly saw con-  
 yed by his Enemies.

The Prince of Condé's answer was very different; for ha-  
 g received the Commissioners privatly, he would neither  
 n their Letters nor acknowledge them for Deputies of the  
 tes generall, alledging that that Assembly could not be cal-  
 the States Generall, which wanted the Deputies of so ma-  
 y Cities, Towns, and Provinces, and which treated of vio-  
 ing mens consciences by force, of shedding the Blood-Roy-  
 of France, and suppressing the liberties of the Crown, to  
 mply with the desires of strangers, who were so hot upon  
 prosecution of their own intolerable, pernicious interests  
 mbition and private ends; that it was a conventicle of a few  
 n suborned and corrupted by the disturbers of the publick  
 ce, and therefore he would neither open their Letters, nor  
 t with their Commissioners.

The Prince of  
 Condé wil not  
 acknowledge  
 the Assembly  
 of Bloys to be  
 the States Ge-  
 nerall; nor  
 treat with their  
 Commissio-  
 ners.

The Mareschal d'Anville gave an answer not much unlike;  
 something more moderate, the Deputies having found  
 ir at Montpellier: For having represented to them, that  
 is heart was as reall as any mans to the Catholick Religion,  
 wherein he had been born, and would continue as long as he  
 lived,



1577 lived, he told them, that it would be both vain and impossible to prohibit the exercise of the reformed Religion granted by so many Edicts, and confirmed by so many conclusions of peace, and that by blowing up the flames of war, the destruction and ruine of all parts of the Kingdom would be continued; but that it ought to be consulted of in common in a lawfull Assembly of the States Generall of France, and not in a particular Congregation as that of Bloys, where onely the Deputies of one party were met together; and therefore he did protest against the validity of whatsoever should be there decreed or resolved.

The Commissioners returned to Bloys with these answers in the beginning of February; and the Duke of Guise being come thither to give a colour to the businesse on his parr, the inclination of the States appeared manifestly ready to disannull the late Edict of Pacification, and resolve upon a war with the Hugonots: wherefore the King not willing to draw the hatred of all the Catholick party upon himself, nor give them cause to suspect the sincerity of his conscience, making the Pope and all Christendome believe he held intelligence with the Hugonots, which jealousie would have endangered the Catholick League to take arms of themselves without his Authority, and disorder the whole state of things: besides, being advised by the Bishop of Lymoges, and Monsieur *de Morvillier*, two of his principall Councillours, he determined (since he could not by open resistance hinder the designs and progresse of the Catholick League, which already had take too deep a root) to make himself Head and Protector of it, and draw that authority to himself which he saw they endeavoured to settle upon the Head of the League both within and without the Kingdom; hoping that he being once made Moderator of that Union, in time convenient means would not be wanting to dissolve it, as a thing directly opposite to his intentions: Wherefore shewing a great desire to extirpate the Hugonot Faction, and making all beleieve that hee was highly offended with the Prince's Answers, he caused the Catholick League framed by the Lords of the House of Lorain to be re-published and sworn in the open Assembly, where they themselves were present, establishing it as an irrevocable and fundamentall Law of the Kingdome: then he declared himself principall Head and Protector of it, with loud specious protest-

Hen. the Third  
declares him-  
self Head of  
the Catholick  
League

tations, that he would spend his last breath to reduce all people to an unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: thus did he labour to avoid that blow, which he saw he could not break by making resistance.

But the King having for many dayes shewed a wonderfull fire to suppress the Hugonots, purposed with one morall blow to try the constancy of the Deputies; for having at his Brother the Duke of Alençon, and the Duke of Nemours unto the Assembly, he caused them to propose, that it was requisite to make war with powerfull Armies, against those that were disobedient to the Catholick Church, great summes of money were also necessary, and that therefore the Kings Treasury being exhausted, he desired the States to assist him with two millions of Duckets to maintain the vast expences of the war; which none ought to refuse, since they had all solemnly taken the Oath of the League, and thereby obliged themselves to contribute their Fortunes in common; which demand, the Deputies for the City of Paris not being present (because some were indisposed, and the rest gone to elect the *Prevoist des Merchands* the chief Officer of that City) and therefore *Jean Bodin* being President of the Order of Commons, and knowing all that burthen was to be laid upon the people, rose up, and answered, That the third Estate had alwayes propounded and protested to desire unity in Religion, and the reducing of those that went away, but without the noise of arms and war, and that if they looked into the Records of the Assembly, they should finde those very words formally expressed in the Vote of the Commons, which he had caused to be registred; and that since they had not consented to the war, neither were they bound to contribute to the expences of it, to satisfy the fantastical humours of some of the Deputies, and consume their own estates to renew the yet bleeding wounds of the Kingdome: which speech of his, not onely the other Orders, but the Clergy themselves assented, who having sworn that in words, which they were not so forward to perform in actions, and requiring no lesse then the rest to ease themselves of those contributions wherewith all of them were equally wearied and weakened, the ardour and constancy of those began to waver, who had so readily resolved upon a warre at the charge and danger of other men: whereupon the King turning his sail



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according to the wind, the next day he himself propounded to the Deputies, that since they thought the charges of war so grievous a burthen, they should patiently expect the Duke of Montpensier and Monsieur *de Byron*, sent by him to the King of Navar, to procure his conversion in a friendly and peaceable manner, with which motion (notwithstanding the opposition of many) the major part of the Deputies were contented.

Not many dayes after the Duke of Montpensier returned and being brought into the Assembly by the Kings command related in order all that had passed in his negotiation, and in substance shewed them that the King of Navar being most desirous of the peace of the Kingdome, would be contented with such reasonable conditions, as cutting off all exorbitant, superfluous matters which were granted in the last Edict, might moderate and compose all differences without putting themselves upon the necessity of a War, and gave almost assured hopes, that he himself (though he would not give occasion to have it thought hee turned Catholick by compulsion might yet in time condescend to alter his opinion, and make a happy conclusion of all things : which relation coming from the Duke, who was of the Blood-Royall, Brother-in-law to the Duke of Guise, and alwayes partiall to the Catholicks, wrought such an effect in the mindes of all, as incouraged *Jehan Bodin* and others of the Order of Commons, again to try the way of agreement, with expresse protestation, that unity in Religion ought to be procured without war : which Vote being some dayes stiffely opposed, and as constantly maintained, was at last carryed, and a Writing drawn up in the name of the States, beseeching the King to endeavour unity in Religion by peacefull means, and without the necessity of War : which being propounded by the King himself in his Councell, the opinions concerning it were diverse ; for the Duke, and Cardinal of Guise, the Duke of Mayenne, the Duke of Nevers, and others were against the proposition of the States, alledging that the end they aimed at could not be obtained without the extirpation of the Hugonots, who were up in arms, and moreover had already renewed the war ; and affirming, that last proposition of the Deputies to be artificially contrived and extorted ; whereas the first had been voluntarily and generally agreed on, and the Oath taken in  
approa-

probation of the League, which was directly contrary to present proceedings. But the Queen-Mother, the Duke Montpensier, the Mareschall de Cossé, Monsieur de Byron, High-Chancellour Byraco, Morvillier, Chiverny, Bellieure, and Villeclaire, with the major part of the Councell being of contrary opinion, alledged that there were many other means (though such as required more time) to bring those that were out of the way, home into the bosome of the Church; and that to destroy so much people would exceedingly weaken the Kingdome, and bring it again into late miseries and dangers. Wherefore it was concluded, that the Duke of Montpensier should return to the King of Navar, to know his last answer concerning his conversion and reconciliation to the Church, and the settling of a lasting, reasonable peace.

In the mean time many other things were debated in the Assembly, about the rule of justice, the ordering of the Finances, the payments of debts, and the reformation of manners, among which matters, some of the Prelats moved, that the Councell of Trent might be received and observed: but the deputies of the Nobility, and those of the Commons opposed stoutly; with which the major part of the Clergy concurring, for the conservation (as they said) of the priviledges of the Gallique Church, and such as had been granted to it by several Popes, it was at last resolved, that it should passe no further.

The Heads of the Catholick League and their followers objected not to seek some way of restraining the Kings power, but propounded that his Councell might be reduced to the number of four and twenty Counsellors, which should not be chosen at the Kings pleasure, but by every Province of the Kingdome, as is the custome in other States. But this motion being made but coldly, and stiffly opposed by many as contrary to the ancient constitutions, and all former precedents, it was at the end cast out, lest the mention of it should too much exasperate the King.

With these deliberations, not onely ambiguous and uncertain, but also opposite and disagreeing among themselves, the Congregation of the States broke up, which having neither concluded Peace nor War, the King was left free to doe what pleased himself: who having happily, though not without

After many disputes the generall Assembly is dismissed without concluding any thing.



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without much pains and industry, overcome the conspiracie of the League, was in good measure confirmed in the resolution of his first designes ; having not onely increased his inward hatred toward the House of Guise, but found by experience his own weaknesse, and the too great power of the Faction : Wherefore being resolved to establish peace, because both parties were nourished and fomented by the war, he first of all put the Bishop of Lymoges away from the Court and cunningly excluded *Morvillier* from the Cabinet-Council, suspecting that they held secret intelligence with the Duke of Guise, and that they had perswaded him to declare himselfe Head of the League, not sincerely, but to assist that party ; for though the artifice had succeeded happily, he thought nevertheless he had discovered that in many occasions they had dissuaded the war with the Hugonots ; which they having done because they thought it so became their Order, being of the Clergy, had thereby stirred up the Kings anger and suspicion, who was jealous beyond measure of seeing the League favoured, or not opposed by any of his own creatures. The Bishop of Lymoges being retired to his own house, lived quietly all the rest of his dayes ; but *Morvillier*, a man secretly full of great ambition, was possessed with so deep a melancholy, that within a few months hee ended his life with griefe.

The King presently dispatched Monsieur de *Byron* and Secretary *Villeroy* to the King of Navar, that they being joyned with the Duke of Montpensier, might prosecute the Treaty of agreement : But though the King of Navar (who with wise consideration measured the strength of his party, which was not very powerfull at that time, making shew to do it through a moderation of minde, and a desire of the generall quiet) did yeeld to decline the late conditions, and consent to what was proposed by the Kings Agents ; yet the Prince of Condé of a fierce haughty nature, and the Hugonot Ministers, whose advice all things were necessarily to be governed, were still obstinate against peace, unlesse upon the Capitulations already established, disputing about such things as necessity disposed another way : wherefore as soon as their stubbornesse, and the difficulty of the Treaty appeared to the King, being resolved to put the Hugonots in mind of their weak estate, and force them to receive conditions of Peace, if they persisted in

their wilfulneffe, he sent out two severall Armies against  
em in the beginning of April; one into the Countries near  
e Loyre, and the Provinces on this side the River, under the  
mmand of the Duke of Alançon, who to remove all dis-  
ts, was declared his Lieutenant Generall; the other on  
t side of the River in Xaintonge, under the Duke of May-  
ne, whom he made use of much more willingly then of the  
uke of Guise, because he found him of a more moderate  
nde and inclination; and besides those two Armies, he set  
th a Fleet under Monsieur *de Lansac* to clear the coasts, and  
nder the entry into Rochelle; by this means he thought  
esently to make the Catholick party weary of those expen-  
s which (by the management of the Duke of Alançon)  
ould become intolerable; and at the same time to break the  
stinacy of the Hugonots, letting them see how little means  
ey had to resist his forces; whereby hee might afterwards  
commodate the conditions of peace in such a way as should  
pear to him just and reasonable, since the former Capitu-  
tions could be neither broken nor moderated unlesse there  
ere first some beginning of a War.

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The K. sends  
two Armies a-  
gainst the Hu-  
gonots.

The Duke of  
Alançon made  
the Kings  
Lieutenant  
Generall.

It was not hard for either of the Kings Armies to do great  
atters in a little time; for the Hugonots being reduced to  
exceeding want of men and money, were not able to keep  
e field; and their fortified places, though valiantly defen-  
d, yet having no assistance ready either of their own party,  
of strangers; their onely help and refuge in all times of  
eir need; they were fain either to let themselves be mise-  
bly destroyed, or yeeld to the discretion of the Conque-  
urs. So no head of the Hugonots appearing in the Field,  
e Duke of Alançon having ataqued, and within a few dayes  
ken *la Charité*, was marched into Auvergne, and had besieged  
oire, a place strongly situated and well fortified, but which  
ported most, constantly, or (to say better) desperately de-  
nded by the inhabitants: yet as the event alwayes proves it  
possible to keep any place that cannot be relieved, it was  
ought to such extremity at the beginning of June, that being  
last yeelded to discretion, it was not onely sacked, and the  
habitants put to the sword, as it pleased the immoderate  
ll of the Duke of Alançon, but it was also set on fire, and  
urnt to the very ground: On the other side, the Duke of  
ayenne, having without difficulty taken Thone-Charente,  
and



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and Marans, had laid siege to Brouage, a place for situation strength, and the profit of the salt-pits of very great importance; where the Prince of Condé having tryed all possible means to relieve the besieged, the Hugonots after some difficulty were brought into such a condition, that about the end of August they delivered it up, saving onely the lives of the Souldiers and inhabitants, which agreement the Duke punctually observed. Nor did their affairs prosper better by sea then land: for *Lansac* with the Kings Fleet having driven away that of the Rochellers commanded by the *Sieur de Clairmont*, and taken two of their greatest ships, landed also in the Isle of Oleron, took it; and being at last come to the Cape of *Blaye*, did exceedingly incommode the affairs of Roche. These accidents having qualified the Prince of Condé's fury and overcome the obstinacy of the Ministers; there was none of the Hugonots, who foreseeing their totall ruine, did not desire and labour for peace, with so great an inclination of all private men, that the Souldiers forsook their colours, the Gentlemen retired to their own houses, and the inhabitants of the City, detesting the exercise of arms, returned to the businesse of their shops; besides, the *Mareschal d'Anville* who in their prosperity had united his Counsels and Forces with them, now pretending he had been abused and ill dealt withall by certain Heads of the faction, did indeavour to make his peace, and return unto the Kings obedience, and had already taken arms against some of the Hugonots, by whom he gave out, that he had been grievously offended.

Nor were the Catholicks more cool and moderate in the desires of peace; for though the good successe of the warredounded to the benefit of the King, and of the Catholic Religion, yet the charge of contributions, and the losses the Country sustained by the insolencies of the Souldiers, and want of government in the Duke of Alançon's Army, refused to the detriment and ruine of private men; wherefore seeing that the war, though unactive, and not very dangerous was yet like to be long and tedious, a great many of those who at first either desired it, or did not oppose it, began now to long for peace, to free themselves from the burthens and inconveniencies of the war, and except the Lords of Guise and their dependents, there was not any who did not think it requisite to procure an agreement, for the ease of the people

wh

who were so exceedingly oppressed. But the expectation of the Hugonot party was fixed upon the King of Navar, who having from the beginning foreseen that mischief, and desired peace) now treating at Bergerac with the Kings Deputies, knew so well how to hide and conceal his weaknesse, that though he stood not upon those conditions which were last concluded with the Duke of Alençon, yet he held up the affairs of his party in being and reputation. But the Kings inclination, and by consequence the easinesse of his Ministers was not lesse then the policy of the King of Navar: wherefore a cessation of arms being agreed upon for a few dayes in the beginning of September, the Accommodation was so actively followed, that in the end the Articles of peace were concluded with so great contentment of both parties, that the King being come to Poitiers with the Court for that purpose, shewed manifest signes of joy, calling it *His* peace; and the Prince of Condé imbraced it with so much greedinesse, that the ratification coming to him in the evening when it was already dark, he caused it to be publickly proclaimed that very night by torch-light.

Through weaknesse of both parties the peace is concluded & published by torch-light.

The Edict of this pacification was very copious, being comprised in 74 Articles, which did limit and take away many of those exorbitancies that had been granted in the former Edict in favour of the forreign Forces; establishing a very moderate, politicall Government, equally just and reasonable for both parties: it permitted the exercise of the reformed Religion in the houses of Gentlemen Feudataries, or (as they call them) \* *de Haute justice*, with the free admission of every body: but in the houses of private Gentlemen, not above the number of seven was allowed, and in a prefixed place in every Jurisdiction and Baili-wick; except in Paris and ten leagues about, and two leagues compasse from the Court wheresoever it should be; it bridled the licence of those who leaving their religious Orders, had joyned themselves in matrimony, by speciall favour pardoning what was past, and severely regulating the future: it restored the use of the Catholick Religion in all places from whence it had been taken during the war: it prescribed the present restitution of Ecclesiasticall Revenues to Priests and Prelats in what Province soever, and that without any delay: it obliged the Hugonots to the certainty of Baptisme, to keep the appointed holy-dayes,

\* High jurisdiction; authority to judge and determine all criminal or capitall matters (except High-treason) within his own precincts, and all civill actions or controversies, except in Royall cases, and such as concern Gentlemen, and the high-ways.



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\* Courts of justice wherein half were Catholics, half Hugonots.

to exclude consanguinity in marriage, and many other things wisely observed in the Catholick Church, and very proper for a peacefull orderly Government: it took away *les Chambres \* mi-parties* (as they call them) which were already settled in Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Bretagne, leaving them still in the other Parliaments, but with a smaller number of Hugonots; nor was any thing omitted which could hinder discords, take away scandals, reunite the mindes of those that were diffident or divided, and settle the authority of Magistrates and vigour of the Lawes in their first state and condition: Yet were eight places granted to the Hugonot Lord for their security for the space of four yeers, after which (the Edi& being entirely observed) they promised faithfully to restore them into the Kings hands, they serving onely in the interim till the Edi& of Pacification was settled in a way, and by time and observance reduced unto the ordinary usual course. These places were *Mompellier* and *Aiguemorte* in Languedoc; *Nyon* and *Serres* in Dauphiné; *Seine* in Provence; *Perigueux*, *la Reolle*, and *le Mas de Verdun* in Guienne; things all prudently ordered, and disposed for the establishment of well settled peace.

But though the King for the Catholick, and the Prince of Bourbon for the Hugonot party, had (to the universall joy of the people) concluded this Agreement, which seemed very likely to take away the late discords, and quiet the distracted estate of the Kingdome; yet neither were mens minds generally pacified, differences totally composed, nor their tumults utterly appeased; but the fire of publick war being extinguished, particular quarrels did still boyl in the interest of private persons; for neither did the Marechal d'Anville (who every day withdrew himself further from the Hugonots) cease to prosecute those by whom he pretended to be injured in Languedoc, under colour of reducing the places of his Government under his own command; nor did the Sieurs *Digniers* in Dauphiné dare to trust the peace, nor hazard himself upon the Kings word, remembering what had befallen *Mombrun*, in whose company he had made war, and therefore still continued armed for his security: and the Catholics (especially the adherents of the League) when they saw the Hugonots meet at their Sermons, being inflamed with anger, and transported with passion, could not suffer them without

without murmurings and detractions, which occasioned many contentions, and sometimes dangerous bloody accidents; whereby a great part of France, though the peace was made, continued still in broyles and insurrections. But the King believing that the benefit of time and moderation of Government might at last appease and extinguish all those commotions, assembled those things which were written and presented unto him from severall parts, and had settled his whole thoughts upon the framing and executing of his designs: yet after the space of some months, seeing the stirs and dissensions still continue, he resolved that the Queen his Mother going into Picardie to conferre with the King of Navar, and then into the other most suspected Provinces, should with the wonted effect of her presence compose the differences, artificially taking away those scruples which still disturbed the Edict of Pacification.

About that time the King created two Mareschals, men of admirable valour in War, and singular prudence in Government; *Armand* Sieur de *Byron*, and *Jaques* Sieur de *Matignon*, who free from the interests of the Duke of Guise, depended meerly and wholly upon the Kings will, acknowledging him their sole benefactor; and though *Byron* for those passages concerning Rochel, and some other jealousies, had for a long time been little favoured by the King, especially before he came unto the Crown; yet being now resolved to consult and trust those who were disaffected to the House of Guise, he came to rise to one of the highest places: it being generally conceived, that he was chiefly induced to those other matters by the envie and hatred which he inwardly bore the Family, by which he knew that not onely his advancement was opposed, but that oftentimes, and particularly at the Massacre of Paris his death was both propounded and perverted. And because *Renato di Birago* the High-Chancellor at the recommendation of the King and Queen was by the Pope received into the number of Cardinals; that most important Office was conferred upon *Philip Hurault* Viscount of Chiverny, one of the Kings most trusty intimate Counsellors.

The High-Chancellour *Birago* being made Cardinal, *Philip Hurault* is chosen in his place.

In the mean time the year 1578 being begun, the Queen-Mother, after some delays, caused by the sharpnesse of the Winter, had with a noble train of principall Lords and Gen-



1578

lemen, begun her journey toward the King of Navar, taking with her the Lady *Margaret* her Daughter, to restore her to him, she having by his sudden departure been left behind him at the Court: being arrived at Bourdeaux, she sent to treat with the Deputies of the Hugonots, who, as to their Head, were come unto the King of Navar, who (in this weakness and slenderesse of his party, mens bodies being wearied, their estates consumed, and the mindes of the Protestant Princes alienated by reason of the small account that had been made of Prince *Casimir* and the Germans,) was forced by cunning and dissimulation to supply the publick necessity, and his own private maintenance: Wherefore being reduced in to a corner of that Province, Governour of Guienne onely in title, deprived of great part of his own revenues, and altogether excluded from the Kings favour and liberality, where with his Ancestors had born up their dignity after the losse of the Kingdom of Navar, he was on the one side faine to imbrace peace, because he had not forces to make war; and on the other he was necessitated secretly to suffer private disorders to break forth into acts of hostility, thereby to maintain his credit and his followers, who had no other means to keep themselves; wherefore with politick deliberations, and with a certain lively promptitude which was naturall to him, made shew exceedingly to reverence the Kings command and yet managed his own interests so dexterously, that in such an exigence of urgent affairs, his vivacity was much esteemed by men of understanding; though some blamed his resolution to live rather in that manner like a banished man, then to submit himself unto the Kings obedience, who by infinite signes was known to be more averse to the House of France, then to him.

1579

But though this variety of interests had prolonged the treaty of matters till the beginning of February 1579, yet could it not utterly disturb it, so that at last it was concluded at Nerac, where both parties were met; for the Hugonots not having strength sufficient to think of war, were content in the end (the obscurity of the Edict being taken away, from whence all these dissensions were thought to arise) that every particular should remain firmly established, and the peace (as much as the secret designs of both parties did allow) perfectly settled.

In the mean time the King constant to his own intentions,

and begun to confirm the groundwork of his determination; besides the two Marshalls which were formerly chosen, he had given the Office of Generall of the Artillery (that for a long time had been held by Monsieur de Byron) to *Philibert de la Guiche*, and had declared *Laurence* Sieur de *Mauvion* Lieutenant Generall in Dauphiné, which place was vacant by the death of the Sieur des *Gordes*: and the Government of the City of Paris formerly held by the chief Lords of the Kingdome, was given to *René* Sieur de *Ville-guier* (then one of his two principall Favourites); and *Francis* Sieur d' *O* (the other) was Superintendent of the *Finances*, and almost at the same time *Jehan* Sieur de *Aumont*, a man of very noble birth, and not inferiour valour, but not favoured with the power or union of any of the Factions, was created Mareschal in the place of *Francis de Momorancy*, who wasted by the tediousness of adverse fortune, was lately departed out of this world. The King bred up continually neer his person (besides those who already sat at the helm of Government) many young Lords and Gentlemen of great hopes and expectations, to fill up the vacancy of those Offices that fell daily; among which the chief were *Anne* Son to the Viscount de *Joyeuse*, and *Jehan Louis* the Son of Monsieur de *la Valett*, who by the vivacity of their wits did equall the nobleness of their extraction: for the Viscount de *Joyeuse*, Father of *Anne*, being honourably descended, had long been Governour of *Gascogne*, and amidst the greatest combustions had faithfully followed the King's and Queen's party, without meddling with either faction; and Monsieur de *la Valett* the Father of *Jehan Louis*, being also a Gentleman of most noble blood, having commanded the light-Horse in the course of all the warres, had gained an extraordinary reputation of valour: Wherefore these young Lords bred up in the discipline of the Court (where they had the example of their worthy Progenitors, and advanced into the Kings Chamber) were as leaders to the rest, who were brought up in great number to the principall hopes of the Crown: and though Monsieur de *Quelus*, and *Francis* Son of *Maugiron*, two of these young Favourites (falling into a quarrell with *Antraquet* and *Riberack*, favourites of the House of *Guise*) were both slain in Duell, and *S. Megrin* (a third Companion of those two) was killed a few dayes after by some that were unknown, as he came out of the Court late



*Hen. the Third  
his manner of  
life.*

1578 late at night; yet the King, satisfying both his grief and anger by doing honours to the dead (in so much that he caused their Statues in marble to be erected in the Church of *S. Paul*) did still raise up others into his favour, who for birth and ingenuity were proper for the greatnesse of his designs: which things while they were ripening, the Kings life was very different from that education in which from his childhood he had been trained up generously in the midst of Arms; for having at first determined to take a soft quiet course of life, very conformable to the inward inclination of his nature, and of no measure pleasing to him; he gave himself over wholly to his ease, frequented Sermons and Processions, conversed often with Capuchins and Jesuits, built Monasteries and Chappels, used to undergoe penances and wear hair shirts, wore beads openly at his girdle, and was often present at the Schoole of the Penitents, and at the Canonick hours of the Hieronimites, who were brought by him to live in his own Palace, by which actions he shewed a wonderfull affection to Religion and a most ardent desire to increase and propagate it. This manner of living did in great part produce the effect he desired; for many of the Catholicks lulled asleep, and wained from a military life by the example of their Prince, had turned themselves to quiet peacefull thoughts, and to the care of their domestick affairs, which in the revolutions of so many warres had been long neglected and forgotten; and among the Hugonots, (part laying aside their stubborneesse, since it was not provoked; and part seeing all gifts and favours were bestowed upon such as followed the King's example, in reverence to Religion, and exercising Catholick duties) many by little and little withdrew themselves from that party, and either really, or in appearance joyned with the Roman Church; so that a few months of peace were cleerly seen to have converted more then twenty yeeres of continuall warre had done before.

But this deliberation of the Kings, which if it had been prosecuted with the same severity it was begun, might perchance have happily effected his proposed end; being at length drawn aside by passion and inclination, began to passe from devotion to luxurie, and from ease to dissolutenesse; so that though he continued in the same spirituall exercises, yet his hours of recreation and days of rest were spent in delightfull pastimes,

nes, sumptuous Masques and Balls, Statelie marriages, and continuall conversation with the Ladies of the Court, where his designe of a quiet and peacefull life, corrupted by idle and little, was no longer art and dissimulation, but turne into custome, and abuse; and though on the one side the advantage of taking off mens minds from their wonted fiercesse, did thereby continue; yet on the other it rendred the King very odious, and contemptible to a great part of the Kingdom: For the \* Nobilitie, (seeing their Princes favour was totally ingrossed by a few men, and every one excluded from any advancement at Court, but by the means of those favourites (commonly called *Minions*,) who were not onely to be served, and wayted on, above the condition of their birth, but oftentimes also to be corrupted with great presents) were kindled with an infinite disdain, and shunning, and avoyding the very sight of the Court, awakened and stirred up the state of present affaires. The Common people intolerably burthened with new taxations, and innumerable grievances, not onely thereby to heape up treasure sufficient to sustaine that labrick of the Kings designs, but much more to supply the superfluous expences both spirituall and temporall, and to feede the greedy covetousnesse of his Minions; seeing themselves in a much worse condition in peace, then they were wont to be in warr, hated the very name of the King, and murmured against his way of government. The Clergy no lesse furthered then the rest, did continually blame the Counsellors of that administration, which had made peace with the Hugonots to follow the luxuries, and pleasures of the Court; and many of the principall Hugonots themselves though they peaceably enjoyed a liberty of Conscience, yet could they not settle their mindes, nor free themselves from jealousies, whilst they saw the King publickly addicted to the severest exercises of the Catholick Religion, and continually incompassed by the Capuchins, Jesuites, Bernardines, Hieronomites, and other Religious Orders, so that in the midst of peace, nothing but the persecution of heresie was dayly threatened. Thus the Kings secret designs framed, and plotted with so long care and industry, (as is the custome of too subtile counsellors) did at length produce effects very different from the intent and ayme of their contriver.

\* Including the Gentry, who are always meant by the French Noblesse as well as the Lords.

This occasion of the generall hatred against the Kings person



1579

The Guises  
foment the  
peoples hatred  
against the  
King.

son was not omitted by the Duke of Guise, nor by his brothers, and confederates, for doubting of his intentions in matter of Religion, whereof they had declared themselves defenders; and having already by many conjectures, found out the end to which the action tended; they being no lesse politick, and crafty then himselfe, did labour by all means possible, not onely to increase the ill will which was in a manne generally borne him, and to bring him into the contempt of all his people, but also to gaine themselves credit and reputation, and to winne the love, and applause of every one grave in their speech, affable in conversation, ready to shew favour and assistance to those that needed, boasters of their owne vertues which were many, and (which among the common people is alwayes very prevalent) of noble presence, comely person, and gracefull behaviour. So though the King diminished their power, by bringing such into employment as were averse from them, and onely depending upon himselfe, yet they grew up another way, cunningly receiving and assisting such as were injured, and drawing the Malecontents to joyne with them; and though the King had taken much of that hatred, which formerly in the common sort Hugonots was very great against him, by having granted the both an inward, and an outward peace, yet did they stirre the hatred of the Catholicks, and particularly of the Parisians imputing his favours towards the young Gentlemen that were about him, unto an unfitting irregular desire; his devotion and pennances to hypocrisie, and dissimulation; the advancing of his dependents to offices and honours, to a tyrannic power, and a greedy appetite to devour all things; which things they themselves not naming, but speaking of the Kings actions with ambiguous words and reservations, caused them to be divulged by active eloquent men, sometimes figuratively in the pulpit, sometimes openly in meetings and ordinary conversations, and many times by little pamphlets under diverse titles, made them be artificially described and published.

But the King trusting to the secret structure of his signes, which he thought to be in a very good forwardness, believed he should at last be easily able to overcome all oppositions; and to levell the line of them the more regularly, by joyning the theorick to the practick, he retired himself every

ay after dinner with *Baccio de Bene*, and *Giacopo Corbinelli*,  
 orh Florentines, men exceedingly learned in the Greek and  
 latine Studies, making them read unto him *Polybius* and *Cor-*  
*elius Tacitus*; but much more often the discourses and  
 rince of *Machiavell*; which readings stirring him up, he was  
 o much the more transported with his own secret plots; for  
 ne advancing whereof, that he might the better engage and  
 blige the principall persons more neerly and confidently to  
 himself, under colour that the Order of the Knights of S. *Mi-*  
*pael* was become mean and common, by having been too ea-  
 ly, and too indifferently conferred by his Predecessours, he  
 stituted a new Order of Knight-hood; which with strict  
 iles and an assignement of certain revenues, he called *l'Ordre*  
*de S' Esprit*, solemnizing the ceremonies of it upon the first day  
 the year: but as this Prince was most ingenious in laying  
 s designs, and ardent in the beginning of them, but re-  
 ills in the prosecution, having found many difficulties at  
 ome in his purpose of assigning Church-lands to that Order  
 Knight-hood, under title of *Commendums*; the profits of  
 at Order were frustrated, though the name and the Order  
 self being placed in persons of eminent quality, hath conti-  
 ed for many yeers in high esteem and veneration.

Henry the third  
 institutes the  
 order of  
 Knighthood  
 of the holy  
 Ghost.

Whilest these things passe at the Court, the Queen-Mo-  
 er (having concluded the Treaty with the King of Navar,  
 d endeavoured to make him taste the delights and benefits  
 Peace) went to visit the Provinces of Gascogne, Langue-  
 c, and Dauphiné, every one receiving her answers as so  
 ny Oracles, since the King shewing a desire to live quiet  
 d retired, had remitted all the weight of affairs unto her  
 re; and having left her Daughter with her Husband, she  
 d conferred with the Viscount *de Turenne* in Poictou, and  
 d composed differences with the Mareschall *d'Anville* in  
 nguedoc, who having sued for pardon, (yet without stir-  
 g from his Government) was returned (though but in ap-  
 arance) unto the Kings obedience. Last of all, the Queen  
 nt to Montluell, a Town of the Duke of Savoy's not far  
 m the Confines, to speak with the Mareschall *de Bellegarde*  
 o, during the warrs of France, had possessed himselfe of the  
 rquestate of Saluzzo.

*Bellegarde* had for many yeers held the cheif place in the  
 gs favour, and in the beginning of his reigne was by him



1579

*Bellegarde*, by  
intelligence  
with the Duke  
of Savoy, u-  
surps the Mar-  
quesate of Sa-  
luzzo.

created Mareſchall; but afterward, for ſome jealousies the King conceived of him, and by the inſtigation of his competitors *Chiverny* and *Villeguier*, he was fallen out of favour, and under pretence of ſending him into Poland to negotiate for the Duke of Alançon, he had cunningly ſought to put him from Court: but being openly favoured by the Mareſchal *d'Anville*, and ſecretly by the Duke of Savoy, he went into the Marqueſate of Saluzzo, where having found a light occaſion of diſpute with *Carlo de Birago* the Kings Lieutenant, who held the principall places, he eaſily drove him away by force & having without much difficulty made himſelf Maſter of the State, he carryed himſelf in imitation of *d'Anville*, obeying the Kings orders onely ſo far forth as he himſelf thought fit. This action of his did not onely prove very prejudiciall to the affairs of France, but likewiſe wrought great ſuſpicions in the Italian Princes, who with reaſon doubted, that *Bellegarde* ſet on by the Catholick King to deprive the French of the Marqueſate of Saluzzo, might give the King occaſion, for the recovery of his own, to bring the war into Italy, and put the affairs of that Province into confuſion; and that ſo much the rather, becauſe they ſaw *Bellegarde* leave ſouldiers, and fortifie places, and yet knew not with whoſe money he could do thoſe things: wherefore the Pope being moved, had prayed the Venetian Senate, as friends to the King, to interpoſe their wiſdome to take away the occaſion of that fire, the preparations whereof were ſo neer at hand: the Senate undertook the buſineſſe very carefully, and having cauſed their Ambaſſadour *Grimano* to treat with the King, and *Franſeſco Barbaro* reſident in Savoy, with the Mareſchal *de Bellegarde*, was the occaſion that the King committed that affair unto the managing of his Mother. For this cauſe the Queen, not being able to draw *Bellegarde* unto Grenoble, whither the Duke of Savoy and the Venetian Ambaſſadour were come to meet her, was content to goe to Montluell, (according to her cuſtome) making ſmall account of ceremonies (which uſe much to trouble Princes) ſo ſhe might obtain her ends in the ſubſtance of things. There having wrought the Mareſchal to acknowledge the King, and receive the Patent of his Government from him, ſhe diſpatched it for him, with many demonstrations of honour; but whatſoever the occaſion were, the Mareſchall dyed ſuddenly as ſoon as he was returned unto Saluzz,

Saluzzo; and before the Queen departed from those Provinces, the Governours and Guardians of his Son delivered up that State into the hands of the King of France.

The Queen being gotten out of that trouble, passing thorow Burgogne, was returned unto her Son, to assist in the administration of the Government; whilest hee, retired from the management of affairs, seemed onely to mind feasts and solemnities, leaving all businesse to her, and to his Councell, though indeed every least particular passed thorow his own hands; by which arts he thought himself so secure of present, and certain of future matters, that he believed he had already fully executed all that he had secretly contrived in his mind. Onely he thought the course of his designs was thwarted by the Duke of Alençon, who fickle and unconstant in his desires, sometimes retiring himself from Court, sometimes returning confidently again, now holding intelligence with the Malecontents, and within a while refusing to meddle with them, kept him still solicitous with many jealousies and anxieties.

The Queen-Mother endeavoured principally to remedy that fear, as a thing so materiall, that the tranquillity or disturbance of the Government depended on it: Wherefore shee, the people of the Low-Countries being already withdrawn from the subjection of the Catholick King, having first besought the King of France to receive them into his protection; and after he refused it, having offered the command of themselves to the Duke of Alençon, if with a powerfull Army he would deliver them from fear of the Spanish Tyranny; the Queen desirous to free one Son from his suspicions, and to provide a convenient State for the other, exhorted the King to let the Duke of Alençon accept of the protection of the States of Flanders, and to raise an Army upon fained pretences within the limits of France, alledging that all unquiet and seditious spirits would go along with the Duke, and diminish that pestilent matter which maintained the discords and troubles of the Kingdome: and the better to ground and settle that designe, shee tryed to renew the so often rejected treaty of marriage between the Duke and the Queen of England; which though it could not be concluded, yee at least this consequence might result from it, That the Queen by her Forces and Authority would incline to favour the Duke in his new

The Low-Countries being withdrawn from the King of Spains Dominion, first seek protection from the King of France, and then put themselves under the Duke of Alençon.



1579

\* The Italians  
under the  
name of Flan-  
ders usually  
comprehend  
all the Low-  
Countryes

Command; wherefore omitting nothing that could advance that end, after many Embassies on both sides, Alançon himself went this yeer personally into England, where being honourably and sumptuously received by the Queen, he stayed there a great while; and though she abhorred to submit herself to the yoke of Matrimony, and that the States of England did likewise abhorre the Government of a French King yet because the interest of State required to dissemble, as well to encrease the Dukes reputation, and by consequence the strength of the States of \* Flanders, as also to cause a jealousy in the Catholick King, who at that time was intent about many other designs, which were much suspected by all the Princes his neighbours; the Queen fained to consent unto the match, and amongst the pomps and delights of her Court honoured and favoured the Duke of Alançon very familiarly in whose behalf the King dispatched an honourable Embassie the chief whereof was *Francis de Montpensier* Prince Dauphin a Lord of winning carriage, and often imployed, being known to be of a sincere mind, an honest (but not crafty) nature, and very far from meddling or consorting with faction minded men. At the arrivall of this Embassie, which was received with great tokens of honour, the articles and conditions were treated of, which were to be observed by both parties; and the businesse went so far, that the Duke and Queen gave each other a ring in token of future marriage though she neverthelesse persevered constantly in her resolution of a free, single life, and therefore would by no means suffer it to goe any further: But these things happened in the course of the year following.

In this year the King of Navar, after the departure of the Queen-Mother, did assemble a Congregation of his party at Mazere in the County of Foix, to deliberate in what manner they should behave themselves for the time to come; where (amongst the discourses of peace, the spirits of many that desired war shewing their inclinations) in the end it began to be debated, whether the peace should be continued, or that they should return to the hazard of arms. Nor was the King of Navar himself much averse from active thoughts, knowing by experience, that peace and idlenesse did ruine by little and little, and insensibly diminish the strength of his party; many, weary of innovations, returned sincerely unto the Catholick

Catholick Church, many seeing the Hugonots depressed, and excluded from offices and honours, did faine to return unto it ; and all of them (old businesse growing out of date, and the authority of Command languishing) did equally withdraw themselves from the cares and interests of the Faction : and he himself being reduced to a very low ebb of Fortune, not only foresaw his future ruine, but for the present had not herewithall to maintain the honour of a King, nor of first prince of the Blood. To which necessities the instigations of the Prince of Condé being added (who was of a more fierce unquiet nature, unable to digest the affront of being excluded from the Government of Picardy ; and the assent, rather desire of many young men that ordered matters of Government concurring in the same) they concluded at last, that it was better to try the fortune of arms, then to perish secretly in the idlenesse of peace ; and they resolved to prepare themselves, and seek some occasion to begin the war, so much the rather, because the Kings manner of life being already sought to proceed from dissolutenesse of customs, and weakness of spirit, it incited all to carry themselves without restraint according to their proper interests and inclinations. Wherefore the King of Navar calling to him the Deputies of Languedoc and Dauphiné which were come to the Congregation ; after a long discourse, wherein he exhorted them on their parts to lend what assistance they were able unto the common cause, he gave the pieces of a broken French-Crown of gold to carry to Monsieur de Chastillon, Son to the Admirall of France, who was already gotten into Languedoc, and to Monsieur des Diguieres, who was in Dauphiné, with direction that they should give credit in the matter and order of war to those that should bring them the remaining pieces of the Crown, esteeming that a very secret token, and not so easily to be counterfeited : with which determination each retiring into his owne Province, they began secretly to make themselves ready to take up arms.

But the King of Navar seeking to put a glosse upon the businesse with some specious reasonable colour, the time drawing on that the cautionary Towns were to be restored, though the King demanded them but coldly, rather out of compliance with the Catholick party, then a desire to have them ; yet He made a mighty noyse about it, and often calling

The Hugonots stirr up new commotions.



1579 ling Assemblies of the Hugonots (which they call *Synods*) endeavoured to shew them, that the time of restoring those places was not yet come, nor the execution of the Edict fully accomplished, since the free exercise of their Religion was neither permitted in Champagne, Normandy, Burgogne, nor the Isle of France; whereupon, the Ministers growing hot, who were very much pleased with that pretence, their minds began to incline to war; for the beginning whereof, the King of Navar was resolved to undertake some notable enterprize, the same whereof might quicken the slownesse of all the rest of his party: wherefore he thought of beginning with an attempt upon Cahors, which Town having been promised by the King to the Lady *Margaret* his wife in dowry, was nevertheless assigned unto her, it being kept by the Governour in the Kings name: by that hee obtained a reasonable pretence (so necessary in Civill Warres to feed the mindes of the people and to palliate the interests of the parties) and a great benefit resulted to him by the addition of a rich City and neighbouring Territory, which was both very great, and wonderfully commodious for his present affairs.

The Prince of  
Condé enters  
la Fere, and  
drives out the  
Governor and  
Garrison.

The Prince of Condé also, who could not blot the benefesse of Picardy out of his memory, purposed to go unknown into that Province, and by the help of some adherents, to make himself Master of a place or two, by which he might get footing in that Country, and enlarge his State and Fortune beyond the narrow limits of Xaintonge; thinking he might fairly cover his own ends, by making shew that he would live under the Kings obedience, and revenge himself of his enemies, by whose practices he had been excluded from the Government. The Prince of Condé as of a more hasty impatient nature, began first; and being come unknown to Poitiers, he passed from thence with very great danger through the other Cities and Provinces of France, into the heart of Picardy, where after the space of a few months, having gathered art, and the intelligence of his Friends, drawn together from severall parts the number of 300 men, he entred *la Fere*, a strong place, and of great consequence, whence driving away the Governour, and the small Garrison that was in it, he became Master of it the 29 day of November, and having presently writ unto the King, that he kept that Fortresse in his name, as being by him elected Governour of the Province,

om which he had been excluded by the malice of his enemies; he began notwithstanding to make preparations to defend himself as well as he could, not doubting but the King would use all his force to chase him out of so convenient an harbour.

But in the beginning of the yeer following, 1580, the King of Navar (after he had sent the remaining pieces of the broken Crown to the Lord of *Chastillon*, and Monsieur des *Derriers* in token that they should begin the Warre) began to settle himself in his intended enterprize of Cahors, which was a surprise that City upon a sudden, and bring it into his own power.

The Citie of Cahors is seated upon the River Lot, which environing it on three sides, leaves onely one passage free, called *la Porte aux Barres*, and the other three sides are entred by three fair Bridges that crosse the River; by one of these, called the New bridge, the King of Navar was resolved to attack the City secretly in the night, not having Forces to assault or besiege it by day: and because the first entry of the Bridge was hindred by a gate, that was kept locked, after which, without any draw-bridge, at the other end stood the gate of the City, defended by two *Cavelines*, one on either hand: he purposed at each gate to fasten a *Petard* (an engine till then little esteemed for the newnesse of it, but since by often tryall grown famous for sudden enterprizes in war) and the obstacles being broken, to come presently to handy-blowes with the defenders. For this purpose, besides the company who to open the *Petard* were necessarily to go before, hee divided his Souldiers into four Squadrons; the first led by the Baron de *Salignac*; the second by the Sieur de *S<sup>t</sup>. Martin*, Captain of his Guards; the third, wherein were the Gentry, and he himself in person, by *Antoyne Sieur de Rochelaure*; and a fourth by the Viscount de *Gourdon*, wherein were 1200 good Fire-locks. The *Petard* being fastened to the first gate of the Bridge by Captain *Jehan Robert*, wrought its effect according to expectation, and those few Souldiers that were in the *Cavelines* were cut in pieces without much difficulty: nor did the second *Petard* any lesse, having broken open the gate of the City, so that they might easily have entred if there had been no further opposition; but they of the Town wakened with the noyse of the first *Petard*, and the Sieur de *Vesins*, who

Cahors is taken and sacked by the Hugonots.

was



1580

was Governour, being run to the danger just as he was, not utterly without Arms, but almost without Clothes ; they stoutly opposed the entry of the enemy, fresh men still running armed from all parts of the City to make resistance : there was a very hot service between the first squadrons, not onely fighting at a distance continually with shot, but the boldest of them coming up with short weapons ; and by little and little, the second and third squadrons being everywhere mingled with the first, the encounter became very fierce and bloody (wherein the Governour of the Town (who though unarmed, was of necessity to be in the thickest of the Fight) being killed) on that side ; and on the King of Navar's, the *Sieur de S. Martin*. The businesse continued for two long hours in equal balance : But the Baron *de Salignac* first, and then the *Sieur de Roche-Laure* being dangerously wounded, and carried out of the hurly-burly, the courage of the rest began to sink in such manner, that the assailants gave ground apace ; which though at the first they had entered as far as the Market place yet being now driven back almost to the very gate, would certainly have been quite repulsed, and beaten out of the City (for the Viscount *de Gordon*, with his Fire-locks that were in the Rere, advanced but very slowly) if the King of Navar (much troubled for the losse of his Captains, highly incensed at the affront his men were like to receive, and despairing of his own affairs, if his first enterprise failed of a happy success) coming up to the head of his Souldiers in the very face of the enemy) had not renewed the assault, by fighting gallantly and undauntedly with his own hand : for the Lords, Gentlemen and Souldiers hastening bravely after him, and striving to go beyond each other in following the steps of their Leader, (while doing incredible exploits) did fiercely quell the ardour of the defendants, advanced so far, that about break of day they had again recovered the chief Market-place of the City, the Towns-men having shut up and fortified themselves (as well as the shortnesse of the time would permit) in the public Schools ; from whence though they gave fire on every side, and the great slaughter of the assailants, who fought without defence in the open streets ; yet the King of Navar never moved from the head of his men, though they that were next to him were often killed by his side. In this manner they fought all the day, and all the night following ; except onely that now  
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and then they took a little rest, which both sides were invited by the darknesse of the night. The next day about Sun-  
 ing, news was brought to the King of Navar, that supplies  
 ere coming to the City from the neighbouring Towns ;  
 herefore he sent the *Sieur de Chouppes* to fight with them  
 without *la Porte aux Barres*, and couragiously redoubled the  
 fault to drive the defenders from their places of advantage ;  
 but he found so stout and valiant resistance, that though the  
 supplies were defeated that came to assist the Town, and that  
 they thereby received no relief, yet could not he in all that  
 day, and the night following, force them to yeeld, till three  
 peeces of Canon, which they found in the City-Magazine, be-  
 ing fitted and brought forth, they shattered and broke down  
 the Barricadoes made up by the defendants ; whence fol-  
 lowed a bloody execution, and a wonderful slaughter of the  
 people. Thus after three days continual fighting, the City of  
 Cahors was at last taken, and violently sacked, having not  
 only yeelded very rich spoil and booty to the souldiers, but  
 reaked the hatred which many of the Hugonots bore to the  
 very name of a Catholike. In this enterprize, the fearlesse  
 courage of the King of Navar was much admired by every one ;  
 who having in his other actions given proofs of a great and  
 valiant spirit, in this (to the terrour of his enemies, and admi-  
 ration of his friends) he shewed himself as gallant and as da-  
 ring a Souldier, as the effects of his following exploits did  
 completely witnesse him to be.

At the very same time, *Les Diguieres* in Dauphiné, not be-  
 ing able to move the Nobility, which scorned to come under  
 his Command, (who though a Gentleman by birth, was yet  
 neither favoured with the splendour of an ancient Pedigree,  
 nor riches) had stirred up the Country-people to take Arms  
 against some of the chief of them, by whom they complained  
 they had been very much oppressed : but the War proceeding  
 with very small successe, because *Monsieur de Mangiron* Lieu-  
 tenant of that Province, and *Monsieur de Mandelot* Gover-  
 nor of Lyons, often routed and defeated his peasants ; he ha-  
 ving attempted many enterprizes without effect, at last retired,  
 and fortified himself in *la Muze*.

But in Languedoc, whether it were that the Lord of Cha-  
 tilon's authority was not yet very powerful with that peo-  
 ple, or that men being weary of Civil broils, stood in awe of



1580

Monfieur d'Anville, who shewed himself very ready to suppress any Insurrection, there was not any stir or taking of Arms, as the King of Navar expected, the Marechal labouring very diligently to take away all occasions of discontent, by a full observation of the King's Edicts.

At the news  
of these stirs,  
the King sends  
forth three  
Armies.

The King being informed of these new eruptions in so many several places, whilst he thought himself secure, and free from all troubles and dangers of War, resolved to shew his face once more to those that made Insurrection, to reduce them to obedience, and to the sincere observance of the Peace; to which end he raised three several Armies with infinite diligence: One for Picardy, to recover *la Fere*; another for Guienne, against the King of Navar; and the third, to settle the Commotion in Dauphiné: from which sudden resolution, and the readinesse of levying and ordering those Forces, wise men drew more confident assurance that his quiet stilnesse was onely voluntary, and that under a shew of ease and carelesnesse, he nourished more deep important thoughts in his minde. To these Armies the King appointed Commanders futable to the occasion and his secret intentions: for desiring that *la Fere* should presently be recovered, because it is so neer the heart of the Kingdom, and the City of Paris, and easie to be relieved by the neernesse of the States of Flanders, he sent thither *Jacqu* Marechal de Matignon, whom he was always wont to make use of where there was need of doing something to the purpose; on the other side, desiring that the King of Navar should be repressed, but not utterly suppressed, because he would not cast the Scale so much on that side, and make the faction of the *Guises* superiour, (which had no other counterpoize so proper as his party) he sent *Armand* Marechal de Byron to the end that by his old inclinations he might proceed warily in opposing it. And being necessitated to employ for one of the Lorain-Princes, by reason of the power of the House of Guise, to which it was requisite to bear a convenient respect, and because he would not utterly alienate those of the Catholike League, he made choice of *Charles* Duke of Mayenne for Dauphiné, as well because he esteemed him to be of a more settled nature than his brother, as out of a belief the business of those parts was very easie, and of but small consequence.

Nor did the effect differ from the King's expectations: for Monsieur de Matignon having besieged *la Fere*, from whence  
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The Prince of Condé was already departed, and gone into England, he within a small time recovered it, though not without some blood. The Duke of Mayenne having taken *la Fere*, and put the Hugonots of that Province in a very great rout, did not onely reduce the Gentry and Commons to obedience, but also the *Sieur des Dignieres* himself. And the *Mareschal de Byron* having about Nerac defeated some Companies of *Gens d'armes*, and taken many weak places in Guine, at last his horse falling under him, and his thigh being hurt in two places, he drew his Army into Quarters, without any further progresse. So that the King of Navar not being able to keep the field, nor undertake any designe, by reason of the opposition of the Kings Army; yet shewing much more courage then strength, maintained himself still in Arms with actions of small importance.

In this interim, the Duke of Alençon being returned out of England, full of hopes by the Queens promises, but without any certainty of the future Match, and preparing for the journey of Flanders, interposed between the King his brother, and the King of Navar his brother-in-law, to settle businesses in the former Concord; fearing that if the War should break forth in good earnest in France, he should not then be able to draw those helps from thence which he expected for the accomplishment of his designe: wherefore being gone personally to Libourne and *la Freche*, Towns in the County of *Guyenne*, whither also came the King of Navar, and on the Kings part the Duke of Montpensier, the *Mareschal de Cossé*, and *Compte* *Sieur de Bellieure*, he wrought so far, that he brought the business to a good conclusion: for the King by nature was inclined to it, and the King of Navar, besides the smallness of his Forces, and the ill success of his late enterprises, had no hopes at all of any assistance from abroad; the Prince of Condé, who went into England, and thence into the Low-countries, and after into Germany, found all their minds intent upon the business of *Flanders*, weary of the instability of the French Hugonots, and unsatisfied at the taking up of Arms without any lawfull occasion, whilst the King living in peace observed punctually the Conditions of the Agreement; therefore having no hope of aid, and not daring to set up his standard within the Kingdom, the former Articles were willingly accepted by him, and the Edict of the late Peace confirmed, as



1580 also the Conference held at Nerac with the Queen : and in the manner Arms were laid down again, and all things were composed in a peaceful way.

The Civil broils being quieted, two different enterprises kept all France in action ; That of the Duke of Alançon, who with the tacite permission of his Brother, prepared himself to go into the Low-Countries against the Catholike King's Forces under the command of *Alessandro Farnese* Prince of Parma ; And that of the Queen-mother, by occasion of the Kingdom of Portugal. For the King *Sebastian* being dead in the War of Affrica, and after him, King *Henry Cardinal*, without sons ; among many others who pretended to that Crown, the Queen-mother, as heir of the House of Bologne, and descended in a right line from *Robert* the son of *Alfonso* the third and the Countesse *Matilda* his first and lawful wife, pretended also to that succession, alleading that all the Kings who had reigned since *Alfonso* ( being descended from *Beatrice*, which could not be the lawful wife, but the Concubine of *Alfonso* ) *Matilda* being yet alive ) were illegitimate : and because for reason of her being so far distant, and many other respects, she thought her self not so powerful in Forces as some of the other Competitours, she pretended that the businesse was to be decided by the way of Justice, without coming to the Force of Arms. But the King of Spain, out of a confidence of his power and neernesse, having in the mean time usurped the Kingdom with an Army, and causing himself by the Governors thereof to be proclaimed the lawful Successour ; the Queen joyning Counsels with *Anthonio* Prior of Crato ( who pretending to the same Kingdom, had been put beside it by the Spaniards ) set forth a mighty Navie under the command of *Filippo Strozzi*, against King *Philip*, to relieve the *Tercera*'s Islands in the Ocean Sea, belonging to that Kingdom, which were yet held by *Anthonio*, and to make new acquisitions, if they could land upon the coasts neer the City of Lisbon. The death of *Strozzi*, the disperfing of that Navie, and other things that happened in that businesse, I leave to the Authors that shall write the History of Portugal, it not being necessary to enlarge this Narration, and make it more prolix, by the addition of forraign matters that little or nothing concern the knowledge of the French affairs.

\* Geographers call these Islands the *Acores*, and onely one of them the *Tercera*, as being third in the passage from Spain towards Virginia, Florida, and those parts.

The same silence, and for the same reason, I observe in the bi-

ness of Flanders, whither the Duke of Alançon (having  
the King's tacite consent levied a very great Army) went the  
following year, being 1581, to relieve the City of Cambray,  
after he had succoured it, and reduced it into his power,  
went on with greater Force into the Low-Countries, to re-  
cover the Title and Possession of those States, which having  
withdrawn themselves from obedience to the Catholike King,  
put themselves under him with certain limited conditions.  
But did the King of Spain and the Pope fail by means of their  
Ambassadours to complain of the King of France, as well for  
that concerned the Duke of Alançon, as because *Antonio* of  
Portugal was received into *France*, and by the Queen-mo-  
ther's attempts abetted in his pretensions to that Kingdom. But  
he answered the Ambassadours, and by means of his Agents  
in Rome and in Spain, excused himself to both, That *Antonio*  
had been received by his Mother, and assisted as her Vassal, she  
herself pretending to the Crown of Portugal: That the Fleet  
which had been set forth, was made ready at her own charges,  
without his knowledge or consent; and though it should be  
fought withal and beaten by the Catholike King, he would  
at all think himself injured or ill dealt withal, it being a  
business apart, that concerned not his interests or the Crown  
of France: That for the Duke of Alançon, he had opposed  
it stiffly more then once; but that he was more apt to fol-  
low the suggestions of others, then to obey his commands:  
That he was sorry he had not been able to restrain those French  
that went with him; but that the disobedience of his Subjects  
was known to all the world, and also the quality of those per-  
sons that were gone thither, who for so many yeers had distur-  
bed the Kingdom in his time, and in the Raigns of his Brothers  
and Predecessours: That he had given a sufficient testimony  
of himself, when the States of Flanders desiring to put them-  
selves under his Authority, he had refused them without any  
delay at all: So that he having no hand in those preparati-  
ons made against Flanders, nor in the others against Portugal,  
he believed that the peace and friendship which he held with  
the Catholike King, were neither violated nor disturbed; con-  
sidering, that to give a clear evidence of himself, and to con-  
serve the Peace with the Crown of Spain (if the Catholike  
King should desire it) he would at any time send men into  
Flanders to serve the Prince of Parma, with expresse order not  
only



1581 onely to fight against the States, and against the other Commanders, but also against his brother the Duke of Alancn himself.

This was the substance of what the King said, adorning with many particularities and circumstances; but in effect he endeavoured to make both busineses continue, being glad not onely that the Duke of Alancn should go out of his Kingdom, but that with Monsieur *de la Noue*, the Mareschal *Byron*, and many other Commanders, the greatest part of the matter which did molest and disquiet his State, should also be removed; which when he saw effected in the year 1582, having settled himself in his former repose, he continued the prosecution of those designs which by long practice were grown familiar to him: and because cunning and dissimulation were already converted into nature, and he now did that by use and custom, which his humour inclining to, he was from the beginning resolved to bring to passe by art; he went on, exalting and giving power onely to those who bred up by himself, were beyond measure esteemed, and most excessively favoured him: amongst which, to *Anne de Joyeuse* (by him created Duke and Peer of France) he gave in Marriage his own fifth-in-law, sister to the Queen: and to *Jehan Louis de la Vaud* (created also Duke of Espernon and Peer of France): he granted the most important Governments and the greatest Offices that were daily vacant. Next to these in his favour were the Chancellour *Chiverny*, *Ren Sieur de Villequier*, *Franc Sieur d'O*, *Pompone de Bellieure*, *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, and the Mareschals of *Retz* and *Matignon*, who (no less in understanding then in age) cared not to be the first in the King's favour, lest they should also be first exposed to the blowe and envie of Fortune; but yeelding the highest pleasure to the vanity of young men, contented themselves with a more settled, more moderate condition. The wisdom of the Mareschal *de Retz* was particularly very remarkable; who knowing himself to be an Italian, and therefore subject to the hatred and persecution of the French, though the King did by the vastnesse of his gifts seek to exalt him to the highest pitch of greatnesse, yet did not onely put rubs and hinderances in the way of his own advancement, but afterward, when he saw that the King was resolved to make him great, he most discreetly endeavoured that those things which he knew were destined

lined to him, might be procured by the intercession of some of the great Princes : a thing that succeeded so happily him, that his greatnesse was established without envie, by one being either unwilling or ashamed to crosse that line which he himself had favoured, and that man which believed he had made one of his obliged dependents. But *use, Espernon*, and the other youths, whose age and experience had not taught them so much moderation, spreading their sails before the prosperous winde of Fortune, labouring all possible means to attain to the most eminent dignity : Wherefore the death of *Philippo Strozzi*, who was general of the French Infantry, happening at the *Tercera's*, Charge was given to the Duke d'*Espernon*, but much more lifted in Command and Authority. And the Mareschal *iron* having left the Office of Lieutenant of Guienne, to go into Flanders with the Duke of Alançon, it was conferred on the Mareschal de *Matignon*. And the Governments of *Orleans*, *Blois*, and *Chartres*, void about that time by the death of the Mareschal de *Cossé*, were transferred upon the Chancellor. The same rule being observed in all things, that the most important Places and Governments should still be bestowed on creatures of his own breeding.

But the yeer following, 1583, the Duke of Alançon attempting to bring his limited Command in Flanders free absolute Dominion, the successe proving very contrary to his hopes ; and therefore he being hated and opposed by those very men who had first called him thither, was driven from thence by the Forces of *Alessandro Farnese*, and (to the King's great trouble) returned again into France, where as feared he would contrive some new mischiefs, according to his rash inconsiderate nature, most ardent to leap headlong into any dangerous designe : Wherefore he being recalled from Flanders by his adherents, and by those who more abhorred the Tyranny of the Spaniard then his fickle instability, they promised him very great Supplies of Men and Moneys, returning to his former designe, he might ease him of the anxieties and fears of new Commotions : and without doubt the effects would have made good his promises, if the Duke of Alançon (afflicted with the crossnesse of his late Fortune, quite worn out with perpetual toil and trouble, or else as some said) with those dissolute courses to which he had wholly

1583

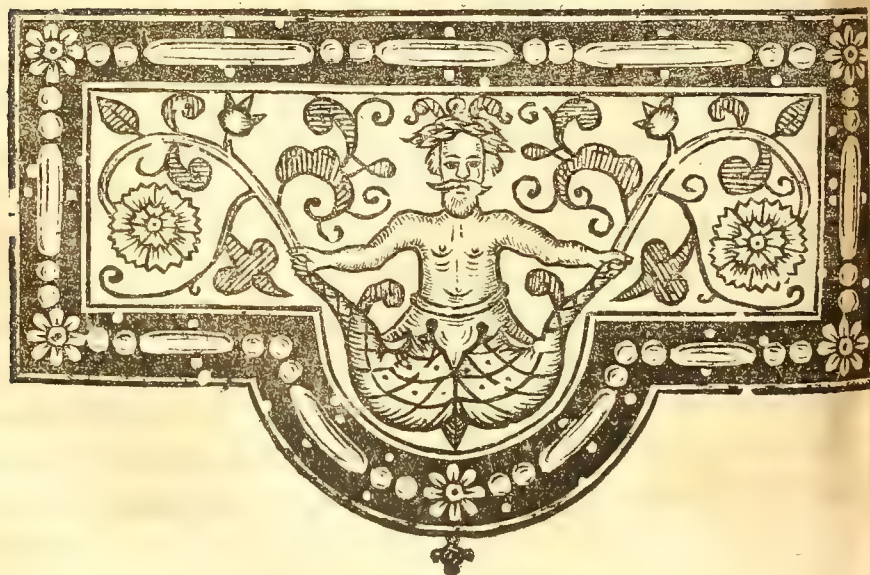
The Duke of Alançon rejected by those who had called him into Flanders, is driven thence by the Prince of Parma, returns into France, and a while after dies there.



1584

wholly given himself over) had not died at Chasteau-Thierry, a Castle of his own, in the Month of June 1584, leaving Flanders at liberty, and his brother free from a most certain revolution of new troubles. After his death, the Signories of Anjou, Angoulesme and Berry, which had been assiged for his *Appennage*, returned into the King's power: but the City of Cambray taken two yeers before, and put under the Government of the *Sieur de Balagny*, (the King not desiring to transfer it openly to himself, lest it should break the Peace with the Catholike King) fell in appearance, and as by inheritance, unto the Queen his Mother.

TIE





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

by HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Seventh BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

*In this Book are set down the causes why the Duke of Guise and his adherents endeavour to renew the Catholike League, which before was almost laid aside : The Reasons they alledge for themselves : The quality of those persons that consented to, and concurred with the League : The designe of drawing in the Cardinal of Bourbon, and his resolution to embrace it : Philip King of Spain takes the protection of it : The Conditions agreed to with his Agents at Jainville : The Pope's doubtful-esse in ratifying and approving the League, and his determination to delay the time. The King of France consults what is to be done for the opposing of that Union, and the opinions offer : He sends the Duke of Espernon to confer with the King of Navar, to perswade him to embrace the Catholike Faith, and return to Court. The King of Navar, at that Proposition, resolves to stand firm to his Party. The League takes occasion at that Treaty, and makes grievous complaints. They of the Low-Countries, alienated from the King of Spain, offer to put*  
Sff
them-



*The History of the Civill Warres*

themselves under the Crown of France : The King is uncertain what to do in it , but at last remits them to another time. King Philip entring into suspition of that businesse , solliciteth the Duke of Guise and the League to take up Arms : To the end, Forces are raised both within and without the Kingdom. The King tries to oppose them , but findes himself too weak. The Cardinal of Bourbon leaves the Court, retires to Peronne, and with the other Confederates publishes a Declaration : They draw an Army together in Champagne , seize upon Thoul and Verdun. The City of Marseilles riseth in favour of the League , but the Conspiratours are suppressed by the rest of the Citizens : The same happens at Bourdeaux. Lyons, Bourges , and many other places in the Kingdom , side with the League. The King answers the Declaration of the League. He endeavours to disunite it, by drawing many particular men from that Party, as also the City of Lyons : but seeing his designe succeedeth not to his minde, he resolves to treat an Agreement with the Confederates : The Queen-mother goes in Champagne to confer about it with the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Bourbon : After many Negotiations, the Peace is concluded. The King of Navar publisheth a Declaration against the League , and challengeth the Duke of Guise to a Duell. He passeth it over , and makes the Declaration be answered by others. The Duke of Bouillon and Monsieur de Chastillon go into Germany, to stir up the Protestant Princes in favour of the Hugonots. The King consults of the manner of effecting what he had promised in the Agreement with the League : The opinions differ , and there ariseth great discord about it among his Councillours. He resolves to make War against the Hugonots ; and coming to the Parliament , forbids all other except the Roman Catholike Religion. He sends for the Heads of the Citie, and the Magistrates of the City of Paris , and with words full of resentment demands money of them for the War. He prepares divers Armies against the Hugonots. Pope Gregory the thirteenth dies : Sixtus Quintus succeeds him, who at the instigation of the League , declares the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé to be excommunicate , and incapable to succeed in the Crown. This Excommunication is diversly spoken of in France : many write against it, and many in favour of it.

**F**rom the ashes of the Duke of Alençon, the half-extinguished sparks of the League began again to be kindled and burn afresh : for the King by his policy in the Assembly at Blois, and after by the delight and benefit every one received in Peace, and by keeping down the Heads of the Hugonots, and holding them at a distance, having taken away the opportunities and specious pretences of the Lords of Guise, it was of it self grown old, and every great part decayed and dissolved. And though those Lords, being stung to the quick by the excessive greatnesse of the King's *Minions*, and continually stirred up by the jealousy of his proceedings, had failed of no occasion that might conveniently blemish his actions, and bring themselves into reputation ; yet matters had till then been rather in unsettled debates then certainly concluded, and had consisted more in words then actions. But now by reason of the Duke of Alençon's death, and that the King, after having been ten yeeres married, had no probable hope of issue, affairs began to be very much altered : For as the King of Navar's being first Prince of the Blood, and so neereſt the Succeſſion of the Crown, did spur forward the readineſſe of the *Guises*, his old rivals and natural enemies ; so likewise it afforded them a new occasion to renew the League, that they might take advantage betimes to hinder the Kingdom from falling into the hands of a Hugonot Prince, to the universal ruine of the Catholics, and the total overthrow of Religion : Wherefore, the disgusts they received at Court, and the suspicion which in many yeeres they had conceived, concurring to ſollicite them, and this emergent occasion offering a fit opportunity, they began again not onely to repair the old ſtructure, but alſo to contrive and build up new deſignes. The diſaſters which the Lords of Guise received at Court, were many : For ſides ſeeing themſelves excluded from the King's favour, and from the adminiſtration of State-affairs, wherein they were wont to hold the firſt place, and whereof they now did not at all participate ; as likewise being ſo little able to do any thing for their dependents and adherents, becauſe the King reſerved to himſelf alone the diſpoſing of all Gifts and Honours : they were alſo highly offended at the greatneſſe of theſe new

The *Guises*  
foreſeeing  
their own ru-  
ine, contrive  
new deſignes.



men, who not favoured by the lustre of ancient Families, nor raised by the merits of their own actions, but onely by the liberality of their Prince, were advanced so high, that with sudden splendour they eclipsed all those Honours which they with infinite pains and dangers had attained to in the course of so many yeers. And though the Duke of Joyeuse, by his Marriage with the Queens sister, was allied unto the House of Lorain, and seemed in many things to be interestted with them, yet they disdained to lie under the shadow of another's protection, where they were wont to see an infinite number of persons shelter themselves under the favourable wing of the Power and Authority. To this was added, that the Duke of Espernon, either through his own natural instinct, or the hope of raising himself upon the ruines of the Great ones, or through the friendship which he had held from his youth with the King of Navar, who was most averse from any familiarity with them, seemed to despise and undervalue the merits and power of so great a Family, and failed not upon all occasions to sting and persecute them; on the other side obstinately favouring, and in all opportunities maintaining and assisting the Princes of Bourbon. Whereupon it was commonly believed, that he to abase the credit and lessen the reputation of the Duke of Guise, had perswaded the King to determine a matter never cleerly decided by his Predecessours; That in the Ceremonies of the King's Coronation, and other occurrences, the Peers should not have precedency according to their Age and Seniority; but that those Peers which were Princes of the Blood, should absolutely take place of all the rest, by Privilege of the Royal Family; which much incensed the Princes of Lorain: But it toucht them a great deal more neerer to see that the King was wholly intent to deprive them of their Offices and Governments, to bestow and heap them upon his *Minions*: For *Charles* Duke of Mayenne having been first declared Admiral (a place held by his father-in-law the *Marquisse de Villars*, after the death of the Admiral *Chastille*) was after forced, by the King's violent perswasions, to take eighty thousand Crowns in recompence, and to resigne his office, which presently was settled upon the Duke of Joyeuse: And because the Duke of Espernon complained that his place was not so eminent, the King desirous to satisfie him, or at least feigning to be so, for the compassing of his designs, had often

\* Lord high  
Steward of the  
King's House-  
hold, hereto-  
fore called *Le  
Comte du Pa-  
lais, & le Se-  
neschal de  
France.*

ved the Duke of Guise to give up his Office of \* *Grand Mai-*  
; and when he saw that being displeased with the over-  
e, he resolved not to part with it, by little and little he took  
y all the Authority and Priviledges which were wont to  
ong unto that Office, leaving him onely the empty name ;  
instead of it, conferred upon the Duke of Espernon the  
ge of Colonel General of the Infantrie ; which having been  
netly promised to *Timoleon de Cossé* for his exceeding great  
ents, and he being by death prevented, the enjoyment seem-  
n reason most due to his son *Charles* Count of Brissac, who  
a fast friend to the Lords of Guise, as his father and grand-  
er had been before him. The Duke of Aumale complain-  
likewise, that he being elected to the Government of Pi-  
ly ( for which he had been in competition with the Prince  
Condé ) to keep him as it were in an uncertainty of the  
session, the entry of many chief places was denied him ; a-  
ng which, Bologne, Calais, and *la Fere*, kept by persons  
ending upon the King, in the name of the Duke *d'Esper-*  
And finally, all that bore the character of dependents  
the House of Guise, were either by money or other means  
ested of their Offices and Governments, or at least depri-  
of the authority and execution of them, which by oblique  
s were reserved for and transferred upon the King's favour-  
s and confidents.

These were then all or part of the discontents that trou-  
l the Lords of Guise, wherein ( being well versed in affairs  
State, and mindful of what had happened five and twenty  
rs before ) they admired the revolutions of this world,  
the effects of divine Justice, seeing themselves handled in  
same manner by the Dukes of Joyeuse and Espernon, as they  
governing in the Raig of *Henry* the second ) had used the  
uses of Momorancy and Bourbon ; concluding, that though  
d for the most part reserves his punishment and vengeance  
the everlasting pains of the world to come, yet is he some-  
times pleased, by those glances of his power, to shew us a  
mple of that Justice wherewith he governs the course of  
otal things. But besides the disgusts which these Princes  
ended to receive, they were much more sharply pricked  
in the sting of that jealousy which by many conjectures,  
and by things daily put in practice, they had conceived : For  
eing that the King balanced their Forces very carefully with  
those



those of the Hugonot Lords, and that he would not suppress that party, which (as they believed) he easily might have done; that under several pretences he devested all the dependents of both Factions of their Places and Honours, to bestow them upon such as should acknowledge them meerly from himself; and that where other pretences failed, he bought those Offices which they possessed with great sums of money to ingrosse them all into his own disposing; that he admitted no intercession for any body, thereby to take away the bait that drew so many followers and dependents to the Princes of both parties; that he spent great store of money to bring those things about, and also gathered great store together in Metz, Bologne and Angoulesme, though in the name of the Duke of *Espernon*; they judged that all these things tended to the ruine and destruction. Nor could it satisfie them to see the King taken up with religious thoughts, and addicted to a quiet unactive life: for they knowing his nature, wherewith he had been conversant from his very childhood, interpreted this course of life to subtil deep dissimulation. Wherefore the Duke of Guise, a man of a wonderful quick insight, discerning judgement, and high thoughts, laying all these things together, determined with himself to prevent, and not stay to be prevented: in which resolution he was boldly seconded by his brother *Loüys* the Cardinal, a man of a high spirit, and understanding no lesse ingenious then his; as also by *Henry* Savoy Duke of Nemours, and *Charles* Marquesse of San-Saulin (both sons of *Anna d'Esté*, and therefore his brothers by the mother) *Charles* of Lorain Duke of Aumale, and *Clare* his brother a Knight of Jerusalem, *Charles* of Lorain Duke of *Elbeuf*, *Emanuel* Duke of *Mercure*, and his brothers; who though allied unto the King, yet in respect of the common family, neerly united unto him both in opinion and interest. Only *Charles* Duke of Mayenne concurred more slowly than the rest, who with more settled thoughts considering the course of worldly affairs, thought it as difficult and dangerous for the League to pull down the King, protected by the Majesty of a Royal Name, and the natural obligations of his Subjects, as he believed it impossible for the King himself to destroy and ruine their Family, protected by the favour of the Catholics, and by the merit and innocence of their persons: Wherefore thinking it superfluous to put themselves into that far,

for that cause to hazard their safety by rash uncertain resolutions, he counselled them to proceed with more patience and more respect toward the lawful Possessor of the Crown. The Duke of Guise, resolute in his thoughts, and by the authority of his Person, the vivacity of his Courage, the eloquence of his Language, and the excellency of his Wit, able to persuade and draw all the rest to his opinion, excluding his father's advice, had settled all his thoughts upon the machinations of the League; for the enlargement and establishment thereof, dissembling his discontents no less than his jealousy and private interests, he made shew of stirring onely for respects of Religion, and the general good, making an ill interpretation of all the King's actions, and with many arts and circumstances aggravating that danger which he pretended to hang over the Catholike Religion in that Kingdom.

He grounded his fears upon the death of the Duke of Alançon, and the Queens barrenesse, which in the space of ten yeeres had no Son, whereby, the King dying without Heirs of the House of Valois, the Crown fell to the Princes of Bourbon, and in the first place to the King of Navar, a relapsed Heretic, and an open enemy to the Romane Religion. He urged, that his coming to the Crown, would be the universal ruin of Religion, and the total conversion of all France to the rites and Opinions of *Calvin*; and therefore shewed how all good Catholikes were obliged to look to it in time, and to prevent the terrible blowe of that imminent subversion; and they had gathered themselves together ten yeeres before, to hinder the Prince of Condé from entering upon the Government of Picardy, much more ought they now to assemble and combine themselves, to keep the King of Navar from entering into a City or Province alone, but into the possession of the whole Kingdom. He endeavoured to prove that his Introduction to the Crown would be very easie: for the King, persuaded by the Duke of Espernon and his other Favourites, to whom he was wholly governed, and induced by them to further and advance the party of the Princes of Bourbon, would in his own life-time bring him in by little and little, without resistance: That therefore he had granted Peace to the Hugonots, while in that lowe condition and extraordinary weakness their extirpation was evident to all the world: That therefore he deluded the constant and general resolution of the States



States at Blois, by his arts unfinewing, and by his delays untwisting the joynt will and consent of all the French Nation That therefore when sometimes he had been constrained to make War against the King of Navar, he employed the *Marſchal de Byron*, who though a Catholike in outward appearance, was yet by many former proofs known to be a favourite of the Hugonots, and interessed in their faction: That therefore he had lately taken Geneva into his protection, shewing cleerly to all the world how little he esteemed the Catholike Religion, and how much he was inclined to the enemies of the holy Sea, and of the great Bishop of Rome: That therefore he had excluded all the Catholike Lords from any access to the Court, or administration in the Government; particularly, those who had spilt so much blood for the preservation of the Kingdom and Religion, and had brought in a new people that were privie to his designs, and friends to the House of Bourbon: That therefore he deprived all the old servants of the Crown of all their Offices and Honours, of the most principal Governments, and most suspected Fortresses, to put them into the hands of men that were Catholikes in shew, but really partial to Hereticks, and inwardly adherents to the King of Navar: That therefore without remorse or compassion, he daily oppressed the poor Subject with new Taxes and intolerable Grievances, lest when occasion served they should be able to make resistance, and oppose his pleasure and their own slavery: and though the King made an outward shew to do otherwise, and to be of another minde; yet, that men of understanding ought not to let themselves be deceived by dissimulation, who did but feign himself to be wholly addicted to a spiritual life, and altogether taken up with the zeal of Religion: for they that had penetrated to the depth of these businesſes, knew certainly that they were but a cloke and mask which under colour of devotion contained abominable hypocrisy; and that appearing full of mortification, clothed in a penitent Frock, with a Crucifix in his hand in the streets, in his private lodgings he gave himself over to the unbridled lusts of the flesh, and to the perverse satisfying of his loose depraved appetite. From which things, set forth with many specious reasons, and adorned with many, and those most particular circumstances, he concluded it was necessary to provide against that mischief betimes, to underprop the house before it fell

Upon their heads, wisely to unite themselves for their own defence, and to pull down and destroy those designs, before they were brought unto perfection.

These were the reasons of the Lords of Guise; among which, that they mentioned about the protection of Geneva, is, that the King having been desirous to renew that Confraternity with the Swisses which they for many yeers have held with the Crown of France, the Protestant Cantons had refused to accept it, unlesse the King would take Geneva into his Protection; who considering (the affairs of the Marquisate of Saluzzo being then in disorder, and the friendship of the Duke of Savoy suspected and uncertain, because he was nearly allied to the King of Spain, having taken to wife his daughter the Infanta *Katherine*) that if he would have a passage in his power, whereby without setting foot in another man's house he might make use of the Swisses assistance, it was necessary for him to embrace the protection of that City, from the Territories whereof the passage is free to those places upon the confines of France, he resolved at last to consent unto it, not moved by necessity, but against his will, and with much suspension of minde, being both by nature and custom most averse from having to do with the Hugonots. But that which was spoken concerning the King's secret dissolutenesse, though it were not altogether without ground, by reason of his amorous inclinations to the Ladies of the Court; yet was it by the reports of his enemies amplified and enlarged to such vices and haunches as were very far both from his nature and custom: and among the common people there went such extravagant tales of his licentiousnesse, as caused at the same time both laughter and loathing in those that were acquainted with his most secret hidden practices.

Now the Duke of Guise, either really moved with a zeal to Religion, or drawn by the interests of his own greatnesse, or persuaded by both respects joyntly united, having framed a designe and ordered his reasons with so fair an appearance, made use of popular eloquent men to divulge them from their pulpits, and infuse them in private discourses among the people; thereby to win their affections, and procure the enlargement and spreading abroad of the League. Among these, the chief were *Guilliaume de la Rose*, a man of powerful eloquence, who came afterward to be Bishop of Senlis; *Jehan Prevost*

Henry the third takes upon him the protection of Geneva.

The Duke of Guise, by means of the Preachers and Friars, in Pulpits and other places of devotion, labours to insinuate the Catholike League into the people.



1584

chief Priest of *S. Severins*; a man of rare learning and copious eloquence; *Jehan Boucher*, by birth a Parisian, and in the same City Curate of *S. Bennets* Parish; one *Poncett*, a Friar in the Abbey of *S. Patrick* at Melun; *Don Christin* of Nizza in Provence; and *Jehan Vincestre*, all famous Preachers; and finally, most part of the Jesuites, displeased perhaps that the King having at the first used them very familiarly, was afterwards turned away from them to the Orders of the *Füeuillant* and *Hieronimites*. And as these prosecuted the businesse of the League in Paris, the same was done at Lyons by *Claude Matt*, a Priest of the same Society; at Soissons, by *Matthieu de Lanoy* Canon of that Cathedral; at Rouen, by Father *Egie Bloüin* of the Order of *Minimes*; at Orleans, by *Bowlate* a very noted Divine; at Thoul, by *François de Rosta* Archdeacon of that Church; and an infinite number of others dispersed thorow the severall parts of France, who by their credit and plausible popular eloquence, sometimes in their Pulpits, sometimes in the Congregations of the Penitents, sometimes in their secret Conferences at Confession, did allure the people, and intice them to enter into that Combination; which it is very likely many did, out of a respect to Religion, believing that thereby the Calvinists would be utterly rooted out, and the authority of the Church restored to its pristine greatnesse: But many entred into that Covenant invited by other ends, and drawn to it by different hopes, or else necessitated by their particular interests, though all shrowded themselves under the same cloke of the preservation and maintenance of Religion. Thus was the League composed of two different kindes of persons.

The Catholike League composed of men disaffected to the present Government, and zealors in Religion.

The first sort for the most part of such as were noble eminent persons, who ill satisfied with the power of the King *Minions*, and not enduring to be banished from all Offices and favours of the Court, went that way partly out of anger, partly out of hope of change; believing, by the subversion of the present state of affairs, they should rise to a greater height of fortune, and in the end compasse the aim of their designe. The chief of these was *Ludovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers, who after he had refused the Government of the Marquisate of Saluzzo, and other places beyond the Alps, when the King resolved to restore those Towns which had been withheld from the Duke of Savoy, thinking himself partly hated, and partly despised,

displeased, could never any more attaine to any other government, as his great services to the Crowne made him hope he should. In this number was also *Guy* Sieur de Lanfac, and *François* Sieur de *S. Luc*, who having seen some beams of the Kings favour, and entertain'd hopes of being received amongst his *Minions*, were afterwards thrust out by their competitors, and falling from so great expectations had for anger taken the contrary side; likewise among these was *Monfieur de Vins*, a man more fit to be the head of a Party, both for his readinesse of his wit, and for the noblenesse of his Family, which was the cause in Province, he having at the siege of Rochelle sav'd the Kings life, and interposing his owne body to defend him from the Bullets which were aymed at him, received a Musquet shot in the right side, did afterward neither obtaine his favour, nor those rewards and advancements which the merit of that service had caused him to expect: with those also was *Jehan Hemery* Sieur de *Villers*, to whom in recompence of his many services, especially for taking the Count *Mongomery* prisoner, the Government of the City and Castle of Caen in Normandy having been promised, The King without giving him any thing in exchange, disposed of it presently to *Monfieur d'O* his favourite; The like was the condition of *Monfieur de la Bastre* Governor of Berry: who after many great services performed in the time of *Charles* the Ninth, was not onely unrewarded for his valour, and fidelitie, but also denyed the Government of Blois and that of Chartres, one of which he very much desired, because they lay so commodiously neer Berry. The Sieur de *Mandelot* Governor of Lions consented likewise to it, who having received intimation that his Government should be taken from him, and in favour to *Bernard* Sieur de *la Valet* brother to the Duke of *Espernon*, joyned to that of *Dauphiné*, and to the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*; and *Monfieur de la Mante*, first, and then the Sieur de *Passage*, both creatures of the Family of *la Valet*, having been put into the Cittadel, which is the bridle of the City of Lyons, tooke that Party to secure his owne Affaires, *Monfieur d'Entraques* Governor of Orleans was another of them; who having formerly been favoured, and gratified by the King, being afterwards discontented that he himselfe, and his Government should be subject to the high Chancellor, Governor of that Province, with whom he had no good correspondence, and moved by his

The sieur de Vins at Rochell receives a Musquet shot to save Henry the third



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hatred to the Duke d' *Espernon*, who both in words and actions had abused a son of his; joyned himselfe also with the Lords of the House of Guise. The same resolution was followed by the Count *de Saux*, whose Father and he himselfe having at first, (but with ill fortune) held of the Hugonot Party, he left it by reason of many enmities, wherewith he was sharly persecuted, and for his owne safety retired under the protection and shelter of the League. *Guillianne* Sieur *de Ferwaques* was also joyned in that confederacy, who of a subtile wit, but of a voluble nature, and ready without respect to lay hold of any thing, by which he could hope for profit and advancement, after he left the King of Navar, had followed the fortunes of the Duke of Alançon, and now wanting a support, and not being well looked on by the King, sought new protection, and a new matter for his vivacities to worke on. But the Archbishop of Lyons a man of contrary nature, to whose extraordinary Learning was joyned a wonderfull gravity, and great care not to erre from those ends which were suitable to his vocation, beside the interests of Religion, and his long dependance upon the House of Guise, was driven into the League by the Duke d' *Espernon's* hatred, who slighting and despising him as a person not well affected, thrust him out of the Kings favour, and almost out of the Court, where his worth had held one of the cheifest places. But amongst them all the most principal was the Count *de Brissac*, who tooke that resolution for anger, that the Office of Generall of the Infantrie (promised to his Father, and pretended to by himselfe in recompence of the great labours hee underwent in the Portugall Fleet, for the service of the Queen-Mother) was disposed from him without so much as making shew to reward him any other way. For these and such like occasions, the Sieurs *de la Roche Breantè*, *de la Baulme*, *de Sourdeac*, *de Courieres*, *de la Brosse*, *de Beauvais*, *de Forone*, and an infinite many more Gentlemen were persuaded to follow that resolution, either for discontent of things past, or hopes conceived of the future.

The other kind of Persons whereof the League was composed seemed much inferiour in qualitie to the first, but was not so at all in the advantage and benefit of the cause; for by means of them whole Townes and Cities were won, and the common people, and men of many severall professions were brought over in all parts of the Kingdome. These were in

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the most part, honest well meaning men, of simple nature, affectionate to the Catholike Religion, and bitter enemies to the Hugonots, whereof some really beleevving (as was pretended) that the totall ruine of the Roman Religion was at hand; and some desiring the destruction of Heresy, did not only promote the League ardently in their owne persons, but ed all their endeavours to lead on the people, and increase the Adherents of that faction; to these were joyn'd also certaine Gownmen, who under the colour of Religion, covered both quiet thoughts, and ambitious, covetous desires of working their owne greatnesse. Among these was *Jehan Maistre* President in the great Chamber of the Parliament of Paris, a man of great honesty and sincerity, *Estienne de Nully* President of the same Court, *Honorat de Laurent* Councillor in the Parliament of Provence, *Jehan Quiere* afterward called *Sieur de* *ssy* then Atturny in the Court of Parliament of Paris, a man wonderfully followed, and of great authority among the people, *Louys d'Orleans*, a principall Advocate in the same Court, and a man of singular learning. *Charles Hauteman* Agent of the Bishop of Paris, and a man of very great riches, *la Chappelle Martell* Son in Law to the *President de Nully*, *Estienne Bernard* an Advocate in the Parliament of Dyjon, *Land* one of the Treasurers of the *Finances*, *Druart* an Advocate in the Court of the Chastelet, *Cruce* a Proctor of the same Court, *Compans* and *Louchart* Commissaryes in the Court of Paris, and many other men of the *long Robe*, who were of very great credit and reputation among the Common people.

This body so composed of two so different qualities of persons, the sword concurring with the Nobility and Gentry, and the Gown with Clergy-men and Lawyers, was strengthened and knit together as with Nerves and Bones, by the Adherents, and dependants of the House of Guise, who insinuating themselves into every place, did effectually stirr up mens minds to enter into that League; for besides the Lords of the House of Lorain, there were likewise joyned in it the Cardinal *Pelleve*, the Commendatory *Dien* a Knight of Jerusalem, *de Baron de Senesay*, the *Sieur de Bassompier*, *Pierre Jan* President in the Parliament of Dijon, the *Baron de Medanit*, *Chevalier Bertone*, the *Sieur de Antraquet*, *de Riberac*, *de* *ny*, *de Nissy*, *de la Barge*, *de Bois Danphin*, *de Chamois*, *de Beau-*  
regard



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*regard, de Menetille, Mousieur de St. Paul and Sacromoro Birago*, both Colonels of Foote, and an infinite number of others, both Prelates, Barons, and commanders, who acknowledged the rise of their fortunes to proceed from the favour and power of the House of Loraine.

But because the Duke of Guise having learned by the experience of all former times, and by the examples of the late actions of the Hugonots, that through the naturall inclination of the French, those commotions could have but a weake foundation, which had not the protection of a Prince of the blood, he began to seek about to pick out and perswade one of them, who furnishing him with the authority and right of the Royall Family, should be of such a nature and condition, as to let himself be wholly governed by him; There was none more proper for his designs, nor more ready to receive that impression then *Charles* Cardinall of Burbon, the third brother of *Anthony* King of Navar, and *Louys* Prince of Conde deceased; for having been alwayes most observant of the Catholike Religion, and an open enemy to the Hugonots, it was easie to draw him by the respect of Religion, to consent unto that Union, and make himselfe Head of the League: but he was also of so meane a Capacitie, and of so meeke, gentle a disposition, that the Duke of Guise might without difficulty turne and winde him at his pleasure, and that which was more important then all the rest, being the eldest Prince of the blood, and Vncle to the King of Navar, he might bring the Inheritance of the Crown in question, and pretend that the King dying without Heires, the succession of right belonged to him, and therefore he was very fit and proper to foment the pretentions of the League, which principally did profess to exclude the King of Navar, and the other Princes that were favourers, or followers of Heresy, from the succession of the Kingdome. Nor did fortune faile to offer the Duke of Guise his industry a convenient meanes of obtaining his desires with much facility. *Andrè* Sieur de Rubempre, a man of swollen thoughts, and of a vaine nature, but one who by his industrious and politicke way of living, and clothing himselfe after a fashion that was conformable to the Cardinalls humor, was become very Gracious with him, and reckoned among his cheife servants and favorites. The Duke of Guise (by the meanes of the Advocate *Louys d'Orleans*, and of the Abbot of *S. Omer*)

*Charles* Cardinall of Burbon Vncle to the King of Navar is desired for head of the Catholike

broth



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The Cardinal of Bourbon his pretensions to the Succession of the Crown.

other to *Pellicart* his Secretary ) caused those reasons to be used into this man, for which his Patron might pretend to the Crown of France, urging that the *Representation* (so the Lawyers call it) is of no validity in collateral degrees, and therefore the King of Navar could not represent the person of *Anthony* his father, the eldest Son, and Heir to the Kingdom of France, but that without doubt it belonged unto the Cardinal yet alive, and not to his elder brother, who was dead so many yeers before. Besides, that the King of Navar being a relapsed Heretick, and by the Canon-Laws incapable of inheriting the most Christian Crown of France; and the other Princes of the Blood being likewise followers and favourers of Heresie, and therefore incurred the same incapability of the Succession, it was not to be endured that the vain glorious respect of not doing injury to the right of his Nephew, should suffer it to fall into other hands; and therefore the Succession was not onely just, because the Laws had so disposed it, but also pious and honest, because necessity so required not to exclude the Royal Family, and at the same time to preserve the Catholike Religion. To this they added, that though the Cardinal was neerer to decrepidnesse then old age, yet that the King of France was yet in the flower of his youth, in respect of the short lives of his brothers, the weaknesse of his own constitution, and the continual debauches by which he was half wasted and consumed, the Cardinal was likely to outlive him, and come to the possession of the Crown before his Nephew, and might transfer it upon the Cardinal *de Vendôme*, who also was his Nephew, bred up by him in the Catholike Religion, and that with so much integrity and sincereness of life, that among so many Hereticks and favourers of Heresie, he alone shewed himself worthy to attain to the rule of so Christian a Kingdom as that of France. Which things were adged by them not onely in words, but in their writings, and led up among a number of examples, and amplified with ornaments of their wonted eloquence, did easily make impression in *Rubempré*, desiring rather to be the *Minion* of a King, then the Favourite of a Cardinal: Nor found they it so difficult to instil them into the minde of the Cardinal himself, who to the aforesaid reasons, and the neer hopes of the Succession, added the honest intentions of propagating the Catholike Faith, whereof he had ever been a zealous promoter;



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moter ; whereas his Nephew coming to the Crown , it was to be doubted he would subvert Religion, and spread the poison of Heresie thorow the whole Kingdom. This seed being cunningly scattered long before-hand , had brought over the Cardinal to the Duke of Guises party , in such manner , that when it was needful to make such a resolution , he easily was perswaded to make himself Head of the League, and became a cloke and buckler to them that sought the ruine and extirpation of his Family ; bearing willingly the weight and burden of that enterprize upon his own shoulders : for being overcome by the subtil practices and skilful flatteries of the Duke of Guise , he gave himself wholly over to his opinions and government, esteeming and honouring him exceedingly , as a Lord of invincible courage, and wonderful zeal to the Catholike Religion. Whereupon , they that then discoursed of present affairs with the ordinary French liberty, were wont to compare the Cardinal to a Camel, that kneels down before his enemies , to take up a load that may endanger the breaking of his own back.

But the League being established , and confirmed with these Forces , and with the colour of Religion , and of the Blood Royal ; that it might also be furnished with money necessary to maintain it , and those outward helps that might bring it either favour or authority , to the end it might want any of those things that ordinarily seem requisite for effecting of so great an enterprize , the Duke of Guise began again to quicken the negotiations with Spain and Rome , which for some few yeers past , had with all those other matters , been coldly prosecuted , and deferred. Nor did they finde the Catholike King very doubtful or backward in the businesse ; for desiring to free himself from his suspicion that the French might further endamage him in the Low-Country Wars ; and being offended at the late attempts and troubles in Flanders and Portugal, could not but be very well pleased that they should be busied in their own affairs, and not have leisure to meddle with those of their neighbours : and it making for his purpose that the Hugonots should be suppressed , who bitterly hated his very name , and that the King of Navarre should be kept from the Crown of France , who had still his wonted pretensions of recovering his Kingdom of Navarre , already united to the Crown of Spain , he earnestly desired in

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opportunity to crush them both together, wherefore without difficulty he not only condescended to concur with his consent, but also to furnish moneys, believing that the greatnesse of his designs would be effected in all parts of the world, if France, which could onely balance and withhold his Forces, being divided in its own dissentions, did but afford him convenient means of attaining to that Greatnesse which mighty Princes were wont to aspire to in their mindes. Neither did he think any violation of the Peace which was still reciprocally continued with the King of France: for if the Duke of Alençon had been openly assisted by the most Christian King, whilst to obtain the dominion of that People that had cast off the yoke of his obedience, he made War against his Armies in Flanders; and if the Queen-mother with the Forces of the Crown had opposed his succession to the kingdom of Portugal, he believed it much more lawful to preserve the Catholikes of France from being oppressed by the Hugonots, and hinder the King of Navarre his known enemy, from coming to the Crown: And the King had denied that he fomented either the businesse of Flanders, or that of Portugal, whilst the Wars were manifestly made with the men and moneys of his Kingdom, he thought it not unfit for him, concealing that assistance which he purposed to lend unto the League, and conveying it by secret and hidden means, to deny in appearance that he either broke or violated the Peace: Wherefore *Juan Baptista Tassi* Knight of the Order of *S. Jago*, and *Don Juan Morreo*, the Catholike King's Commissioners, being come to *Jainville* a place of the Duke of Guises in the confines of Picardy and Champagne, and being met there by the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Mayenne his brother, and *François Sieur de Meneville* the Cardinal of Bourbon's Attorney for those of the League in France, both parties agreed to these Conditions the second day of the year 1585.

That in case the present King of France should die without Son lawfully begotten, the Cardinal of Bourbon should be declared King, as first Prince of the Blood, and so true Heir to the Crown, universally excluding from the succession of the Kingdom all those who being Hereticks, Revolters, or followers and favourers of Hereticks, had made themselves incapable of it: And that during the life of the present King, to prevent those Hereticks, lest by the means which they were

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Conditions agreed upon between the Deputies of the King of Spain and the Heads of the Catholike League.



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still attempting, they should open and facilitate their way to the attainment of the Crown, the confederate Princes should raise Armies, gather Forces, make War against the Hugonots, & do all other things which should be thought fit and necessary. That the Cardinal of Bourbon, coming to the succession, should ratifie the Peace already concluded at *Cambresis* between the Crown of France and Spain, and observe it punctually, prohibiting any other Religion in the Kingdom except the Roman Catholike, and rooting out all Hereticks by force, till they were utterly destroyed, should settle the Decrees & Constitutions of the Council of Trent. That he should promise for Himself, his Heirs and Successors, to renounce all friendship and confederacy with the Turk, and not consent to any thing that he should manage or contrive in any place against the Commonweal of Christians. That he should forbid all Piracie whereby the subjects of the Crown of France disturbed the Spaniards Traffique and Navigation to the Indies. That he should restore unto the Catholike King all that had been taken from him by the Hugonots, and namely the City and Jurisdiction of *Cambrai*; and that he should assist him with convenient Forces for the recovery of that which those that were upon Arms had taken from him in the Low-Countreys. And on the other side, That King *Philip* should be bound to contribute Fifty thousand Crowns effectively every month toward the maintenance of the League, and of his Forces; and moreover, should assist with what number of men should be thought necessary, in the progresse of the Forces of the League, as well during the life of the present King, as after his death, for the utter extirpation of Heresie. That he should receive into his protection the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the Lords of the House of Guise, the Dukes of Mercure and Nevers, and all those other Lords and Gentlemen that should subscribe unto the League, promising to assist them against the Hugonots and their adherents, so that they should be kept safe and harmless. That no Treaty or Agreement whatsoever should be made with the King of France, without the mutual consent of both Parties; and that the Articles of this Union should for many convenient respects be kept secret till a more fitting opportunity.

This was the substance of the Capitulation made with King *Philip*, who besides the aforesaid things, promised secretly to

The Duke of Guise the assignement of two hundred thousand crowns *per annum*, for his own particular, to be employed in the advancement and for the benefit of the League.

But the Treaty was not so easie, nor so speedily dispatched at Rome, where the same interests of State did not persuade: For though Father *Mattei* riding post with admirable celerity, sometimes to this place, sometimes to that, did use great pains to contract this Union; and though Cardinal *Allené* staying at Rome, did use all possible means to make it received into the Pope's protection; yet *Gregory*, a wonderful good man, and not of too violent a nature, counselled moreover by *Tolomeo Gallo* Cardinal of Como, his Secretary, a man of very great experience in matters of Government, finding that he could not see clear into the designs of that League, and thinking it unfit for him to consent to the taking of Arms against a King that was manifestly a Catholike, and an infinite honourer of the Romane Religion, under pretence of hidden secret things, and such as were onely to be left to mens Consciences, whereof he thought he could not easily judge, went still putting off and deferring his resolutions, till time might bring to light the bottom of those thoughts, which to him seemed yet very obscure, and much entangled. Therefore, having made choice of certain Cardinals, and other wise men, who were to meet, and consult upon the Propositions of the League, and those Deputies still answering conditionally with the clause [*If it be so,*] whereby they shewed their doubt of those Propositions which were made by *Allené* and *Mattei*; the Pope still giving the agents of the Confederates good hopes, and exhorting them to be watchful for the good of the true Religion, and the extirpation of Heresie: For the rest, he held them on with continual delays; nor could they ever, with all the diligence they could use, get any writing out of his hand, whereby they might securely affirm he had approved the League, or taken it into his protection.

Whilst the confederate Lords are thus busie in strengthening the Body of their Union, the King of France particularly certified of all these things, consulted with himself, and with his most intimate Confidants, what resolution he ought to take to oppose or divert the violence of those proceedings. The Duke of Espernon, the high Chancellour *Chiverny*, Monsieur *d'O*, and *Alberto Gondz* Marechal *de Retz*, were of opinion



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that the King shewing his face boldly, and uniting himself presently with the Hugonots and the King of Navar, should prevent the Guiles; and finding them in disorder, and unprovided, (as the motions of Leagues (where the concurrence of many is requisite) use to be unready and disagreeing) he should endeavour to pull up the first sprouts of that scandalous seed; alleading that they being yet unarmed, and disunited, might be put into confusion, and suppressed before they could have time either to draw any Forces together, or to get assistance and supplies from *Spain*: That it was not good to stay till that great Fabrick, being brought to perfection, should unite all the members of its Body: and that it was no sound counsel to give time, till the great abundance of humours, which daily grew more malignant and pernicious, had seized upon some vital parts of the Kingdom; for as while dispersed they might easily be purged away in their beginnings, so it would be very hard and dangerous to provide against them, when being grown to a masse of corruption, they should stifle and suffocate the natural vigour: That they knew, neither the Duke of Guise, nor any of his Faction, had any Army yet united together, but onely the consent of some Church-men, and the concourse of the common people, with the adherence of some few of the Nobility of the Kingdom, Forces weak and uncertain of themselves, the greatest part whereof, as soon as they should see any considerable strength, would fall asunder of their own accord: That the Catholike King was so taken up with the affairs of Flanders, that he could not without much difficulty and many delays, perform so much part of those things which now he so largely promised to raise the turbulent spirits of the French: and that the Pope, a Prince far remote, and not very strong, who seldom used rather then Spiritual Weapons, was not yet well resolved either to protect or assist the League: On the contrary, the main part of the Nobility (always prepared with Arms, and ready for the War) would presently meet together, wheresoever the King in case of so great necessity should call them: That the Swisses, who had lately renewed their Confederacy with the Crown, would for money supply them with any number of Souldiers their need required: That the King of Navar, and the Hugonots, who still continued in Arms for their own defence, would thank God for so happy an occasion, and

readily

ly submit themselves to the King's obedience, to oppose their natural enemies : That in the course of so many Civil Wars, experience had taught them, the neglect of beginnings made the disease mortal and incurable ; and that the vivacity and boldnesse of noble sprightly resolutions, was always sufficient to bring forth fortunate proceedings, and glorious conclusions.

But the Duke of Joyeuse, *René* *Sieur de Villequier*, *Pompadour* *Sieur de Bellieure*, and *Villeroy* the Secretary of State, were of contrary opinions ; urging that the King, intending to wage War against the House of Lorain, and against all the other confederate Lords, he must necessarily either do it of himself alone, or being united with the Hugonots : That if he stirred alone, his Forces would be very weak and slender ; the Kingdom being divided into Catholikes and Hugonots, he being an enemy to both, would have no other Part but some few servants and dependents, against two powerful ancient and inveterate Factions, which possessing all the best and most considerable Provinces of France, *viz.* the Hugonots, Poictou, Guienne, Languedoc, Gasconne, and great part of Dauphiné ; and the Guises, Champagne, Bourgogne, Normandy, Lyonois, Provence, and Bretagne, besides the City of Paris very much inclined to favour them ; the King would certainly remain without Revenue, without fortified places, without Subjects, without *Militia*, and without Money, by making his War so ruinous to himself, and so ridiculous to the whole World. But to unite himself with the Hugonots, besides the worthinesse of the action, so contrary to the customs and ancient purposes of His Majestie, and so unbeseeming the person of the most Christian King, and the eldest Son of the holy Church, would draw on consequences of very great moment, the alienation of all the remaining part of the Catholikes, and the revolt of the City of Paris, so constant to the Catholic Religion, and so natural an enemy to the Hugonots ; the addition of greater Forces to the League, which could receive no better news nor greater nourishment ; the making them tickle all those lyes and scandals which till then had been spread abroad against the King's designs and real intentions : that it would colour and justify the Spaniard's protection of the League, necessitate the Pope to declare himself in favour of it, as soon as the enemies of the Apostolike See should be united



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united with the King : That the most important, neer, and inland Provinces of France would be lost, by staying for the supplies and assistance of those that were far remote, at the most confines of the Kingdom : Nor was the strength of the Hugonots great, or their aid secure, who on the one side were exhausted, and unable to go forth of their native Province, where they could hardly subsist of themselves; and on the other side, they could not easily in so short a time unite themselves with the King faithfully and sincerely, who had ever been their bitter enemy, and their fatal terrible persecutor : That the fresh memory of the bloody Massacre at Paris, where he was esteemed the chief authour, and as it were the first executer, would be more prevalent with them than the present demonstrations, which by many suspicious men would be interpreted cunning, and dissimulation, to catch them that were unwary again suddenly in the net : And finally, that the Proverb was true, *Different natures never suite well together*. Wherefore they judged it to be a much better resolution, to give satisfaction to all in general, and to the Lords of the League in particular, the major part whereof they knew for private disgusts consented to that publike Commotion : for the Lords of Guise being quieted, and the other principal men of the Kingdom satisfied, the colour of Religion vanishing and growing stale, the League would of itself be broken and dissolved : insisting, that the causes being taken away, the effects would cease of themselves; and shewing many particulars, that it was in the King's power to dissolve the League, by giving and granting to the Heads and other Confederates, of his own accord, those things which they stood for, but were uncertain to obtain by War.

The Queen-mother consented to this advice, as the most secure, of lesse noise, and lesse scandal; and being experienced in the several revolutions of so many yeers, thought it not so destructive then opprobrious, to forsake the more favourable, more certain, more powerful, and more constant Party of the Catholikes, to follow the almost-desperate fortune of the Hugonots. And this was the common vote and general opinion of the ordinary sort of Courtiers, who are wont everywhere (but most especially in France) to discourse very easily of the highest deliberations of their Masters.

But the authority of the Duke d'Espernon, and of the other

ions, was very great ; and they foresaw their own assured  
re in that satisfaction which was motioned to be granted  
to the Lords of the League, because it could not be given  
without devesting the Favourites of that greatnesse and  
hority, and of those Offices which they enjoyed : so that of  
n all onely the Duke of Joyeuse consented to an Agree-  
nt with the Catholike League, partly through the hatred  
ch he bore to the Duke d'Espernon, who was infinitely be-  
him in the King's favour ; partly because being neerly al-  
unto the House of Lorain, he thought at the fall of all the  
he alone should be able to hold his Place, and keep upon  
feet. Besides, this advice was very contrary to the designes  
inclinations of the King himself, being thereby obliged  
rowe down, at one instant, all that he had been so many  
rs in building up : for by consenting to the satisfaction of  
Guises and their Confederates, he must be brought to put  
Authority, those Fortresses and Offices into their hands,  
n whence he had so long been disengaging but a part of  
n, by little and little, with infinite cost and industry, and  
y consequence must himself destroy his first resolution of  
total ruine and extirpation of both Factions. Therefore  
ould more willingly have concurred to oppose the League,  
unite himself to the Hugonots, if the sting of his own  
science, the unseemlinesse of the thing, and the resistance  
he Queen-mother, had not made him absolutely abhor it :  
erefore, his minde remaining yet doubtful, and his deter-  
ation suspended, he resolved in the mean time to sound the  
g of Navar more perfectly, and finde out the strength of  
Hugonots, endeavouring to perswade him to reconcile him-  
to the Church, with the other Princes of Bourbon : which  
e could compasse, he thought he should destroy the foun-  
ion of the League, and reduce the Guises into a very hard  
dangerous condition : For the principal point of the Suc-  
ion of the Crown failing, which gave colour and credit to  
affairs of the League, and he uniting the Forces of the  
use of Bourbon syncerely to himself, should remove the ob-  
ale of Rome, the concourse of the foolish multitude, who  
eaved the businesse onely to concern the defence of the Ca-  
olike Religion, the abetting of religious Orders, and so com-  
ce all those stirs. He hoped also that many particular men,  
perhaps the very Heads of that Party, would be drawn by  
respect



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respect and shame, from those practices which then would have no other foundation left, but the ambition and unjust desires of the Great ones; and that by taking away the fuel, the flame which then blazed so high, and spread so far, would in a moment be extinguished.

A Meeting between the King of Navar and the Duke d'Espèrnon sent from Henry the third.

To this end he dispatched the Duke of Espèrnon (under colour of going to see his mother, who being old, lived in Gascogne) to confer with the King of Navar, believing that for his own interest he would effectually labour to convert him to the Catholike Religion; for if he did not, he saw the King inevitably necessitated to satisfy the Lords of the League, and abase the greatnesse of his Favourites, among which he held the chiefeest place. But the Duke of Espèrnon being come into Gascogne to the King of Navar, and proposing very large Conditions in the King's name, if he would resolve to turn Catholike, and come to Court, the doubts and consultations were no lesse there then they had been before in the Court of France: for Monsieur de Salignan and Monsieur de Roche-Laure, Confidants to the King of Navar, perswaded him earnestly to trust the King, to reconcile himself to the Catholike Church, and return to Court, as first Prince of the Blood, leading that that was the way to conquer his enemies without Arms or dispute, to recover the Place due to him in right of his Birth, to get possession of the Inheritance of the Crown, to which the King, seeing himself without Sons, would open and facilitate his passage, & to settle his own Fortune in quietnesse & tranquillity, as also the whole Kingdom of France. Although to attain those ends, he must be faine to suffer much, and to dissemble and bear with many things, yet it was wisdom to bar himself of his own ease, and deny his own will, for obtaining of so high, so eminent a designe: That many endured very much for the getting of a private Inheritance, though but a mean one; how much more was to be done and suffered to compass the Succession of the Crown of France? That they clearly saw the King's aim, and the expresse will of his Councillours and Favourites: nor could he ever desire a more ready way to subvert and dissipate the power of his enemies and persecutours.

On the other side, *Arnould* Sieur de Ferrier his Chancellor, argued the contrary, a man of subtil Wit and of excellent Learning (who after his Embassie to Venice, where he had been

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er many yeers, being returned into France, and little ac-  
 uited of at Court, had retired himself to the King of Na-  
 he fearing, if his Master came to an Agreement, and into  
 King's obedience, that he should remain abject and forsa-  
 was, though a Catholike, of the same opinion with *Phi-*  
*e Mornay* *Sieur de Plessis*, with the *Sieur d'Aubigny* (a  
 y servant of the King of Navar's) and with the other  
 onots, who obstinate in their Faith, laboured to shew  
 temporal hopes were not to be preferred before a good  
 science and the safety of the Soul; which is eternal:  
 was it fit for the King of Navar, by so often changing his  
 f, to get the manifest scandalous opinion rather of an  
 list then of a fickle inconstant man: nor yet were the  
 nt hopes that were offered him so surely grounded; for  
 King of France in the vigour of his youth, and the Queen  
 e flower of her age, might yet possibly have a Son, where-  
 e old intentions being renewed, he would remain (as for-  
 y) despised and undervalued at the Court. That the  
 e of succeeding a young King of but two and thirty yeers  
 was very remote and uncertain, the King of Navar him-  
 being but little younger; so that according to nature it  
 ard to judge which of them would live the longer. That  
 e mean time, for things so remote and uncertain, he must  
 himself into a present certain servitude, lay down the  
 mand and dependance of his followers, deprive himself  
 he power and foundation of his Party, and submit himself  
 e pleasure and discretion of his enemies. That all the  
 d knew the King's nature and inclinations, who desiring  
 his own interests to make use of the King of Navar in the  
 ent conjuncture, would, as soon as that occasion was past,  
 ume his old hatred, and his intent (derived from the firm  
 lution of his Ancestours) to abase, persecute, and final-  
 estroy the House of Bourbon. And with what heart, with  
 t courage could he return to imprison himself in the Lou-  
 where with his own eyes he had seen that bloody slaughter  
 ll his friends, and the safety of his own life held uncertain  
 o many hours, that he ought rather to acknowledge it to  
 Divine Goodnesse, and the chance of Fortune, then to  
 modestie and clemencie of his enemies? That God's Ju-  
 e was not to be distrusted, for the setting him in the right-  
 possession of the Crown, in case the King should die with-



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out a Son. That it was much more easie to attain it, being strengthened by powerful Forces, and the adherence of an armed Party that had so often resisted the pride of their persecutors, and the power of so many Princes joyned together against them, then being left naked, deprived of assistance, slighted, and put in prison at the Court. That therefore he ought not to expose himself to the certainty of those dangers, treacheries, poisons and murders whereby he had seen his mother take away, and so many of his friends and servants; but sustaining himself with the greatnesse of his courage, to remit the event of things so far distant and so obscure, unto the Divine providence.

There was no doubt among the wisest men, but that the first advice of reconciling himself to the King and Church, and returning to the Court, was the most secure & expedient: but he could not clear his minde of the suspicion of being deceived again, and circumvented by the practices of his enemies; and his *Genius* could hardly be reduced to forsake his liberty & authority, for almost a certain imprisonment, or at least a very private condition in the Court. He considered he could not commit an error in that resolution that would not cost him his life: for if the King's proceedings were not real and sincere, he should suffer himself again to be ruled by the powerful persuasions and contrivances of the Guises, he saw he might of necessity, either by sword or poison, incur the infallible danger of being murdered. He was also very much moved with the consideration of the Lady *Margaret* his wife: for having in a manner repudiated her, by reason of the report of her chastity; and she being gone to certain Castles of hers in *Normandie*, where she lived with a very licentious freedom, he was that necessarily he must either receive her again to his bed, or else he could never continue in sincere friendship and perfect confidence with his mother and brother-in-law, but that daily new discords and dissensions would arise, to the total ruin of his Fortune. These considerations joyned to the power of *Ferrier*, and to the spur and persuasions of the Ministers made him at last resolve, neither to turn Catholike, nor return to Court; but onely with a great deal of modesty he offered the Assistance and Forces of his whole Party to serve the King whensoever he pleased, to tame those, who, with the Force of the League, disturbed the State, and quiet of the Kingdom.

In this Conference was treated likewise (as had been many times before) the restitution of those places granted to the Hugonots by the Edict of Pacification : For the limited time being expired, the King moved to have them restored according to the Agreement. But the King of Navar being determined not to forsake his Party, made excuses for not delivering them up, shewing that the times to come were like to be such as made him rather desire to have yet others for his security, than to restore those which he already possessed ; beseeching the King to bear with the urgent necessity, and to ascribe the fault to the imminent attempts and the obstinate persecutions of his enemies. But this point being onely treated of in formality, there was neither long nor difficult debate about it ; and the answer was easily received and approved, by reason of the colour which the course of present affairs afforded it.

With these Answers the Duke *d'Espernon* returned to Court ; in whose Conference they of the League taking occasion, divulged everywhere that it had been to treat an Union between the King and the Faction of the Hugonots, for the establishment of Heresie, and the introducing of the King of Navar (an enemy to the Catholike Church) unto the Succession of the Kingdom ; for which purpose, the King had also sent two hundred thousand Duckets. Which things being considered out of the Pulpits by their Preachers, filled the people with vain pretended fears, and with a most bitter hatred against the person of their Prince, and against all his Favourites and Councillours. But the curiosity and itch of the Hugonots, did in great part cut up the roots of these lying slanders : for the *Sieur du Plessis*, burning with an ambition to be known the Authour of the King of Navar's determinations, to get himself credit and esteem amongst those of his own Party, published a little Book in print of the whole treaty that had passed with the Duke *d'Espernon*, with the reasons alleadged by the King of Navar's Councillours, and his answer and resolution : whereby it appeared, that the King sought not to unite himself with the Hugonots, to the prejudice of the Catholike Religion, as was divulged by those of the League ; but by endeavouring to bring home the King of Navar and the other Princes of the Blood into the bosome of the Church : As also, that it was not true that the King voluntarily consented that the Hugonots should keep the possession



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sion of those places, but that they refusing for apparent reasons to restore them, he made shew to bear with their denial, rather then in so unseasonable a time to put Arms into the hands of that other Faction also.

The Low-Countries send Ambassadors to the K. of France, intreating him to take the Protection and Dominion of their States.

The Duke *d'Espernon* at his return found new matter of doubts and consultations : For the Low-Country-men (the Duke of *Alançon* being dead) were left without any forraigne assistance, and being as it were abandoned of all, thought to put themselves under the Crown of France, and by that means to gain the King's Protection against the Spaniards : wherefore they sent an honourable Embassie about that time to the King of France, to intreat him to take the Protection and Dominion of all their Countries; and making War with the King of Spain, to deliver them with a powerful Army from the Tyranny from which they had already for many yeers withdrawn themselves. This Embassie at first kept secret by the King, lest it might exasperate King *Philip*, was afterward publicly received and admitted, when he saw the Spanish Agents continued to foment the League.

There were many, and those the same that had counselled him to unite himself with the Hugonots, who exhorted him to accept of that so ample Dominion, and so noble occasion to raise & increase his own estate; urging, that since the Spaniards thought it lawful by secret practices and suggestions to disturb the peace and quiet of his Kingdom, it was much more lawful for him to undertake the defence of that oppressed people, torturing the injury which he received, and bringing those to necessity of looking to their own, who now craftily sought to put the affairs of others in disorder and confusion : That this was the way to digest and expel the hurtful humours of his Kingdom, which could never enjoy peace at home, but by the help of a War abroad, to take up the mindes and employ the active Forces of his Subjects : They said, This was a most powerful means to abase the League; which being deprived of the money and assistance of the Spaniard, would fall of its own accord, not having any strength or ability to maintain it self : That finally it was time to ease themselves of so many miseries as were everywhere about them, to give vent to the French fury, and rather employ their Arms to the destruction of the old enemies of the Kingdom, then use them to tear in pieces the body of their common Mother.

But as these probable apparent reasons were very noble and generous, so were they likewise difficult, and little lesse then possible to be effected: For with what Armies, with what forces could the King (his Kingdom being torn and divided, and he himself suspected by both Factions) undertake and make a War of so great importance? He could settle no foundation in the Catholike Party; for most of them were united in secret intelligence with the Catholike King: and to joyn himself with the Hugonots, produced the same difficulties and same oppositions that were before considered: Wherefore the King perswaded by the evidence of Reason, and counselled by the Queen his Mother, answered the Ambassadors with these words, expressing his grief for the oppression they complained of, excusing himself by the present divisions and intestine discords of his Kingdom, and shewing how ready he would be to succour and protect them at another time: With this Answer, and all demonstrations of Honour, they were at last dismissed: And yet *Don Bernardino Mendoza* the Catholike King's Ambassador grievously complaining that the same was admitted, and that the Ambassadors of those who rebelled against his Master had been so much honoured; the King either highly exasperated against the Spaniards, or not willing to shew fear and poornesse of spirit, answered boldly, that the common right of Countries and the neighbourhood of so neerer a People, derived from the French Nation and Empire, did perswade him to take them into his Protection: yet for use of his own interests, he had not consented to do any thing in the businesse; and that he would not break the Peace of the Publike, though he knew it had been violated by the King of Spain in private; but that in his own time he would signify his pleasure, not fearing the forces or threatnings of any man, and knowing himself to be a free King, master of his own will, and one that might make War or Peace wheresoever it pleased himself. By which Answer the King thinking to bribe the Spaniards with a jealousy of the affairs of Flanders, he the contrary hastened their practices, and made them labour to kindle the fire in his Kingdom, that he might not be at least to do so to his neighbours: Wherefore *Don Bernardino* departing with that Answer, began to sollicite the Guises and Cardinal of Bourbon, that taking Arms, with the assistance of the money of Spain, they should begin to execute the

*Bernardino de Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador, having received a sharp Answer from *Henry the third*, begins openly to set forward the League.



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the designes of the League ; and presently disbursed two hundred thousand Duckets to the Duke of Guise, for his first year's Pension, disposing three months Pay in Germany for the raising of Souldiers in that Country : For *Lodonick Fifer* the chief Commander of the Swisses, being corrupted with great bribes had yeelded to receive a stipend from the League ; and *Christopher Sieur de Bassompier* was gone into Germany to levy \* *Reiters* : nor did they omit in those Provinces which were held by the Lords of the House of Lorain, to raise both Foot and Horse in all diligence, that with such mighty Forces they might give a beginning to their intended designes.

\* Germane  
Horse.

But the King, who could neither frame his minde to join with the Hugonots, nor to give satisfaction to the confederate Lords, expecting counsel from the benefit of time, went on with slowe preparations, rather setting a glosse upon the Cause, and justifying himself, then hindering the progress of the League : For besides the publike Prayers and Processions continually made, to beseech God to grant him a Success, being advertised from many several places at the same time of their so frequent raising and drawing armed men together, he thought it sufficient to send forth a Decree (published the 10<sup>th</sup> of March) to all the Governours of Provinces ; wherein after having with his wonted Preambles testified that all his actions were led by a desire of the publike peace and tranquillity, and that he had begun to provide for the ease of all his people by fitting remedies, which some enemies of quiet labour to oppose and hinder ; He did expressly forbid all raising or gathering together of Souldiers, commanding that the Leaders of them should be rigorously chastised ; and that at the ringing of the *Toquesaint*, the Gentry and Commons should rise to their defeat, prosecute, and cut them in pieces, delivering as many of them as they could into the hands of Justice, to receive the condigne punishment of their insolency and insurrection : Which Edict onely caused those that drew Forces together to be acknowledged his enemies, but neither hindered nor stopped the proceedings of the Confederates. But in the end it being necessary to make other Provisions, more fit for the quality of the present times, after long doubt and uncertainty he resolved to oppose the designes and attempts of the League by himself alone, without any intelligence with the Hugonots, hoping to have so much strength as would be sufficient to restrain

The Kings Edict forbidding the raising or gathering of souldiers together.

rain them, and thinking that the Hugonots would not onely be neutral indifferent Spectatours of the event, without troubling or molesting him, but that without other union or confederacy, they would give both heat and life unto his enterprizes. But he scarce began to put this resolution in practice, when the deceit of that expectation appeared in the weaknesse of his Forces: for though the *Sieur de Fleury*, brother-in-law Secretary *Villeroy*, who was then the King's Ambassadour in Switzerland, had in a short time raised ten thousand Foot of that Nation for His Majesties service, yet they being to march thorow the Provinces of Burgogne, Champagne, and Lyonois, which were possessed by the Heads of the League, their passage was very uncertain and difficult: and *Gaspar Count of Hombergh*, who was sent to raise some German Cavalry, being forced to passe thorow the same Provinces, was by Commission from the Duke of Lorain taken prisoner: for the Duke being spurred on by the hopes of getting Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, Cities upon the confines of his State, and long taken away by the Kings of France from the Dukes his predecessours, had at last changed the determination of stand-Neuter, which he had observed in all the late Combustions, consented to the League of the Lords of his own Family. These were matters any more succesfull within then without Kingdom; for the Nobility divided by the respect of Religion, and their old sifdings not yet forgotten, but revived by these new Commotions, came in very unwillingly and in small numbers unto the King's party; the People ill-affected to his Name, did not administer any help unto his necessity; the King's Revenues not onely interrupted by the rumour of Armies, but purposely intercepted by the Heads of the League, were in great part diminished: so that he was every way destitute of the sinews of the War.

The Heads of the League taking courage from these difficulties of the King's, began boldly to gather Forces, and to begin the execution of their intended purposes. The first breaking forth, was the departure of the Cardinal of Bourbon from the Court; who under colour of keeping Lent in his Bishoprick of Rouen, went to Gallion, a fair house four leagues from the City, where he was received by a great number of the Gentry of Picardy, and for his security conducted to Amiens, the womb that gave birth unto the League; where  
the



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the Duke of Guise being come to meet him, with the Duke of Mayenne his brother, as also the Dukes of Aumale and Elbeuf, they published a Declaration, which though it spoke in general under the name of Catholike Peers, Prelates, Princes, Lords, Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom of France, was yet subscribed by the name of the Cardinal of Bourbon alone. The Declaration contained precisely these words.

A Declaration published by the Heads of the Catholike League.

\* (Contrary to their Majesties hopes.)

Note that this addition, and all the other alterations and additions in the following Declarations, standing in the margin, are according to the French Originals in a Book intituled *Memoires de la Ligue*.

**I**N the Name of God Almighty, the King of kings. Be it manifest unto all men, That the Kingdom of France having for fourteen yeers last past been tormented with a pestiferous Sedition, raised to subvert the ancient Religion of our Fathers, which is the strong bond of the State; such remedies have been applied, as \* have proved more fit to nourish the cure the disease; such as have onely had the name of Peace but have not established it to any, except those that had molested it, leaving honest men scandalized in their Consciences, and engaged in their Fortunes. And in stead of a remedy for these mischiefs, which in time might have been hoped for, God hath permitted that the late Kings have died young, not leaving as yet any Children able to inherite the Crown, and (to the grief of all good men) hath not yet been pleased to give any to the King that now reigneth, although his good Subjects have not, and will not cease their most earnest Prayers, to beseech God of his mercy to send him some; so that His Majesty being the onely Son remaining of all those which his Divine Goodnesse gave unto *Henry* the second of famous memory, it is too much to be feared (which God forbid) that his House to our great misfortune, will be extinct, without hope of issue, and that about the establishing a Successour in the Throne great tumults will arise thorow all Christendom, and perhaps the total subversion of the Romane Catholike Apostolike Religion in this most Christian Kingdom, where it would never be endured that an Heretick should raigne, forasmuch as the Subjects are not bound to acknowledge or submit themselves to the dominion of a Prince fallen from the Christian Catholike Faith; the first Oath which our Kings do take when the Crown is set upon their heads, being to maintain the Romane Catholike and Apostolike Religion: by which Oath, and in other otherwise, they afterwards receive that of their Subjects Loyalty: Yet since the death of my Lord the Duke of Alençon

the King's brother, the pretensions of those who by publike profession have ever shewed themselves persecutours of the Catholike Church, have been so favoured and upheld; that it is exceeding necessary to make some wise and speedie provision against them, for the avoiding of those very apparent inconveniences, the calamities whereof are already known unto all the remedies to few, and the manner of applying them almost to none: and so much the rather, because one may easily judge, by the great preparations and practices everywhere, the raising of Souldiers as well without as within the Kingdom, the withholding of Towns and strong places which long ago should have been delivered up into His Majesties hand, that we are very neer the effects of their evil intentions; being sufficiently informed, that not long since they have sent treaty with the Protestant Princes of Germany for the procuring of Forces, to the end that they may more easily oppress all good men, as their designs aim at no other end, but to secure and possesse themselves of necessary means to destroy the Catholike Religion, which is the common interest of all, especially of the Great ones, who have the honour to hold the first and chiefest Offices and Dignities of this Kingdom, and whom they labour to ruine in the King's life-time, nay more, to subvert his authority; to the end that there being no body left who for the time to come can be able to oppose their desires, they may more easily work that change of the Catholike Religion, which they endeavour; to enrich themselves with the Patrimony of the Church, following the example of what hath been done in England. Moreover, all the world knows very well, and plainly sees the actions and deportments of some, who having insinuated themselves into the favour of the King our Sovereign (whose Majestie hath ever been and shall be to us most holy and sacred) have in a manner totally possessed themselves of his authority, to maintain that greatnesse which they have usurped, favouring and advancing by all means possible the effects of those aforesaid changes and pretensions, and have had both the boldnesse and the power to remove from the private conversation of His Majestie not onely the Princes and Nobility, but all that naturally are most neer unto him, not admitting any but such as are their own dependents: wherein they have advanced so far, that none of them now have any part in the government and administration of the State, nor the



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whole power belonging to their places ; some having been deprived of the Titles of their Dignities, and others of the Authority, though the empty imaginary names be still left unto them. The same likewise hath been done to many Governours of Provinces, Commanders of strong Holds, and other Officers, who have been forced to leave and resigne their Places in consideration of certain sums of money, which they have received against their wills and desires, because they dur not contradict those that had the power to constrain them to it. A new example, and never before practised in this Kingdom, to get Offices by money from them to whom they had been given for a reward of their Loyalty and faithful service; and by this means they have made themselves Masters of all Forces both by Sea and Land. Nor do they cease to endeavour the like daily to others that are in possession; so that there is not one of them, who is not in fear, or who can assure himself that his Place shall not be taken from him; notwithstanding that having been bestowed upon them for their deserts, they cannot nor ought not to be deprived of them by the Laws of the Kingdom, unlesse for some just and reasonable consideration, or that they have failed in something that depends upon them, and that such their fault be proved by the means of Justice. Moreover, these men have drawn into their own hands all the gold and silver out of the King's Coffers, into which they put onely the smaller sums, the general receipts, for their particular profits, keeping the great ones at their own devotion, as also all those that have the management of them; which are the true ways to dispose of this Crown, and set it upon whose head they please. And by their avarice it is come to passe, that abusing the easinesse of the Subjects, they have exceeded all bounds, laying still heavie Taxes upon the poor common people, not onely equal to those the calamities of War had introduced, which have not at all been lessened since the Peace, but much more grievous ones, by infinite other Impositions growing daily from the greedy appetite of their unbridled wills. Indeed some glimpse of hope appeared, when upon the frequent cries and complaints of the whole Kingdom, the convention of the States General was appointed at Blois, which is the ancient remedy of home-bred evils, and as it were a Conference between the Prince and People, meeting together upon the terms of their

their due obedience on the one side, and of the due protection on the other; both sworn, both born at the same time with the Royall name and fundamentall rules of the State of France: but this dear and laborious enterprize produced nothing, saving the authorizing of the evill counsell of some, who feigning themselves to be good Polititians, were indeed wonderfully ill-affectèd to the service of God and the good of the Kingdome; who not being contented to turn the Kings nature most inclined to piety) from the holy and profitable resolution which he had made at the most humble request of all his States, to unite his Subjects in one onely Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, to the end they might live in that ancient piety, wherein this Kingdome had been established, preserved, and afterwards increased, to become the most powerfull of all Christendome; which then might have been effected without danger, and almost without resistance; they perswaded him quite contrary, that it was necessary for his Majesties service, to weaken and diminish the authority of the Catholick Princes and Lords, who with exceeding zeal had infinitely hazarded their lives, in fighting under his Banners, for the defence of the said Catholick Religion; as if the reputation which they had gained by their verity and loyalty, had been a means to render them suspected, instead of being honoured and esteemed. Thus the abuse which began to swell by little and little, is since fallen like a torrent from so violent a precipice, that the poor Kingdome is now upon the point of being overwhelmed by it, having but very slender hopes of safety: for the Order of the Clergy, notwithstanding all the Assemblies, and just Remonstrances which they could make, is now oppressed by extraordinary rents and Impositions, besides the contempt of the sacred things of the holy Church of God, wherein now all things are taken away and polluted; the Nobility brought to nothing, enslaved, and unnobled, and every day miserably burthened with infinite payments and unjust exactions, which they must pay to their exceeding damage, if they will sustain their lives; that is to say, eat, drink, and clothe themselves: the Cities, the Kings Officers, and the common people so heavily laden with the weight of frequent new Impositions, which they call *Inventions*, that there is now no other way to be found, save <sup>the</sup> means of applying a good remedy against them.



*The History of the Civill Warres*

For these just causes and considerations, Wee *Charles* of Bourbon, first Prince of the Blood, Cardinall of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church, as hee whom it most concerns to take into his safeguard and protection the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, and the conservation of the good and loyall servants of his Majestie and of the State; with the assistance of many Princes of the Blood, Cardinals, and other Princes, Peers, Prelats, and Officers of the Crown, Governours of Provinces, chiefe Lords and Gentlemen of many Cities and Corporations, and of a great number of good and faithfull Subjects, which make the best and soundest part of this Kingdome; after having prudently weighed the motives of this enterprise, and having taken the advice as well of good friends who are most affectionate to the good and quiet of this Kingdome, as of discreet understanding persons, and such as fear God (whom we would not offend in this for anything in the world) do declare, That we have all sworn and holily promised to use strong hand, and take up arms, to the end that the holy Church of God may be restored unto her dignity, and unto the true and holy Catholick Religion; that the Nobility (as they ought) may enjoy their perfect freedom, and that the people may be eased, the new impositions abolished, and all additions since the Reigne of *Charles* the Ninth (whom God absolve) absolutely taken away; that the Parliaments may be left to the freedom of their consciences, and in entire liberty of their judgements; and all the subjects of the Kingdome maintained in their Governments, Places, and Offices, so that they may not be taken from them, save only in the three cases of the ancient Constitutions, and by the sentence of the ordinary Judges of the Parliaments. That all moneys that shall be raised upon the people shall be employed to the defence of the Kingdome, and to the end for which they are appointed; and that henceforward the Generall Assenbly of the States may be held freely without any practices every three yeers at least, with perfect liberty for every one to complain of those grievances, against which there is no other provision made. These things and others which shall be more amply and particularly set down, are the subject and argument of the raising arms, which are now taken up for the restoration of France, the maintenance of the good, the punishment of the bad, and the security of our persons, which

have often, and that not many dayes since, laboured to  
esse, and utterly ruine by secret conspiracies; as if the  
city of the State depended upon the destruction of good  
and of those that so often have hazarded their lives to  
erve it: We having no other means left to save us from  
mischief, and to divert the knife that already is at our ve-  
roats, but to have recourse to those remedies which wee  
alwayes abhorred; which yet are excusable, and ought  
accounted just, when they are necessary, and applied  
rincipall authority, and with which we would not yet  
our selves at this present for the danger of our estates, if  
uine of the Catholick Religion in this Kingdome, and of  
state, were not inseparably joyned unto it: for whose  
ervation we shall never fear any danger, beleeving we  
ot chuse a more honourable funerall, then to die in so holy  
ust a Quarrel, and to acquit our selves of the debt and ob-  
ion which as good Christians we owe to the service of  
; and as good and faithfull subjects to hinder the subver-  
of the State, which would certainly follow the said al-  
ion. Protesting that we do not take up arms against our  
raigne Lord the King, but for the guard and just defence  
s Person, Life, and State, for which we all swear and pro-  
to expose our fortunes and lives to the last drop of our  
d, with the same fidelity as we have done in times past,  
to lay down our arms immediately, when it shall please  
Majesty to take away the danger that threatens the ruine  
ods Service, and so many good men; which we humbly  
ech him speedily to do, giving testimony to all men by  
d and true effects, that he is indeed a most Christian King,  
ed with the fear of God, and hath ingraven in his heart  
eal of the Catholick Religion, as we have alwayes known  
and as it befits a good Father, and a King that is most af-  
onate to the preservation of his Subjects; which his Ma-  
e performing, he shall be so much the more obeyed, ac-  
nowledged, and honoured by us, and by all his other Sub-  
with most obsequious reverence, which we desire more  
any thing in the world. And though it would not be  
far from reason, that the King should be requested by an  
n declaration to provide a Successor, that during his life,  
after his death the people committed to him may not be  
ded into fides and factions by the differences about Succes-  
sion;



sion; yet are we so little moved with any such consideration, that the calumny of those that upbraide us with it, wil prove to have no ground at all; for besides that the Lawes of the Kingdome are known, and cleer enough, the hazard also to which We the Cardinall of BOURBON do put our self, Our old age and latter dayes, doth give sufficient assurance, that We are not swelled with such hope and vanity, but are spurred on by the true zeal of Religion, which makes us pretend to a part in a more secure Kingdome, the enjoyment whereof is more lasting and more desirable. Wherefore our intention being such, we do all of us together humbly beseech the Queen, Mother to the King, our most honoured Lady (without whose wisdom and prudence the Kingdom would long agoe have been lost and destroyed) by the faithfull testimony which she can, will, and ought to give of our great services, but in particular, of Us the Cardinall of BOURBON, who have alwayes honoured, served, and assisted her in the most important affairs, without sparing our Estate, Life, Friends or Kindred, to strengthen with her the Kings party, and the Catholick Religion, that she will not forsake us now at this time; but to imploy all that credit with the King her Son, which her pains and troublesome labours ought justly deserve, and which her enemies disloyally would have robbed her of. Wee also earnestly entreat all the Princes, Peers of France, Officers of the Crown, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of what quality soever they be, who are not yet joyned with us, that they would favour and assist us with all their power, toward the execution of so good and so holy work: And we exhort all Towns and Corporations, if they love their own preservation, to consider briefly of our intentions, and to acknowledge the ease and quiet which may thereby redound to them, as well in publick as domesticall affairs; and so doing, to lay hand to this good work, which cannot but prosper, with the grace of God, to whom we refer all things; or at least, if their opinions and resolutions cannot so soon be united, (their counsels being composed of many) we admonish them to open their eyes and look to their own affairs, and in the mean time not to let themselves be tempted by any body, nor seduced by them, who, out of some sinister interpretation of our intentions, would possesse themselves of their aforesaid Cities, and putting Garrisons of Souldiers

to them, would reduce them to the same servitude which  
 those other places feel that are already in their hands. Wee  
 ther declare unto all, That we will not use any act of ho-  
 nity, save against those that shall oppose us with arms, and  
 other unfitting means favour our Adversaries, who seek to  
 ne the Church, and subvert the State: And we assure eve-  
 one, That our just and holy Armies shall not injure nor op-  
 esse any body, either in passing thorow, or staying in any  
 ce; but shall live in good discipline, and not take any  
 ng but what they pay for. We will also receive unto our  
 les all those good men which have zeal to the honour of  
 d, and of the holy Church, and of the good and reputati-  
 of the French most Christian Religion; with protestation  
 withstanding never to lay down our arms till the aforesaid  
 gs be fully performed; and rather all willingly to die in  
 cause, with a desire to be heaped up together in one Se-  
 bre, consecrated to the last French-men who died fighting  
 he service of God and of their Country. Finally, since  
 ur help must come from God, we pray all true Catho-  
 s to put themselves with us in a good condition, to re-  
 ile themselves to his divine Majestie by a thorow refor-  
 ton of their lives, to appease his wrath, and to call upon  
 with purity of conscience, as well in publick prayers and  
 processions, as private and particular devotions, to the  
 hat all our actions may tend to the honour and glory of  
 who is the Lord of Hosts, from whom we expect all our  
 ce, and our most certain support.

To these words the Heads of the League adding deeds  
 le effectuall, began to make themselves Masters of many  
 is and Fortresses, some by secret practices, some by open  
 of Arms; for being drawn with an Army that already  
 12000 fighting men, to Verdun, a City upon the  
 ines of the Duke of Lorain, though the Governour be-  
 g himself gallantly, laboured to defend it; yet one Guis-  
 a man of great authority with the Citizens, being secret-  
 into the Town, made them the next day after the siege  
 lid to take arms, to possesse themselves of the Gates, and  
 ng in the Army of the Confederates, which uprore the  
 honour couragiously opposed; but having very small  
 e was easily overcome: for the Duke of Guise himself  
 gentred the City, drove him out with all those that fol-  
 lowed

Verdun the  
 first City taken  
 by the Army of  
 the League.



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lowed him; and having put *Guittald* in his place, the City remained absolutely at the devotion of the League. The City of Thoul followed the example of Verdun; for rising in arms, and driving out the Kings Officers, it gave it self up voluntarily into the hands of the League. The same would perchance have happened at Metz, a Fortresse and City of great consequence, if the Duke of *Espernon*, who had the Government of it, foreseeing the danger, had not in time put in Gentlemen and Souldiers from severall places, by which relief the Garison being confirm'd, which of it self was wont to be very strong, as a place of importance upon the Frontiers, the Duke of Guise thought not fit to make any attempt, either not having sufficient forces to besiege it, or doubting he should spend so much time about it, as would prejudice his main designe.

The Insurrection at Marseilles.

At the same time happened a commotion in the City of Marseilles, the chief port of Provence, and a place infinitely desired by those of the League, that they might more easily and by a shorter cut receive supplies from Spain: They led drawn to their party *Louis Daries* Consul of the City, and *Claude Boniface* called *Chabanes*, one of the City Captains; whereof the first being a man of a tyrannicall nature, desired to attain to the absolute Government; the other aspiring to the inheritance of his Brother, who was one of the Kings Treasurers (a rich, but a very covetous man) had wickedly conspired to kill him, and therefore desired that tumult and insurrection of the people, that he might the more conveniently execute his designe. These having gained a rabble of followers, made up of all sorts and qualities of people, went by night to the Treasurers house, and calling him to the door, under pretence of delivering him certain Letters, slew him treacherously, and after ran armed through the whole Town, exhorting the people to Liberty, and the defence of Religion, which they proclaimed to be in very great danger by the machinations of forreigne Hugonots. The common people being up, they took and led to prison some that were reported Hugonots; others they slew, and many hid themselves in private houses, the greatest part of the Citizens being as it were terrified by reason of that sudden taking up of Arms, and of the Consuls and Captains authority, who with the same fury made themselves Masters of the Forts that command the Har-

They presently dispatched an Expresse, to give notice this to *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers, who thinking the revolt of the City was to be effected by other means, without those wicked practices, which were caused by private interests; under pretence of going to Rome, stayed the way at Avignon, with hope that the designe of *Marles* succeeding, he should by the League be made Governor of Provence; and they also sent for *Monsieur de Vins*, and the Count *de Saux*, that they as being nearest, might come assist them: But they delaying to come, the day following, when the first fury of the people began to cool, and that wickednesse of *Chabanes* against his own Brother was come to light, the multitude of those that were up in arms began little and little to fall asunder, and one of the gravest Citizens for age, and of most authority and esteem, named *Bouvier*, having called the people to a parley, exhorted every one to take arms against those seditious men, and to endeavour the punishment of the murder committed by *Chabanes*; which the greater and stronger part of the Citizens being moved, (who as in a City of great traffick, jealous of their wealth, were very suspicious) took arms generally, and began to fall upon those that had raised the tumult: They did also in great haste to call the grand Prior of France, *Bartholomew* Brother to the King, and Governour of that Province, who was then at Aix, at whose coming, which was speedy, though with no more then two hundred Horse, the People showing his authority with a very great concourse, the Fort *la Garde* was taken, and in it the Consull *Daries*, and Captain *Chabanes*, who the next morning were executed, by which severity the City was kept free from those dangers, and under the Kings obedience.

The like successe had the designe upon the City of *Bordeaux* in Guienne; for the Confederates attempting to make themselves Masters of it by means of the Castle, commonly called *Chasteau de la Trompette*, whereof the Governour was *Sieur de Valliac*, one of those that had signed to the League, and *Mareschal de Matignon* (Lieutenant to the King of Navarre the Governour of that Province, but a Catholick, depending upon the King, and residing in the Town) having had notice of all that was plotted, made show of holding a general Councell in the Palace, to communicate unto all some



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Orders received from the Court, and among the rest drew thither also the *Sieur de Valliac*, who did not yet so much as dream himself to be at all suspected: There having made them they were met together acquainted with the revolt that was contriving, he imprisoned *Valliac*, and at the same instant caused Artillery to be planted against the Castle, threatening to put the Governour of it to death, if they within should dare shoot against the Town, by which threats, and the resolution of *Matignon*, *Valliac* being terrified, commanded his men presently to deliver up the Fortresse; which with new Fortifications and a strong Garison was ever after kept at the Kings devotion under the command of *Matignon*.

But these successes were little considerable in comparison of the frequent revolts which followed in other parts of the Kingdom; for those of the League beginning freely to declare themselves, the *Sieur de Mandelott* Governour of Lyons had taken and demolished the Citadell there; the *Sieur de Chastre* had put Bourges into the power of the League; the *Sieur d'Entraques* having driven those of the Kings party out of Orleans, had made himself absolutely Master of it; the Count *de Brissac* with the City of Angiers, and others of the Government, had manifestly united himself with the Conquerors; the Duke of Guise in person had possessed himself of Mezières, a City of importance in the Confines of Champagne; the Duke of Mayenne had taken the Castle and City of Dijon in Bourgogne; and at length with a strong Army they were come to Chalons in Champagne, the place appointed for their Magazine of Arms, and for the basis and foundation of the War. There they determined to expect the Forces, both Horse and Foot, which had been levied in Germany, with Spanish Monny, and which they had intelligence began to move towards Lorain: and whilst they advanced, the Duke of Guise leaving the Duke of Mayenne to command the Army, with the Dukes of Aumale and Elbeuf; himself with a select number of Horse was gone to Peronne, from whence, with infinite demonstrations of honour, he conducted the Cardinall of BOURBON to Chalons, to give reputation with his Name and Presence, to the proceedings of the League, to show him in the Army, and to make use of him as of a shield and bulwark in the future Warre.

Against these so powerfull, and so neer preparation of

the League, the King made opposition both by words and actions as much as he was able; and first of all he answered their Declaration with another of the following tenure.

**A**lthough the King hath by Letters and Commands already many times admonished his Subjects not to let themselves be perswaded nor counselled by some who endeavour to stir them up, and intice them into their Association; and by so doing to lead them astray from their own repose; and hath likewise offered and promised pardon to those, who being already engaged, should withdraw themselves as soon as they were informed of his intentions: yet His Majesty having to his great discontent understood, that notwithstanding his said commands and favourable advertisements, some of his Subjects do not cease to enter into the said Associations, induced thereto by divers interests, but the most easily dazled and deceived by the fair specious colours which the Authours of those insurrections give to their designs: His Majesty hath thought fit, for the universall good of all his good Subjects, and for the discharge of his own conscience towards God; and of his reputation toward the world, against those artifices to set forth the light of Truth (the true consolation of the good, and capitall enemy of the bad) to the end that his Subjects, being guided by the cleernesse of it, may know and discern in time, and without impediment, the beginning and end of such commotions, and by that means may come to avoid those miseries and calamities both publick and private which are like to arise from them.

The pretences which the Authors of these stirrs do take, are principally grounded upon the restauration of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion in this Kingdom, upon the restoring of the Dignities & Offices thereof to those to whom they are justly due; and upon the good, honour, and disburdening of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons: All which things are by reall, not disguised effects, known to every one to be so deer and precious to His Majesty, that none can truly doubt of his intentions therein, so that it doth not appear, as necessary to stir up his Subjects, to put them in arms, or raise forreigne Forces to make him consent to the Articles which they shall propose, in case they be just, possible, or profitable for his people. For as concerning Religion,

The Kings answer to the declaration published by the Catholick League.



His Majestie, before he came to the Crown, hath too often exposed his own life, fighting happily for the propagation of it; and since it pleased God to call him to the Government of this Kingdom, hath too often hazarded his State unto the same end, and used his best means, with the lives and fortunes of his good Subjects and Servants, to perswade them at this present, and to gain their belief, that no man whosoever in this Kingdome or else-where, of what profession soever he be, hath more piety and Religion in his heart then hee hath by wayes had, and by the grace of God ever will have. And according to the example of the King his Brother of famous memory, and of many other Princes of Christendom (whose Kingdomes and States have been troubled with different opinions in Religion) his Majestie with the prudent advice of the Queen his Mother, of my Lord the Cardinal of Bourbon, and other Princes, Officers of the Crown, and Lords of his Council, who then were neer about him, pacified the tumults that were amongst his Subjects about matter of Faith, waiting till it should please God to unite them all in the bosome of the Holy Church; it doth not therefore follow, that his fervour and devotion in what concerns the glory of God, and the perfect restoration of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church, should since be changed, or lesse at this present, then he shewed it to be during the said troubles. But so far is it from being so, that His Majestie desires every one may know, that he made the said Peace purposely to try, if by means of it he could reunite his Subjects in the Church of God, which the malice and licentiousnesse of the times had separated from; having so long proved with the hazard of his Person and State, and with the price of the blood of a great number of Princes, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of his Subjects, who lost their lives in those broyles, that the discord raised about Religion, and that took root in this Kingdome during the minority of the late King his Brother, and of himself, to the great grief of the Queen their Mother, could not be settled by the way of Arms, without destroying his said Subjects, and putting his Kingdome into evident danger. Wherefore his Majestie resolved for Peace, when once he found that all sorts of Persons were tyred and afflicted by the too long continuance of these said Tumults, and that he wanted the means of supplying any longer the expences of so destructive a War. [\* which would

\* [ Which would not have

have come to passe; if in the Assembly of the States General of this Kingdome held at Blois, the Deputies who were there had made request unto his Majestie to prohibit absolutely the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdome; for then that course would not have been decreed which was there taken and sworn to, and which His Majestie vowed to put in execution, with those conditions which were clearly expressed in it. For if it had been concluded in the Assembly to earnestly to prosecute the War, care would likewise have been taken to provide a certain stock of money from time to time, to maintain it till the end, as it was necessary to do, and His Majestie insisted that they would; ] \* and they should have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheless publish, That every one was quickly deprived of that glimpe of good hope which appeared to them at the resolution taken in the States: though it be neither decent nor lawfull for a subject to judge of the actions of his King, if for no other reason, but because he is often ignorant of the secret causes that move the motives of his commands, which sometimes are more secret than those that are apparent and known to every man; it not belonging to any to do so, save onely to God the Searcher and Judge of all hearts, and of the actions of men, who knows the causes that then forced his Majestie to conclude Peace before any thing else; being certain, that he had deferred so to do, this Kingdome would in a moment have been filled with forraign Forces, and with diverse factions, and new divisions, which would have been wonderfully prejudiciall to the State. His Majestie therefore to prevent all the aforesaid inconveniences, to hinder the effects of War, and to try the best remedies, condescended to the aforesaid Peace; and not to settle and establish Heresie in this Kingdome (as is published abroad,) for such a thought never entered into the mind of so good, and so Christian a Prince as His Majestie; who having foreseen, felt and proved the difficulties of War, thought fit so much the sooner to consent to the aforesaid Peace, to the end that by means thereof he might at least satisfie his good Subjects with that ease which was expected from those other points propounded and required in the Assembly of the said States Generall for the publick good of the Kingdome; Peace and concord being the principal necessary foundation for the establishing of good Laws,

and

come to passe, if in the Assembly of the States General held at Blois, when the Deputies (induced thereunto by his Majesties fervent affection to the Catholick Religion) had requested him utterly to prohibit the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion in this Kingdome, (whereupon followed the determination which was there taken & sworn, which His Majestie hath since laboured to execute) they had at the same time provided a certain stock of money to prosecute that War unto the end, as it was necessary to do, and as it was motioned by His Majesty.] \* And they would now have had no pretence of complaint, who nevertheless publish, &c. Mem. de la Ligue.



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and the reformation of manners; which businesse His Majesty hath since continually prosecuted, as appears by the Edicts and Constitutions made for that purpose, which he hath laboured to cause to be observed and put in execution; and if his intention hath not been fulfilled according to his desire, hath been very much to his grief, and it may be also as well through the negligence of some of his Officers, and through the cunning of his evill-willers; as by reason of the advantage and footing which wickednesse, corruption, and disobedience had taken in this Kingdome during the said War. By that Peace many Cities full of Citizens and Catholick inhabitants, were freed from Souldiers that had seised upon them; and the exercise of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion was restored to its being, as by the diligence and care of His Majestie it is brought to passe in almost all the Townes of this Kingdome, wherein neverthelesse those that make profession of the said pretended reformed Religion, have since the Commotions been, and at this present are still the strongest, and by whom the said exercise had till then been banished, both before and since he came unto the Crown. Likewise the face of Justice hath appeared in them, and if not so fully and perfectly as might have been desired; yet so, that sometimes it hath had sufficient strength to relieve the good, and terrifie the bad. The Prelats and Clergy-men are settled again in their Churches, and in the possession of those goods that were taken from them. The Nobility have been able to live securely in their own houses, without being lyable to those expences they were wont to make during the War, to keep themselves from being suddenly surprized. The Citizen, deprived of his possession, and wandring about the Country with his Family, is also entred again into his own house by means of the said Peace. The Merchant hath likewise wholly retaken himself again unto his Traffique, which was interrupted by occasion of the said Tumults. And the poor Peasant, pressed down under the weight of an intolerable burthen, proceeding from the unbridled liberty of the Souldier, hath ad means to breathe, and have recourse unto his ordinary labour to sustain the poverty of his life. Briefly, there is no kin of Estate or Person that hath not effectually shared in the fruit and benefit of that Peace.

And as His Majestie hath alwayes been most jealous of Gods

hods honour, and as solicitous of the publick good of his subjects, as a most Christian and truly good Prince ought to be; knowing that the evils and calamities of a State doe spring chiefly from the want of true Piety and Justice, he hath since the said Peace continually laboured to set those two Pillars again, which the violence of the said Tumults had as it were overturned and thrown to the ground: and that hee might so do, had begun to nominate such persons to Ecclesiasticall dignities that have cure of souls, as were fit and capable, and such as are ordained by the holy Decrees. Hee hath also invited his Subjects by his example to reform their manners, and to fly unto the grace and mercy of God by prayer and austerity of life, which hath confirmed the Catholicks in their duty towards the divine Majestie, and moved some of those that were separated from the Church of God to reunite themselves unto it. Hee hath also graciously taken time to hear the discourses and complaints of the Clergy (after having given them leave to meet together for that purpose) and answered amply and favourably for them, having since rather added then burthened them with new extraordinary Tenths, without having any respect to the necessity of his own affairs, being very sorry that he could not also free them from the payment of the ordinary ones, having when hee came to the Town, found them engaged for the payment of the rent of the Towne-house of Paris. The said Prelates and Clergy have likewise had conveniency by His Majesties permission to call and hold their Provinciaall Councils, by means whereof they have consulted and provided for the reformation of abuses introduced into the Church during the said Tumults; and have made many very good and holy Ordinances for the government of it, which have been commended and approved by his Majestie. These are the fruits, and publick general advantages which the Church of God, and the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion have reaped from the aforesaid Peace, besides infinite other private and particular ones, which would be too long to recount.

Then as concerning Justice; every one knowes the pains His Majestie hath taken in drawing it out of the darknesse where those troubles had buried it, to set up the light thereof in its first force and ancient splendor: having by death annulled those Offices that were supernumerary, and moreover

\* [Whatsoever  
is published to  
the contrary.]  
*Mem. de la  
Ligue.*



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\* Evocation is  
a transferring  
of causes from  
one Court to  
another.

\* [And pre-  
servers.] Mem.  
de la Ligue.

over prohibited the sale of the said Offices, which the necessity of money had forced his Predecessors to introduce, without having any regard of his own wants, though they were no lesse then those of his Predecessors. Besides that, His Majesty hath excluded all pardons and \* *evocations* which times past were wont to be dispatched by his own will and pleasure, knowing that the hope of the one gives encouragement to wickedness, and the too much easinesse of granting the other, brought a confusion in matters of Justice. Moreover, His Majesty since the said Peace, hath had opportunity to send Courts composed of the Officers of the Parliament of Paris, into divers Provinces of this Kingdom, to doe justice to his Subjects upon the place, from whence that fruit hath been gathered, which every one hath tasted, and which would have been greater, to the great contentment of good men, if his good intentions had been better assisted by the Magistrates who naturally, and by the particular obligation of their offices were bound to do so. But as the misfortune of the times hath made some so bold, as to attribute the faults of others to His Majesty; so the corruption and malignity of them have been filled with so much impudence and indiscretion, that many have also taken pleasure to defame his most holy and best actions, and in that manner gain themselves credit at the cost of his reputation: and have had so high a degree of hardness, as to interpret to too much rigour and severity, the laudable resolution hee had taken to make the Sentences and Decrees of the said Courts be executed against Malefactors. Thus his Majesty having by these means begun to provide for the setting up again of these two Pillars, the true and clype foundations \* of all Monarchy, had promised himself that he should settle and restore them absolutely by the continuance of Peace, if God had been so mercifull to him, as to make his Kingdome and Subjects worthy of it. Which, it appears having been as soon feared, as foreseen by those who at this present would stir up his Subjects to take Arms, but under colour of providing for both those points: They do also publish, that they have taken Arms to prevent those troubles which they say they fear will happen after the death of His Majesty about the establishment of a Successour; to the prejudice of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion: and are perswaded (or at least publishing that they are so) that his Majesty

ty, or they that are neer him, do favour the pretensions of  
those who have alwayes shewed themselves persecutors of the  
d Religion; a thing which His Majesty prayes and admo-  
nes his Subjects to beleieve he never so much as thought;  
being yet (God be thanked) in the force and flower of  
age, and in perfect health, as also the Queen his Wife, hee  
opes that God will give him issue, to the universall content-  
ment of his good and loyall Subjects. And it seems unto His  
Majestie to be too great a forcing of time and nature, and  
too great a distrust of the mercy and goodnesse of God, of the  
alth and life of his Majestie, and of the fruitfulnessse of the  
Queen his Wife, to move such a question at this present, and  
er to go about to decide it by force of Arms. For in stead  
freeing and curing this Kingdome of the evill which they  
tend to fear may one day come to passe for that cause, they  
directly about to hasten the paines and mortall effects of it,  
beginning a War now upon that occasion: it being cer-  
n that by means thereof the Kingdome will be quickly fil-  
with forraign Forces, with Factions and endlesse discords,  
h blood, slaughter, and infinite murthers and robberies.  
d see now how the Catholick Religion will be established,  
w the Clergy-man will be disburthened of Tenths, how  
Gentleman will live in quiet and security in his own house,  
d how he will enjoy his Rights and Priviledges, how Cities  
d the Inhabitants in them will be exempt from Garisons,  
d how the poor people will be free from the Taxes and Im-  
positions that lie upon them. His Majestie exhorts and admo-  
nes his Subjects to open their eyes here, and not to per-  
de themselves that this War will end so easily as they give  
; but to comprehend, and maturely consider the inevi-  
le consequences of it, and not to suffer their reputation to  
blemished, and their Arms to serve for instruments of their  
untries ruine, and the greatnesse of those that are enemies  
t \*. For whilest blinded to our own good we shall fight  
inst one another, succoured in appearance, but in effect  
mented by their assistance, they will reign happily, and esta-  
h their own power. They complain also of the distribu-  
n of Offices and honours in this Kingdom; saying that  
ce are deprived of them who have deserved best in his Ma-  
ties service: a weak and dishonourable foundation to build  
ruine and subversion of so flourishing a Kingdom, whose

[\* Who only  
will triumph,  
and make ad-  
vantage of the  
publick misfe-  
ries and cala-  
mities.] Mem.  
de la Ligue.



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Kings were never constrained to make use of one more the of another; for there is no Law obliges them to do so, say that of the good of their own service. Yet hath his Majesty alwayes honoured and favoured the Princes of his Blood, as much as any of his Predecessors, and hath shewed a desire to advance others in credit, honour, and reputation, by employing them in his service: for every time His Majestie hath raised Armies, or drawn Forces together, he hath committed the charge and conduct unto them, preferring them before all others; and if it be considered who those are that even now hold the greatest and most honourable Offices in the Kingdom, it will be found that they who are said to be the authors of those complaints, have more cause to acknowledge the goodnesse and favour of his Majesty, then to murmur against him, and depart from him. But they say, they have onely the name of them, and that in effect they are deprived of the priviledges which belong unto their said Offices, which are usurped by others. Now before we judge of the justnesse of such a complaint, it would be necessary to see and touch the ground of the rights and preeminences attributed to every Office, and to consider how, and by what Persons they have been used in the times of the Kings his Predecessors; a thing often propounded by His Majesty, desirous to regulate the Offices of every one, and which long agoe would have been cleared and decided, if his good intention had been seconded and assisted, as it ought to have been, by those very men that have interests in them. But shall it be said at this present, and let it be said unto posterity, that private interests and discontents were the occasions of overturning a whole State, and of filling it with blood and desolation? This is not the way that ought to be taken for the regulating of those abuses whereof they so much complain, having to deal with a most pious Prince, who will never oppose that mischief, and readily imbrace those fitting and convenient remedies which shall be proposed unto him to provide against them.

Wherefore let Arms be laid down, let forraign Forces be sent home to their own Countries, and let this Kingdome be free from that danger that it incurreth by this Insurrection and taking up of arms; and in stead of following that way, full of difficulties, and both publick and private miseries and calamities, let that of reason and duty be sought out, laid hold

n, and followed, by means whereof the holy Church of God,  
s enemy to all violence, will be more easily restored to its vi-  
our and splendour, and the Nobility satisfied and contented  
it ought to be. For which of the Kings, His Majesties Pre-  
ecessours hath shewed more love and favour to that Order  
en His Majestie hath done? not having been contented to  
refer it to the ancient and principall honours and dignities  
of the Kingdome; but hath also purposely erected and found-  
ed new ones, which he hath dedicated to the honour of the  
ue Nobility, having excluded all other kindes of persons  
om them. His Majestie will also at the same time provide  
r the ease of his people, as he hath already very well begun  
do, and desireth to continue to the uttermost of his power.  
nd although the Heads of this War do promise that their For-  
s shall live in so good discipline, that every one shall com-  
end them for it; and do also admonish the Inhabitants of  
ties not to receive any Garrisons into them; yet it is alrea-  
seen how the Souldiers which they have gathered together  
commit infinite outrages and villanies, and that they them-  
ves have put Forces into those Cities and Places which they  
ve taken, to govern and keep them at their own devotion.  
sides that, it is most certain, that many Vagabonds, which  
do nothing but mischief, will rise up, as the custome is,  
o under the name and protection of either side, will com-  
t infinite Robberies, Murthers and Sacriledges: so that in-  
ad of putting an end to that danger which threatens the ruine  
Gods Service, and of good men, as they promise to do by this  
ar, it will fill this Kingdom with all impiety and \* dissolute-  
se. They also publish that their Persons and Lives are in dan-  
of Treachery, and that that is one of the causes that moves  
m to take up Arms. None can believe such an imputation  
at all concern his Majestie \* by nature so far from any kind  
Revenge, that the man is yet unborn, who can with reason  
ce any such complaint against him, notwithstanding any  
nce whatsoever hee hath received: There may easily be  
ny found of this kinde, who have proved the gentlenesse  
is nature, and will serve for memorialls of it to posterity.  
erfore His Majestie prays and exhorts the Heads of the said  
nults and Commotions, presently to disband their Forces;  
end back strangers, to separate themselves from all Leagues,  
laying aside all enterprises, as his Kinsmen and Servants

\* Desolation  
Mem. de la  
Ligue.

\* [ As well by  
reason of the  
good and gra-  
cious usage  
which they  
have ever re-  
ceived from  
him, as because  
His said Maje-  
stie is ] &c.  
Mem. de la  
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to take a perfect assurance of his friendship and good will, which if they shall so do, he offers to continue to them, honouring them with his favour, and making them partakers of those dignities which he is wont to conferr upon those of their quality; to reconcile and reunite themselves with him to provide duely and effectually for the restauration of Gods Service, and the publick good of his Subjects by those means which shall be thought most proper and convenient, which his Majestie hath an infinite desire to put in practice. He doth likewise admonish the Clergy and Gentry, his Subjects, maturely to weigh the consequence of these Commissions, sincerely to imbrace his intention, and to believe that his chief aim hath ever been, and ever shall be to doe good to all, but neither harm nor displeasure to any; commanding them most strictly, as also all his other subjects, to separate and withdraw themselves from all Leagues and Associations, and to reunite themselves with him, as nature, their duty, and their own good and safety doth oblige them; to the end that if these civil broyles must passe further (which he beseeches Gods divine Goodness not to permit) he may be accompanied & supplied with their Counsell, Arms, and Assistance for the preservation of the Kingdome, to which is joyned that of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church; of their honour and reputation, as likewise of their Persons, Families, and Estates: offering and promising them if they shall so do, both the continuance of his favour and reward for their service and fidelity.

This was the Kings Declaration, published to answer to the League; wherein he thinking it convenient for the gravity of his Person to sum up busineses in a few words, without descending to more particulars, endeavoured afterwards to have the reasons of the Guises punctually answered by persons of great wisdom, and no lesse eloquence, who having replied largely in writing, kindled matters in such sort, that it was much more necessary to come at last to action, then to multiply words any longer. The King endeavoured therefore not onely to draw his Forces together in all parts to resist the attempts, and oppose the Army of the League that was so neer; but also to disunite, and fetch over some of those which he thought most fit from the body of that Union: and because the City of Lyons was wonderfully necessary for his designs,

ignes, that hee might bring his Swiffes in that way, who  
 re excluded from Bourgogne and Champagne, Provinces  
 d by the League, he began to tempt the *Sieur de Mande-*  
 to draw him over to his party, and had neerly engaged  
 retary *Villeroy* in the businesse ; for *Mandelot* having a  
 ughter both noble and very rich, there was a treaty of mar-  
 e begun between her and *Charles* Lord of Alincourt Son  
*Villeroy*, the King promising *Mandelot* the power of put-  
 his Son-in-law into the Government of the City of Ly-  
 after him ; by which allyance hee being freed from the  
 ition of being put out of his place by the Duke of Esper-  
 to bring his Brother into it, and the demolishing of the  
 adel already destroyed being authorized and approved by  
 King, *Mandelot* seemed not to have any more occasion to  
 ere unto the League, being removed from those jealousies  
 ch had made him consent unto it : nor was this treaty  
 ; for *Mandelot* a man of a milde nature, and very desirous  
 ave the allyance of one so powerfull, consented to the  
 ch, and promised to give free passage to the Swiffes, who  
 e raised by the *Sieur de Fleury* Uncle to the new Bride.  
 King's perswasions prevailed also with *Lodovico Gonza-*  
 uke of Nevers, who failing of his hopes of the Govern-  
 t of Provence by the unsuccessfull event of the businesse  
 arseilles, but (as he said himself) seeing the Pope did  
 conclude to approve and protect the League, began to  
 an ear to the perswasions of *Francisco Nuvo-loni* a Man-  
 , very conversant with him, who by *Pietro Abbot del Bene*  
 very much trusted by the King) being moved with re-  
 and filled by his patron with plentiful hopes, at last he  
 lved to write to the Duke of Guise and Cardinall of Bour-  
 to renounce and take his leave of the League, alledging  
 he never saw the expresse consent and approbation of the  
 e, and for all the treating that had been at Rome by means  
 ather *Mattei*, he had never been cleared in that scruple, that  
 as lawfull in this businesse to take Arms against the King,  
 was a Catholick, legitimate and naturall : by whose ex-  
 e many others being moved began to fall away, and par-  
 ticularly the *Sieur de Villers*, who having consented to the  
 ue chiefly for the veneration which hee had ever born to  
 Catholick Religion, was unsatisfied to see that the prin-  
 laym of the Confederates was at the Kings own Person ;  
 where-



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wherefore laying aside his distaste about the Castle of Caen and being made amends by the Kings pardon, which he granted to him for the death of Monsieur *de Lizores*, slain by him in a single duell, he returned to the Kings obedience, and loved him afterward constantly as long as he lived: But it was no more then the taking of a drop of water from the sea; for the fury of the people was so headlong, and the concurrence of the Clergy so great in favour of the League, that by continual proceedings it was more strengthened every hour. Nor were the King's preparations of Arms very fortunate; for the Catholike Cantons of the Swisses, though at first they had consented to those levies which were made there in the Kings name, yet some of their Burgomasters being corrupted with money by the League, and the rest being perswaded by the authority of Spain, had refused that the levies should go forward: nay more, they had given leave to the Duke of Guise to raise six thousand Foot amongst them: and though the other Cantons had promised the *Sieur de Fleury* to make up the number of the ten thousand which were raising for the King, yet they desired to add this expresse condition, That they should onely serve in their own defence, and not offend any body, being so perswaded by the rest that favoured the party of the Confederates: whereby the King foresaw, that with great expence and many difficulties he should receive but small fruit from the Levies of the Swisses, because they were restrained by those Commissions, and fought against others of the same Nation, which by so many proofs of former times he knew was alwayes hazardous, and many times ruinous. The Forces also of the Kingdom that took his part were very weak, because he had not that time that was requisite to effect his designs by leasure and dissimulation, and had been prevented by the sagacity and quicknesse of the Guisards; wherefore, except his own dependents, and those of his *Amities*, all the rest were joyned some to one Faction, some to the other, and those that did follow the Royall Authority shewed themselves very slow and cold, their minds being amazed and affrighted by the bold attempt of the Confederates: nay, even some of those in whom the King confided, and that had been favoured and advanced by him, were (as we have already noted) revolted to the League, as the *Sieur de Entraques*, *S<sup>t</sup>. Luc*, young *Lansac*, and many others; every

being displeased at the eminent favour and singular authority of Espernon. But that which more then any thing put him in suspense and trouble, was the fear of the City of Paris, the Head indeed of the Kingdom, but so great and so powerful an one, that which way soever it inclined, it had pulled down the scale. This City was not onely united with the Confederates; but in it there was also a particular practice by the *Sieur de Meneville*, President *Nully*, *la Roche Martell*, the *Sieur de Buffy*, *Hauteman*, and other Heads of the Citizens; whereby they had secretly armed the people, buying up arms with great diligence from all parts, at any rate that the City might be able to revolt upon any occasion; moreover, if it were necessary, to take or stay the Kings Person till the coming of the Army of the Confederates; and the raising and maintaining whereof, particular men in the City contributed three hundred thousand Crowns to the Duke of Guise. These things being told the King by *deas Poulain*, Lieutenant to the Provost of the Isle of France, one of the Confederates; had put the King in very great perplexity of minde; for staying in Paris, hee was in danger of receiving some affront by the inconsiderate rage of the people, who were possessed with a beliefe that they favoured and protected the King of Navar and the Huguenots; and on the other side, going away from the City, he was certain of the revolt of it, which was hindred onely by his presence, and by the remedies which he applied every where; wherefore though he had called all the Souldiers of his Regiment unto their colours, and chosen five and forty trusty Gentlemen, to each of which he allowed an hundred Crowns a month, and their diet in the Court, who were alwayes about his Person, yet lived he in very great doubt, fear, and trouble, seeing himself upon such an unbridled horse as could not possibly be governed.

These so weighty difficulties which on all sides seemed impossible to be overcome, and the hope of drawing over by the League in time unto his party, and of loosening by wretched arts that bond which then seemed invincible by strength, made the King resolve to take the Counsell of the Queen his Mother, and of *Bellicre*, and *Villeroy*, which was to procure delays as much as possibly he could; and in the end to give the League such satisfaction as was necessary to divert



divert the violence and force of the Confederates, and to deavours by art and time to disunite their Combination; perience having so often given certain proofs, that by fight and resistance, the forces and dangers both at home and broad were increased; but that by yeelding and complying those hazards might be deferred, & those imminent calamities and mileries avoyded. To this end the Queen undertook charge of treating with the Duke of Guise, and the other Princes of the League; and being attended by the Marechal de Retz, Monsieur de Brulart Secretary of State, and Monsieur de Lansac, shee went to Espernay in Champagne, and Leagues from Chalons, to confer with the Lords of Guise and the Cardinal of Bourbon. Thither came also the Confederate Lords, and without further delay they began to treat of the means of an Accommodation. But the intentions of the parties were so different, that they could hardly come to any conclusion; for the Queen minded onely the gaining of time, as well to give the King leisure to arm and prepare himself, as the Swisses to draw neer to Paris, as to give opportunity to those engines which were secretly set on work to disunite the League; whereas on the other side, the Guises taking good heed to each of those particulars, pressed for speed expedition, either of an advantageous Agreement, or of a resolution of War: wherefore though the Queen laboured very much both by her authority and perswasions, yet could she obtain no more but a truce for four dayes, in which space she dispatched Monsieur Myron her chief Physitian to the King to bring back his resolution touching the Accommodation. The time of truce being expired, the Queen drew neerer, and advanced as far as Charry, a place belonging to the Bishop of Chalons, whither the Confederate Lords came also to meet her: she let them know, that the King by Myron the Physician had sent her order to assure them, that in matters of Religion he was of the same minde with them, and that he desired the security of the Catholick Faith, the extirpation of Heresie, and onely Religion and Belief in his Kingdom no lesse then they; but that to attain unto that end, he neither had sufficient forces, nor money enough to maintain the War in so many places; and that therefore they that shewed themselves so zealous of it, ought to propound the means of gathering Armies together, and of providing for their pay and maintenance. The King

hoped by this proposition to put the Confederates in as confusion as hee had done the Deputies at Blois in the manner; for there was no doubt but the charges would fall on the Clergy, and upon the Commons, a contrary to the Proposition of the League, which was the grievances of the Kingdome; and in these Armies were to be raised in severall parts, it was necessary to im- all the Nobility, to the burthen and obligation as well their Estates as Persons: wherefore it was not very easie the Duke of Guise & the other Lords to resolve this doubt, hereupon to the great contentment of the Queen they three dayes time to give their answer. After many con- sions, they determined at last to shun the encounter of means and advertisements which the King required, they should discover expresse falshood in those promises they made at the propounding of the League, and draw themselves the hatred of those burthens and grievances which at that present lay upon the Kings own person; and fore making use of both Force and Authority, they an- ced the Queen resolutely, that it concerned not them to de those means; but that the King, who was conscious to self of his own Forces, ought to find them, and that without any delay they would presently have a Declaration and an- against the Hugonots, security for themselves, and a cer- ty that the War should not be deferred; towards which they proffered those Forces they had then in readinesse; or they would make their Army to march whither they thought most convenient for the end of their enterprize: and ed they dispatched the Duke of Mayenne at that very in- with part of their Forces, and with Commission to meet the King's Swisses, and if he thought fit, to fight with them presently. At this resolute determination the Queen deman- eight dayes time to give the King notice of it, and to know her pleasure; and the Duke of Guise, who had need to meet German Souldiers, which (as he was informed) were near Verdun, was easily perswaded to consent unto it. But whilest they expected to meet them, and to take order for their coming in, the Queen watching all opportunities, implied \* *Luigi Da-* a Cyprian, who was a neer attendant of hers, to work *Francesco Circarssi* a Gentleman of the same Country, saying to the Cardinal of Bourbon, to try if she could by any means remove and separate him from the combination of

\* *Luigi Davila* the Authors el- der Brother was favoured by the queen- Mother, and es- teemed by the King, who made use of him in the ma- naging of af- fairs, and of the Warre in those times.



the Lords of Guise; which businesse being followed and doubled many times whilest the Treaty lasted, the old Sieur *Lansac* chief of the Queens Gentlemen was cunningly engaged in it; and on the Cardinals part, the Sieur *de Rubempré* himself, who being of a haughty mind, and not having authority in the League which he thought he deserved, began to apply his mind to a reconciliation with the King and Party; and in the end Monsieur *de Lansac* conferred with the Cardinal himself, under colour of a complemental visit, he urged many reasons to him; in substance, that he might take notice that he was not Head of the League, as befitted the quality of his Person, and the honour of his bloud, but a subject and vassall to the passions and affections of the Duke of Guise and the other Lords of his Family: that the businesse was not any interest at all of Religion, since the King having offered to give them all manner of satisfaction in matters of faith, his offer was not accepted; but that it was now manifest and publick to all the world, that under colour of Religion he prosecuted their private ends and interests: that it was not fit for a man of so great zeale and integrity, and one that was placed in the most eminent dignities of the Church to serve for a stale to the pretensions of the Lords of Lorain, and to give colour to a most open Rebellion, against the Person of a King that was as well a Catholick, as his intimate and naturall: but that it was much more unfit for him being first Prince of the Blood, to be the instrument whereby the ancient Enemies of his House should extinguish the mainder of the Royall Family: that he should consider that he being old, and of an age not likely to have children, the House of Bourbon would be quite extinct by the suppression of his Nephews: that it seemed very strange to every good man, that he who all the rest of his life-time had been the Authour of peace and concord; how having as it were one foot in the grave, should make himselfe the Author of War, blood, discord and insurrection: that it would be much more acceptable to God, and much more commendable among men, that he being united with the King to the same holy end, should endeavour to withdraw his Nephews from the way of perdition, and rather to reconcile them peacefully to the Church, then to suppress and bury them in the ruin and destruction of the Kingdome: That he should doubt nor suspect the reality of the King's intentions, w

th openly and privately was alwayes a Catholick, and affectionate unto Religion; for as concerning the Hugonots, he would send him a blank to write what he would; so for his particular, he would alwayes honour and respect him as a father, being wont to say, that amongst all that great multitude of the Confederates there was not one honest man, but the Cardinal of Bourbon. These reasons alledged and received in a mind full of right intentions, and uncorrupted, were not far from effecting what they aymed at, nor from bringing him to a thought of reuniting and reconciling him to the King, by means of the Queen, whom he held in the highest veneration: but while he was in doubt, having as a man of no great reach nor policy, given some suspicion of the Cardinal of Guise, in the discourses and consultations that passed, the Duke of Guise was presently recalled, whose spirit did animate the whole Body, and move every member of that Union; and though by his authority he settled the Cardinall of Bourbon's resolution; yet seeing that the Swisses advanced daily, and that the Duke of Mayenne had but small forces to oppose them, and considering that to make up the pay of his German Souldiers great store of money was necessary, to the furnishing whereof, the Spaniards succurred not with that readinesse that he imagined; for being involved in the War of Flanders, they could hardly support so vast an expence; and having found at last, that the uniting of the League was attempted by secret practices, the members whereof were already wavering, he judged that France was his mortall enemy as he had ever thought, and before desiring to put a fair gloss upon his taking up arms to justify his ends, and to take away those scruples which had been sowed in the Cardinal of Bourbon's minde, which already were not onely divulged, but also had taken deep impression in many others, he took a resolution to propose a very plausible offer, That he desired nothing but to prohibit against the Hugonots, that no other Religion but the Catholick should be permitted in the Kingdom, that they should be incapable of all Offices and Dignities of what sort soever; and that there might be an assurance they should not be persecuted with Arms, renouncing all other security and conditions; and offering also himself to lay down all Offices and Governments possessed by him or any of his, to take a-

Whilest the Cardinall of Bourbon, Head of the League, stands wavering to reconcile himself to the King, the Duke of Guise makes a specious proposition of Agreement,



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way all suspicion of cavillous interests. This proposition wrought two wonderfull effects to his advantage; one that it confirm'd the Cardinall of Bourbon, whose losse would have taken away the greatest foundation of the League; the other, that it brought the King to a necessity of accepting the proposition, lest he should manifestly put himself on the wrong side, and absolutely alienate also the remaining part of the Catholicks, who were already something mistrustfull of him: and as concerning other securities and advantages of his Family, he knew very well, if the King made war with the Hugonots, he must of necessity reunite himself with the Catholicks, and with the House of Guise, that had all the Forces in their hands; and that he must be so far from consenting that they should lay down their Offices and Government, that he should be forced to give them yet others, and commit the chief Commands of the Armies upon them; and in conclusion, he saw that the whole perfection of his designs would necessarily follow upon the war with the Hugonots; and was so true, that the war with the Hugonots and his Greatness were firmly linked together, that hee was alwayes able to take marvellous opportunities to advance his own enterprizes, in such manner as no other interest should appear outwardly, save that of Religion. So this last determination being set down in writing, they presented it to the Queen the ninth day of June, subscribed by the Cardinall of Bourbon and the Duke of Guise: the Queen was not much astonished at it, having long ago foreseen that the Heads of the League could not take a more expedient resolution: but she dispatched away the foresaid Myron to the King with the same Declaration, giving him to understand, that it was necessary for him to consent unto it in matter of Religion, to avoid the present danger, and to disunite the forces of the Confederates, for that in the execution there would afterwards be so many difficulties interposed, that time it self would bring sufficient opposition: lest that by not consenting to it, he should assure himself, besides the universall hatred and detestation, to be quickly oppressed, and forced to harder conditions, since that the Duke of Mayenne was already gone to hinder the entry of the Swisses, and while they were retarded, the Duke of Guise making haste to joyn with his Germans, would be upon his march towards Paris with 30000 fighting men, where nothing else was to be feared.

expected, but the manifest Rebellion of the City, and the  
erall revolt of the whole Kingdome, which would con-  
in him to fly to those places that were possessed by the  
gonots, of whose good will and Forces he could not assure  
self. Thus the doubt of retarding the Swisses troubled  
Parties; for on the one side the Queen feared the Duke  
Mayenne would be able to stop them; and on the other, the  
ke of Guise feared lest he should not be strong enough to  
ose them; which reciprocall fear perswaded both parties  
consent unto a Peace. The King having received the De-  
ation, and the Counsell of the Queen, sent Secretary *Vil-*  
y presently unto her, and a little while after the Duke d'  
ernon, to the end that the Agreement might be received and  
lished with the best conditions that could be. Where-  
the Queen being come to Nemours with the Princes of  
League, they concluded upon these conditions the seventh  
of July.

That the King should prohibit any other Religion in his  
gdom, except the Roman Catholick; that he should ban-  
all the Heretick Preachers out of his Confines; that hee  
ld ordain that Hugonots should be punished with con-  
tion of their Estates during life; that he should with all  
d denounce a war against them, wherein such men should  
made Commanders as the League could confide in; that  
ould abolish those Courts instituted in the Parliaments,  
established in favour of the Hugonots: and should not per-  
that any should be capable of any place or publick Of-  
till he had first made profession of his Faith, conformable  
e Roman Religion; That the Duke of Guise, Mayenne,  
male, Mercure, and Elbeuf, besides their ordinary Go-  
ment, should keep the Cities of Chalons, Thoul, Ver-  
S. Desire, Reims, Soissons, Dijon, Beaune, Rue in *Picar-*  
Dinan, and Coneg in *Bretagne*. That a certain number of  
arquebuziers on horseback should be paid, to be guards  
he Cardinals of Bourbon and Guise, and for the Dukes  
Guise, Mercure, Mayenne, Aumale, and Elbeuf: that the  
e of Guise should have an hundred thousand Crowns paid  
him, to build a Cittadell in Verdun; and that two Re-  
nts of Infantry should be paid which belonged to the  
ague, under the commands of *Sacramoro Birago* and *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*:  
at two hundred thousand Crowns should be disbursed to

\* These which  
the Author calls  
Harquebuziers  
on horseback,  
differed from  
our Dragoons,  
in that they  
did serve both  
on foot and on  
horseback; and  
it is conceived  
by men experi-  
enced in war,  
that they were  
the same with  
those which  
they call *Ar-*  
*golettiers*.

pay



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pay the German Forces raised by the League, with which they should presently be sent away : and that they should be forgiven and remitted one hundred and ten thousand Ducats which they had taken of the Kings Revenue, and spent for the advancement of the Union : By which capitulations it appeared plainly to those that had any knowledge of the affairs that passed, that not compassion of the people to ease them of their grievances had contracted the League, but the care the great ones had of their own security, and their desire to see the party of their enemies suppressed and extinguished ; though the respect and colour of Religion was alwayes strictly joyned with them : for that number of Cities and strong Places obtained for the security of the Guises, shewed plainly they had discovered the Kings secret intentions ; and seeing that the Hugonots had their places of security, which hindered their destruction, they thought to obtain the like for their Party, to the end that it might be no lesse difficult to abate and suppress them, then it proved to be to bring the King of Navar and the rest of his party into subjection ; and thereby which they made to be resolved on against the Hugonots, though it were chiefly procured to root out the division of Religion, did neverthelesse contain also at the same time the ruine of the Princes of Bourbon, and of their friends and adherents.

The Agreement being concluded and established, the Duke of Guise, with the Cardinall his Brother, and with the Cardinall of Bourbon went to the King to St. More near Paris, and the Conditions being confirmed, the Duke of Guise, after many demonstrations of confidence, returned to his Government.

Whilest the Peace was negotiating between the King and the League, the King of Navar was brought into great perplexity, foreseeing the certainty of that Accommodation, and that all the Forces of the Catholicks would be united together against him, to suppress and destroy his Party : He had formerly by means of the Sieurs *de Clermont* and *Chassignet* his Agents at the Court, proffered his Forces to assist the King, exhorting him to joyn himself sincerely with him, and to try the fidelity and readinesse of the Hugonots ; and in the manner had protested, that hee could not stand lingring on that manner, to expect that thunderbolt of ruine which he foresaw would provide

provided against him: But the King by Letters under his own hand, and by many very effectuall perswasions used to his Agents, had exhorted him to continue quiet, and not to make greater disturbance, assuring him, that he would never consent to any thing that should violate that Peace, or that could cause his ruine: and indeed, such was the Kings intention at the first; but after necessity had brought him to seek for peace with the Confederates, the King of Navar, who was no unskillfull Judge of busineses, easily perceived that all that storm would fall upon his Person and upon his Party: wherefore desiring to make his cause plausible, and his reasons known for the furthering his other designs, he published a Declaration at Bergerac upon the tenth of June, wherein bitterly complaining that he was called a relapsed Heretick, a persecutor of the Church, a disturber of the State, and a capitall enemy to the Catholicks, to exclude him by those names from the possession of the Kingdom, he shewed he was constrained to justify the world, and particularly the Princes of Christendom, above all the King his Sovereign, and the people of France, that these were calumnies thrown upon him by his enemies, who out of an ambition to exalt themselves, had under pretence of taking Arms against him and the rest of the reformed Religion, prosecuted the way of bringing the State into miserable confusion, having in effect taken arms against the King himself, and against the Crown, and contrary to the order of nature, and the Lawes of the Kingdom of France, declared one to be first Prince of the Blood, and Successor to the Crown, arrogating that authority to themselves, which belonged to the States Generall of the Kingdom. That he could in no wayes accounted a Relapser, having never changed his opinion; for although out of a just fear (which may fall upon the brest of the stoutest man) and being forced by most violent violence, he had sent an Ambassadour to the Pope; yet soon as ever he recovered his liberty, he had also declared that he had not changed his Religion; neither could he be called an Heretick, holding (by the example of many others) his opinions not yet decided, and having ever offered, as he did wisely at that present, to submit himself to the instructions of learned men, and to the determination of a Councell lawfully assembled; that he was falsely slandered to have persecuted the Catholicks, having alwayes cherished many of them,

The King of  
Navar's De-  
claration,



them; not only keeping them neer his own Person, but making use of them in the principall Offices of his Estate and Family, and that he had left the Clergy-men in his own States and in every other place where he commanded, in the peaceable enjoyment of their Revenues, and exercise of the Roman Religion. That if at severall times he had taken Arms, he had done it without intention to disturb the State, and alwayes in a defensive way, which nature teacheth every body to do, having seen how inhumanly they were handled who had embraced the reformed Religion. That to oppose the persecutions which were continually made ready against him, and not to treat a League against the King, hee had sent into England, Denmark and Germany, with no other aim, but to draw from thence some relief for the preservation of his own liberty: That the resolution not to give up the Fortresses (as they had lately been denyed to the Duke of Espernon) was taken with the universall consent of all his Party, because not on those suspicions for which they were granted, were not taken away, but were at that time much increased, as well by the great preparations for war which were made by those of the League, as by their particular earnestnesse wherewith they demanded other strong places of the King, besides those which they already held; not as they alledged to secure themselves against those of the contrary Religion, who would never have offended nor injured them, and could scarce defend themselves from their evill usage, not having so many places in their hands as those of the House of Guise had Provinces under their Government, who sharing all the Kings favours and graces among themselves, had commanded Armies, besieged Cities, given Battels, distributed Offices at their pleasure, and by the same means had gained followers, revenged their own injuries, and managed their own interest at the charges of the Crown, and now with a pretext of Religion would attempt against the Kings Person, and govern the State; That every one might plainly know how unfitly they demanded new Fortresses for their security; yet to take away that pretence also from them, he and the Prince of Condé his Cousen, though they ought rather to endeavour to strengthen, then go about to weaken themselves, did both offer at that present to leave those which were in their hands, as likewise the Governments which either of them held; provided the Lords of Guise would do the same.

by those that they had taken, and also by their Governments, whereby he said the opinion of that danger would be taken away, which his enemies scattered abroad, that he with those the Religion would disturb the State: but every one might easily judge whether it were more likely that servants of the family, or those of the Blood should have ends to disturb it; and which of them were like to be more affectionate to their Prince; and whether Strangers could be better affected to the Kingdom of France then naturall French-men; that whosoever would know the difference which had ever been between the Family and that of Guise, touching the generall good of people, should call to memory the things which each of them had done, and he should find those of the House of Bourbon had never been inventors of new *Gabelles*, had never invaded the Nobility, nor wrested and violated Justice, as the predecessors of the Heads of the League had continually done, with new taxes, with the sale of Places, and with the conversion of Offices, many whereof had been transferred into their own House, others sold in the time of *Henry the Second*, and *Francis the Second*; and with bringing in the alienation of the temporall Revenues of Churches, had laboured to fill their own desires under colour of making War for Religion. That he had never stirred up Warrs as his Enemies done; but had barely defended himselfe, and upon all conditions had accepted such conditions of Peace as the King had been pleased to give him; but that it was a thing worthy more consideration, that he had offered himself to follow the King in his important Affairs, and particularly when he had been called to the Dominion of the States of Flanders; whereas the Heads of the League quite contrary had opposed the businesse, and had made an occasion of so great glory overslipt, and an acquisition of so great consequence to be neglected. That though hee could not with reason think of succession of the Crown, because of the Kings youth, to whom he wished issue; yet could he not chuse but be much troubled to see himself so unworthily dealt withall by his Enemies, who having molested him in his Governments, and laid siege upon Cities and Fortresses in the midst of them, now turning themselves against his Life and Honour, ceased not to persecute him with malicious practices, to make an impression in the minds of those that were unexperienced, that he



1585 was unworthy and incapable to succeed in the Crown; and to draw their designs to a conclusion, would (without taking any notice of the Kings youth) make unseasonable provision against those accidents which they imagined might come to passe after his death. At last he demanded leave of the King with all respect and submission, to give the *Lye* (as he did) to all those that had injured and slandered him in their Declarations, excepting the Cardinall his Uncle, and offered himself to decide that quarrell with the Duke of Guise, he being the Head of that Party, by fighting with him single, or two, ten, or twenty of a side, with more or lesse number, as the Duke of Guise himself pleased, offering, if they were to be more than one, that his Cousin the Prince of Condé should be with him, not desiring in that case to stand upon any disproportion between their qualities, since they were neither moved to that resolution by Ambition, nor Hatred, but onely for the service of God, and to free their Lord the King and the people of France from those miseries which War doth necessarily produce, and by deciding that difference at once, to leave the Kingdom in peace, and the Kings mind in quiet, without disturbing it any further. Wherefore he beseeched the King to name the Field in any part of his Kingdom; and if the Duke of Guise should think all the Kingdome suspected, he offered to go out of it into any place that might be secure to both parties, which the Duke himself might make choice of, and to end that controversie with those Weapons that were commonly used among Gentlemen of honour.

The King of Navar endeavoured by this Declaration not onely to justifie his Cause, and to blemish that of the Confederates; but also finding himself inferiour in strength, though not at all in courage, he sought to reduce the War to a private Duell; which if it took effect, he was ready to put himself upon the encounter, thereby reducing his fortune now half desperate, by the opposition of so mighty Adversaries, unto some equality: and if the offer was not accepted, he knew it would be but small reputation for the Duke of Guise and the Forces of the League, and a means to draw the peoples inclination very much to him, who would praise his Generosity in exposing his own life to danger, to divert the generall distractions of a War. But the Duke of Guise knowing the arts of his Enemies, and aspiring to destroy him by so luc

advantage

advantage of strength, without being obliged to endanger his  
own life, would not answer the Declaration, lest he should  
fain to accept or refuse the Duell, but made some third  
persons answer in many little Pamphlets, that no Lord of the  
Catholick party did professe enmity to the King of Navar for  
private occasions; but that what they did was for the safety of  
Religion, and their own consciences; wherefore it was not  
to reduce the publick Cause to a particular Duell, an effect  
very contrary to the end they had propounded to themselves;  
and with other such like reasons they opposed those alledged  
for the King of Navar; who being advertised of the conclu-  
sion of peace between the King and the Lords of the League,  
wrote Letters to the King, which were published in print, grie-  
vously complaining, that whilst he to obey his Majesties com-  
mand, laid upon him by Letters under his own hand, had for-  
borne to take arms, or to undertake any new enterprise, an  
agreement was established with his enemies, with condition to  
revoke the Edicts of peace already published, and (contrary to  
promise already made) again to begin the War against the  
Reformed Religion. That hee earnestly exhorted and be-  
sought the King to consider, that to comply with the passions  
those that rebelled against him, hee took arms against his  
good and faithfull Subjects and Vassals, and that hee should  
see how the destruction of his whole Kingdome was con-  
cerned in that War which was preparing against him: but that  
he did persist to contrive his ruine, he could do no lesse by  
the Law of Nature then defend himself, and he hoped that  
God for the justnesse of his Cause would deliver and preserve  
him from the persecutions of men, and one day make his in-  
nocence manifest to the whole world. Besides this, hee wrote  
other Letters to the Nobility, others to the People, and others  
to the Parliaments, excusing himself, blaming the League,  
and labouring to make appear, that hee having punctually  
served the conditions of Peace, was now contrary to them  
justly assaulted; After which Declarations, having called  
to him the Prince of Condé, and the Marshall d' Anville,  
whom he knew to be no lesse persecuted then the Hugonots,  
they established with common consent all that was to be done  
for their own defence, and the maintenance of those places  
which they held of their party; and because they already  
saw by so many proofs, that nothing was more available for  
their



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their defence, then the supplies of men out of Germany, which diverted the power and forces of their enemies into very remote places, they presently made a dispatch to the Protestant Princes, to treat and conclude a strong Leavie; and that charge was undertaken by the Duke of Bouillon (who as in his own inheritance derived from his Ancestours, had settled himself in Sedan, an exceeding strong place upon the Confines of Champagne and Lorain) and by Monsieur *de Chastillon*, for to the Admirall *de Coligny*, who was Governour of Mompel lier for the Hugonots, and was now secretly gone out of Lan guedoc disguised unto Geneva.

In the mean time the King in private with his Mother and the Cabinet-Councell, consulted about the manner of executing the Agreement with the League; Secretary *Villeroi* with whom *Bellieure* and *Ville-quier* concurred, was of opinion that the King had no better nor surer way to extinguish the combustions of his Kingdom, and frustrate the Designs of the Guises, then sincerely to imbrace the War with the Hugonots to manifest to all the world his zeal toward the Catholic Religion, and the ill will he bore to the Calvinists; to put Offices into the hands of the most flourishing Nobility of the Kingdom; to settle the form of Petitions, of granting favour, and of the disposall of Moneys after the old way observed by his Predecessors; and to satisfie their designs in particular who were alienated from him out of discontent, because they were not able to do any thing at Court: they shewed, that this was the way to disfurnish the League of all pretences, to draw the applause and love of the people to himself; who because they saw him averse from those ends, did now adore and follow the Lords of Guise as Defenders of Religion, and defenders of an indifferent equality, and of the generall quietness; that it was necessary at last to take away that worst Schisme of discords, sowed first and principally by the Hugonots, and to re-unite unto himself all his Subjects and Vassals in the same charity, in the same Religion, for the same unanimous universal end; and in conclusion, that hee could neither more honourably, nor more easily ruine the League, then by doing well, carrying himself sincerely, and shewing himself altogether contrary to what the Heads thereof had divulged of him: for by that upright manner of proceeding he might crosse more designs, and take away more followers from the Guise.

day, then he could do by cunning dissimulation and policy inventions in the whole course of his life, though it should last a hundred years. The Queen-Mother inclined, though not fully, to this advice; for knowing her self to be already received a favourer of the Guises, and a persecuter of the King's party, for her Daughters sake, shee would not shew her partiall on the Catholick side; and being angry, thought it best, that the King, as it were not trusting her absolutely, should send the Duke of Espernon to Nemours, for the conclusion of the businesse negotiated with the League, she was reserved in shewing her opinion, perhaps doubting shee should lose her authority with her Son, or as some said, desiring to see him intangled in those troubles, that hee might be obliged again acknowledge the helpfull hand, wherewith she assisted in the Government with prudence and moderation, had then withheld the imminent ruine of the Crown.

But the King was otherwise inclined, and utterly averse to the opinion of his Councillors. The reasons that persuaded him to the contrary were two; one, that being to wage War in good earnest against the Hugonots, it could not be but be both long and difficult, it was necessary to put the power into the hands of the Guises, which would increase their power, and gather them Dependents; besides the glory of the Victory would be attributed to them, it being evident they had constrained him by force to consent unto the same: the other, that the Hugonot party being destroyed, they should be bridled their power, and hindred the excessive strength of the Guises, he should be left a prey unto their Force, which would then have no restraint; nor would they ever be without pretences to take up arms, though that of Religion were taken away; it not being likely that such ready wits, and daring spirits should want other inventions. These were the reasons alledged by the King; but to them were secretly added his most bitter hatred, nourished a long time, and now more incensed against the House of Guise, his inclination to his *Minions*, whose grace and power his heart would suffer him to abase; his covetous desire of disposing the wealth and revenues of the Kingdome his own way; to satisfy the prodigality of his mind; and the continuation of his old resolution to destroy both Factions in the end, by keeping them up against one another. Nor, to say the truth, was he much



1585 much to be blamed; for having seen the boldnesse of the Guises, and of so many others their Abettors and Followers, he could not bring his minde to encrease their Authority, nor augment their Power again: and on the other side, to depose himself of the use of those he had bred up for his purpose, and of the assistance of his greatest Confidants, with evident danger to be exposed to their discretion, since they might easily finde out other occasions to prosecute the course of their enterprises already begun. Wherefore after some uncertainty, he leaned to the opinion of the Duke d'Espèrnon, the Marechal de Retz, and the Abbot del Bene (who being a Florentine by extraction, and Son to the Nurse of Charles the Ninth, raised by the quicknesse of his wit risen to very great trust and favour) resolved in appearance to satisfie the capitulations made with the League, but cunningly to interrupt and hinder the execution of them; for though he had formerly endeavoured to suppress the Hugonots, nor could their preservation please him; yet now hee would not seem to make War against them at the request of others, and constrained by his own Vassals; nor suffer the honour and glory thereof to redound wholly to the Lords of Guise.

There ariseth  
such a discord  
between the  
D. d'Espèrnon  
and Secretary  
Villeroy, as in  
processe of  
time produced  
many evill ef-  
fects.

This Counsell had not onely an unfortunate event (as was the most part those actions use to have, which go in the way of deceitfull paths of subtrill inventions out of the beaten road) but it had also a difficult and unlucky beginning; for from that time presently arose a difference and distrust even amongst the Kings Counsellours themselves; the Duke of Espèrnon jealous of his Masters favours, and desirous to hold fast his own Greatnesse, beginning to hate and persecute Montmorency de Villeroy, by whom he had his first beginnings and instructions in the Court, and with whom hee had till then lived in very great friendship; taxing him to have been corrupted with money and promises by the Duke of Guise, and that he held secret intelligence with him, and therefore was author of that advice, which perswaded the King to extirpate the Hugonots, to reduce matters of Government to their ancient form, and to re-unite himself sincerely with the Catholics of the League; which signified nothing else but the abasing of the Greatnesse and Authority of the Favourites. And at last distaste indeed took birth from the time that the Duke hindered the marriage of Alincourt, Villeroy's son, to Mademoiselle

*de Maure*, a very rich heir of that Family, to match her with a kinsman of his own called *Monsieur de Bellegarde*, Son of *Monsieur de Termes*; for which cause *Alincourt* being offended, sided with the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and by him was made a member of his Company of *Gens d'Armes*; and afterwards the discontent was continued in the Duke of *Espernon*, by seeing the King approve of the demolishing of the Citicell at *Lions*, at the perswasions of *Villeroy* (as he said) though hee thought it was to draw the *Sieur de Mandelot* to his Party: Yet these reciprocall distastes had been but secret, and some hope was they might wear away, till upon occasion of this vice they began to discover themselves, and it passed so far, that the Duke of *Espernon* not onely began to hate the High-chancellor *Chyverny*, and the *Sieur de Ville-quier*, the Kings Favourites, and well deserving Servants; but hee began to sow suspicions of the Queen-Mother, as though by another inclination shee were affectionate to the Lords of the House of *Guise*, and sought by fomenting the Commotions and Civill War, to keep the liberty of her Son in a perpetuall bondage, that being forced by such streights and difficulties, he might make use of her for the Government and maintenance of his Kingdom. These jealousies and that discord breaking forth in that conjuncture which required union and concord, in prolesse of time made the King lose a great part of his best and wisest Servants, and necessitated a great many others to incline to favour the Duke of *Guise*, by reason of their hatred to *Espernon*, and their desire to see him abased; and which imported most of all, they were the cause that the King had not so much credit as hee was wont to the Counsels of the Mother; and that made her often to hold her peace, and then to comply against her own opinion, lest she should alienate her Son utterly from her.

But the King spinning on the thred of his designe, appeared solemnly on the nineteenth of *July* in the Parliament, and passed a Decree to be published, wherein revoking all other Edicts made at severall times in favour of the Hugonots, he prohibited any other Religion except the Roman Catholick. In all Towns and places of his Kingdom, hee banished all the Teachers and Ministers of the pretended reformed Religion out of his Confines within a month after the publication, and commanded that all his Vassals should within the term of six months

The Kings Edict against the Hugonots.



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months conform themselves to live according to the Rites of the holy Church, and to make publick profession of the Catholick Faith; or if they would not do so, they should depart the Kingdom, and be effectually gone out of his Confines within the said term; which six months being expired the Hugonots should be proceeded against with capitall punishments and confiscation of their estates, as Hereticks and Enemies to the publick Peace; and those of the afore said Religion should be declared incapable to attain to, or hold any Degree, Office, or Dignity in the Kingdome; that the *Chambres mi-parties* and *tri-parties* should be taken away which had been established by the Edicts of Peace in their favour; and that they should restore all places granted to them for their security, and give them up without dispute or delay into the Kings obedience; that all Princes, Peers, Officers of the Crown, Parliaments, Governours, and other Ministers should be obliged to swear to the performance of this Decree, which should be irrevocable, and perpetually to be observed. At the Kings coming out from the Parliament, he was received by the people with joyfull cries, to shew their satisfaction and contentment at the Edict which had been published; but hee with a troubled countenance seemed to take small delight in those Acclamations, which were made to flatter him out of season; and it was observed by many, that contrary to his ordinary affability, he neither daigned to return any salutation to the *Provost des Merchands*, nor to the other Heads and Officers of the people of Paris; which hee doing to shew he cared little for their volubility and inconsistency, and because he would do nothing to comply with others, gave matter to the *Guisards* to exclaim, that inwardly he favoured the Hugonots, and that by meer force hee was drawn against his own *Genius*, by the zeal and industry of the Lords of the House of Loraine, to denounce Warre against them.

The Hugonots  
Answer to the  
Kings Edict.

The King of Navar, the Prince of Condé, and the Marshal *d'Anville* being met together at *St. Paul*, answered the King's Edict with a new Protestation; and shewed that this was an unjust persecution caused by them who had so often disturbed the Peace; and that it was neither the sincere will of the King, nor of the Queen his Mother, whose clemency and upright intentions were known to all; and that the King

having

ing formerly declared all those to be Rebels who took up arms without his Commission; the Lords of Guise were fallen into that offence, having taken Cities, and done acts of Cruelty, not onely against the Orders, but even against the Person of the King himself; and that therefore they knew them to be, and using them as Rebels, had taken arms against them, their Adherents, and Accomplices, for the defence of their lawfull King, and of the Crown, for the safety of their own lives, and liberty of their consciences, receiving those into their protection who would stay peaceably at their own houses without lending any consent to that Conspiracy, although they were of the Roman Religion.

I remember that when this Protestation was brought unto the King, and divulged in Paris, *Louis* *Sieur de Lansac*, an old Cavalier, full of experience of things past, discoursing in the presence of those present affairs, with his wonted eloquence to the curiosity of his hearers, said openly without any reserve unto the League, that the Hugonots had at last gained Victory: for whereas at first they were cryed out upon for disturbers of the Kingdome, surprizers of Cities, stirrers up of the people, and enemies of the supreme Prince; now they had reason did object the same things to the Catholicks, and convince them of the same crimes; which were so much the more excusable in the League, by how much they were wont to be then all others to exclaim and make a noyse about the Corrections and Conspiracies of the Hugonots: and if they deserved to be blamed for having contracted a League with the English, the perpetuall enemies of France; the Catholicks should not deserve to be praised for having made a Confederacy with the Spaniards: That the King of Navar was a better man then was necessary for a Souldier; but that if to his other reasons he had added the declaring of himself a Catholick, he would have made the League be utterly condemned as rebellious and seditious.

But neither the King of Navar's Reasons, nor the opinion of the wisest men did cool the universall ardor of the people, and particularly of the Parisians, who were set upon the ruine of the Hugonots; rather they began to blame the King, saying, that the term of six months was too long and uncertain, desiring to see the War kindled, and begun without delay; which being known unto the King, who was de-



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The King calling the Heads of the City of Paris together, demands moneys for the War which the Catholicks laboured for against the Hugonots.

firous to put them out of that fantastickall humour, and make them see they labour'd for their own disadvantage; upon the eleventh day of August he sent for the *Prevost des Merchands*, the two first Presidents of the Parliament, and the Dean of the Cathedrall of Paris unto the Louvre, and particularly desired the Cardinall of Guise to be there present. As soon as they were come together, he began openly to expresse great joy and satisfaction that hee was so well advised; and that after having had patience so long time, at last moved by the Counsell of his servants, especially of those that were there present, hee had recalled the Edict of Peace formerly established with the Hugonots: but if hee had been a great while resolving, it had not been for want of affection toward the Catholick Religion; but because having so often proved the difficulties of War, he could not at the very first imagine that this last resolution could be more easily executed then the rest: that that consideration had so long withheld him, and did still, foreseeing the great inconveniences this Warr would bring to the State in generall, and to every one in particular, yet neverthelesse seeing himself favoured and accompanied by so many Persons of whose fidelity hee was assured, and knowing they persevered so cheerfully to the execution of that work, he rejoiced at it, and also gave them thanks, praying them to examine with him the best means of bringing to advice which they themselves had given him unto a happy issue; that therefore hee represented unto them what Forces hee did intend to raise, and with what foundation that War ought to be begun; that he would have three Armies, one in Guienne, another neer his own Person, and the third to hinder forraign Forces from entring into the Kingdom, which (whether soever some would perswade him) hee knew certainly were already prepared to march: that it would not be time to think of the War when the enemies were upon them, nor to make peace when they had made themselves the stronger; that hee had alwayes had great difficulties in breaking the Edicts of Peace, but he found greater difficulties in beginning the Warre; and therefore that every one should think well what they had to doe, and that it would be too late to cry out for Peace when the Mills of Paris were on fire; that for his own part, though he had received the counsell of others against his own opinion, yet was hee resolved to spare nothing that

belong'd

long'd to him, and that he was ready to strip himself to the  
 shirt for the maintenance of that War; that since they  
 were not content with the Agreement of Peace, it was need-  
 ed they should assist him in the expences of the War; that  
 would not ruine himself alone, and that it was fit every  
 private person should bear his part of those incommodities  
 which before he had felt alone; and turning toward the first  
 President, he commended him very much for his great affecti-  
 on toward the Catholick Religion, which hee had wel ob-  
 served in a long eloquent Speech he made when the Edi&t was  
 revoked, but that it was reasonable he and all his Company  
 should consider the necessity of affairs, which were such, as being  
 forced to extraordinary courses, he must be fain to leave the  
 ordinary ones; and therefore intreated them, there might be  
 more mention made to him of their pensions, which he  
 could not be able to pay as long as the War continued: then  
 turning toward the *Prevost des Merchands*, hee told him, that  
 the people of his City of Paris had shewed him great demon-  
 strations of joy for the breaking of the Edi&t of Peace, that  
 therefore it was fit they should assist him in the execution of  
 that which they had made him to approve of; and command-  
 ed him to call a Councell of the Citizens the next day after,  
 and there to tell the people that they were not to expect the  
 Revenues of the Town should be paid any more whilst the  
 War lasted (that was a kinde of Bank which had been ere-  
 cted by the King in the late occurrences, to have money at the  
 rate of ten in the Hundred); and more, that he should lay an  
 imposition upon the City of two hundred thousand Crowns,  
 which he said he stood in need of to begin the first month; for  
 the maintenance of the War would amount to four hundred  
 thousand Crowns a month. In the end he turned toward the  
 Cardinall of Guise, saying with something an angry counte-  
 nance, that for the first month, he hoped he should be able to  
 do well enough without the help of the Clergy, searching  
 to the bottome of all particular mens purses; but for the o-  
 ther months, as long as the War endured, he purposed to raise  
 moneys upon the Church; and that in so doing he thought  
 he should not do any thing at all against his conscience, nor  
 would stand upon any leave or authority from Rome, for they  
 were the Heads of the Clergy who had put him upon that bu-  
 sinesse; wherefore it was reasonable they should bear part of

\* This parti-  
 cular is not in  
 the French O-  
 riginall of the  
 Kings Speech,  
 which is in a  
 Book called  
*Memoires de la  
 Ligue.*



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A Saying of  
Hen. the Third.\* The Hugo-  
not Sermons.

the charge ; in conclusion, that he was resolved every one should bear his share, the Nobility and the Kings Revenues having already been sufficiently burthened. There he held his peace to hear their answers ; and when he found they made some difficulty, he cryed out with an angry voyce, *It had been better then to have believed me, and to have enjoyed the benefits of peace and quietnesse, then standing in a Shop or in a Quire to determine Councels of War : I am very much afraid, that going about to destroy the \* Presche, we shall put the Masse in great danger : But howsoever deeds are more needfull here then words.* And in the manner he retired into his chamber, leaving them all in trouble for fear of their purses, who had been promoters of the Warre.

But neither did this take off the edge of the people, stirre up continually by their Preachers ; and the Guises being a foote off, murmured that the War would never be begun, to recover those places which were possessed by the Hugonots : wherefore the King, lest he should destroy all that was built up, and be brought again to those difficulties which he had overcome already, began to think of drawing an Army together to be sent into Guienne. He was exceedingly vexed and troubled in his mind, that he must be faine to chuse Commanders for that enterprise at the pleasure of the League ; considering that, besides putting his own Forces into other hands, all the good successe of it would be publickly attributed to the Lords of the House of Lorain, who without doubt desired to be Generals of those Armies themselves : but as a Prince who by the sharpnesse of his wit would alwayes finde an evasion in the hardest and most difficult businesses, after he had for many dayes turned the matter on every side, he sent Monsieur de Lansac to the Duke of Guise to know his intention about those that were to command the Armies ; who after long consultation, resolved that the Duke of Mayenne his Brother should command the Army that was to march into Guienne against the King of Navar ; and he reserved to himself the charge of keeping the Confines, and hindring the passage of the Protestant Forces of Germany, thinking that to be the more difficult enterprise, and it concerning him very much to be neer the Court, to frame his resolutions according to those occurrences which are often wont to happen unexpectedly.

The King having had this answer, resolved that the Maref-  
*l de Matignon*, of whose fidelity he might confidently assure  
 self, should command in Guienne as Lieutenant of that  
 vince, under the Duke of Mayenne; that the Mareschall  
*Byron* should go with Forces to make war in Xaintonge;  
 that the Duke of *Joyeuse* with an Army should march in-  
 Gascogne, Provinces so neer, that the Duke of Mayenne  
 uld be encompassed on every side by those Armies; and  
 use about that very time happened the death of Monsieur  
*Angoulesme* Grand Prior of France, the Kings Bastard Bro-  
 , who was Governour of Provence, hee conferred that  
 vernment upon the Duke of Espernon, and resolved to  
 d an Army thither with him against the Hugonots; de-  
 ing by that means not onely to have many Armies on foot  
 amanded by his Confidents and Favourites; but also re-  
 ling the Duke of Mayenne's progresse, by making him  
 at Money, Ammunition, and Victual, that the honor of those  
 ons might fall upon them that were neere to him. But  
 to give occasion of new complaints and murmurings, the  
 ke of Mayenne's Army was prepared first of all; and yet  
 delay the proceedings of it, hee first sent three Ambassa-  
 rs to the King of Navar to endeavour his conversion,  
 ch were the Cardinall *de Lenon-Court*, one anciently  
 d up in his Family, the *Sieur de Poigny* Knight of the  
*Esprit*, and President *Brulart*, who went but a few days  
 ore the Duke of Mayenne's Army; whereupon the Dutch-  
 of *Uzes*, a Lady of an excellent wit, taking occasion to jest,  
 l the King that the state of the King of Navar was now at  
 very last gasp, and that hee would certainly be converted  
 y for fear of dying without repentance, since that after the  
 bly Fathers, the Minister of justice went to put the Sen-  
 ce in execution.

Monsieur *Angoulesme* Grand  
 Prior of France  
 being dead, the  
 King confers  
 the Govern-  
 ment of Pro-  
 vence upon the  
 Duke of *Esp-  
 ernon*.

The Ambassadours had Commission to excuse the  
 uch of the Edict of Peace with many specious reasons,  
 exhort the King of Navar to return to the obedience of  
 Catholick Church, to move the restoring of those pla-  
 they held into the Kings hand, to come and live neer  
 s Person, and remove all occasions of the present Warre;  
 all this onely to seek occasions to delay the beginning  
 he Warre. The King of Navar more resolute then e-



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ver not to return to the Prison of the Court (as hee called it) whilst the Lords of the House of Guise had more Forces and Adherents then hee had: and seeing himself in so weak a condition, that it was necessary for his defence to make shew of not being afraid, after having with great submission given the King thanks for the care hee had of his salvation, and after having modestly complained of the breach of the Edi& in a time when hee in all reason should have beleev'd that Arms would rather have been imployed against the seditious Abettors of the League, then against him who was most observant of the Kings Commands, and of the Articles of Peace; hee began very gravely not onely to condemn the perverse Ambition of the Heads of the League, and contending about the Kings Succession during his life, but also the poornesse of the Duke of Guise in not accepting the Challenge, which might have ended the differences and enmities between them hand to hand, without troubling the King, and disturbing the whole Kingdome; and concluding finally, that as hee would ever willingly submit himself to a lawfull Councell, and the instructions which should be sincerely given him by learned men; so neither did it stand with his conscience, nor with his honour to be brought to Massacre by force, hoping that God would protect his innocence, as hee had miraculously done in former times.

Gregory XIII  
dies in 1585.  
Sixtus Quintus  
succeedeth.

At the departure of the Ambassadors the Army advanced to enter Guienne, the War beginning to grow hot in every place; for the Heads of the League desiring to see the destruction of the Hugonots, especially of the Princes of Bourbon, made spirituall Arms be joyned with temporall ones, thinking by that means to hasten their utter suppression. Pope Gregory the XIII<sup>th</sup> dyed this yeer, who was a gentle nature, and averse from violent courses, had never consented either to the open protection of the League, or to the condemning of the King of Navar and Prince of Condé: But being succeeded by *Felici Peretti*, a Frier of the Order of S. Francis, Cardinall of Montalto, called afterwards *Sixtus Quintus*, a man of a fierce violent nature; the Cardinall of Pellevé, Father *Mattei*, and the other Agents of the League ceased not to sollicite and perswade him to take the Confederates into open protection, and to excommunicate

the Princes of Bourbon; to which incitements hee con-  
 ed easily through his own inclinations, as one who having  
 n an Inquisitor a great part of his time, was by custome  
 wn a bitter enemy to those that were of different opi-  
 ns from the Church of Rome; wherefore in a Consisto-  
 held this yeer on the ninth day of September, hee de-  
 ed the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé to be  
 pped into Heresie, excommunicated and made incapa-  
 of any Succession, especially that of the Kingdome of  
 nce, and deprived them of the States they possessed, ab-  
 ing their Vassals from their Oath, and excommunicat-  
 those that should obey them for the time to come. As  
 Declaration caused great joy in those of the League,  
 wading themselves that it had wholly excluded those  
 nces from the Crowne; so did it pierce the King very  
 ply, without whose privity it had been propounded in  
 Consistory, subscribed by many Cardinals, posted up  
 published. But most part of the French very much  
 bled at this unexpected Declaration, calling to minde  
 t had been done by *Charles* the Ninth, when the *Monito-*  
 was made to the Queen of Navar, and doubting that the  
 iledges of the Gallique Church would be violated and  
 d under foot, stood expecting what the King would do;  
 o being tyed up by the condition of present Affairs, lest  
 should confirm that suspicion which was conceived of him,  
 hee favoured the Hugonots, and give new occasions and  
 pretences to the Lords of Guise, resolved to dissemble  
 businesse, although all the Parliament together present-  
 themselves unto his Majesty, were very earnest to have  
 Bull torne in pieces, and those punished who had solici-  
 and procured it; to which request the King answering  
 he would think upon it, the matter was past over in fi-  
 ce, and the Bull was neither accepted nor published in the  
 liament, but onely divulged in many places of the King-  
 one by the Adherents of the League and the Catholick  
 achers.

*Sixtus Quintus*  
 on the ninth of  
 Septemb. 1585  
 excommuni-  
 cates the King  
 of Navar and  
 the Prince of  
 Condé, declar-  
 ing them in-  
 capable of suc-  
 cession.

The King of Navar being advertised of the Popes De-  
 aation, did not onely procure his Appeal to be posted up  
 come it self, as it was upon the sixth of November in the  
 at; but writ to all the States of the Kingdom of France,  
 complain-

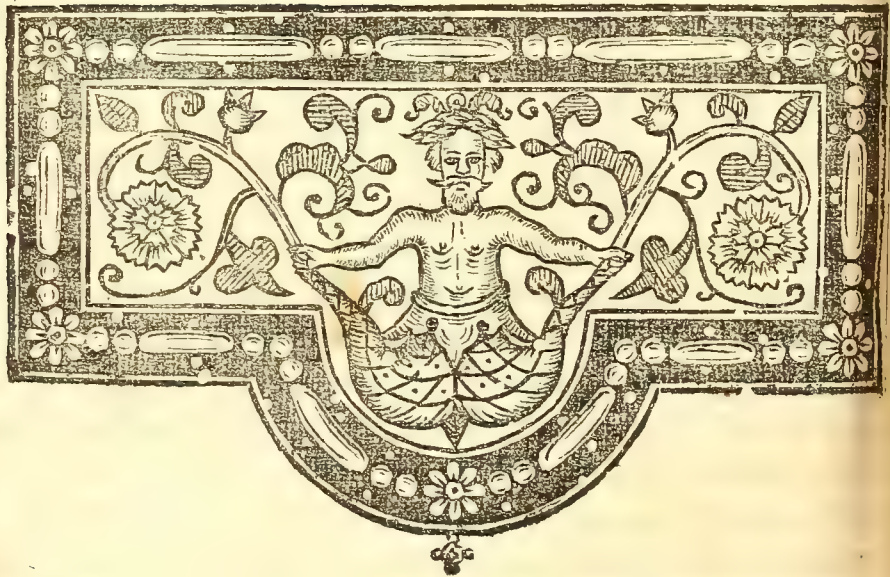
The King of  
 Navar makes  
 the Bull of  
*Sixtus Quintus*  
 to be answered,  
 and the An-  
 swer set up in  
 Rome.



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complaining to every one of them in particular of the injury which he reputed to have been done unto him, and exhorting them not to suffer the Rights of the Succession of the Crown of France to be decided in the Consistory of Rome. Many Volumes were written against, and in favour of the Bull by the chiefest Wits of Europe; the reasons whereof would be too long to insert into the compendious Narration of this History; and so much the rather, because the noise that arose from the thundering of these spirituall Weapons, within a few dayes were drowned by the loud clashings of temporall Arms.

*The end of the Seventh Book.*





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,  
BY HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.  
*The Eighth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

*the Eighth Book is described the Warre against the Hugonots in Guienne; the defeat of the Prince of Condé; the proceedings of the Duke of Mayenne Generall of the King's Army; the King of Navar's defence; the Mareschall Byron's advancing into Xaintonge with another Army; the siege of Maran. The King sets forth two other Armies, one under the Duke of Joyeuse in Auvergne, the other under the Duke of Espernon in Provence; hee himself goes to Lyons. The Protestant Princes of Germany raise a mighty Army to relieve the Hugonots; they send an Embassie before unto the King of France, which increaseth their discontents, and hastens the taking up of Arms. The King resolves again to try whether hee can perswade the King of Navar to turn Catholick and come to Court; hee sends the Queen-Mother into Poictou to treat with him about it: they of the League are displeased hereat and murmur highly, and from that occasion the union of the Parisians is fomented, who provide and arm themselves*

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secretly; they plot to surprise Boulogne in Picardy, but the business is discovered, and the Town saved; they think to seize upon the King himself, but dare not venture to do it, and he being informed of it looks to himself; they run for assistance to the Duke of Mayenne at his return to Paris, but he refuseth to consent to it, and departs. In the mean time the Duke of Guise being up in Arms in Bourgongne and Champagne, takes Ausonne, and Rocroy, and besieges Sedan. The Queen-Mother meets with the King of Navar, but without effect; whereupon she returns to Paris. The King seeing the obstinacy of that Prince, makes a new protestation not to tolerate the Hugonots any longer: He unites himself with the Catholick League to oppose the German Army: He sends the Duke of Joyeuse into Poictou against the King of Navar, who coming unexpectedly, cuts off two Regiments of the Hugonot Infantry. The Duke of Guise drawes his Army together to advance against the Germans in Lorain; the King leaveth the Swisses, and raises mighty Forces for the same purpose. The Count of Soissons and the Prince of Conty go over to the King of Navar's Party. The Duke of Lorain united with the Duke of Guise, opposeth the entry of the Germans into his Country: they meet at Pont S. Vincent, but give not battell: the Germans passe on into France, the Duke of Guise followeth them; and the King with his Army comes forward to hinder them from joyning with the King of Navar, who advancing in the mean time to meet the Duke of Joyeuse, passes the River Dronne: the Armies face one another at Contras, and fight with all their Forces; the Duke of Joyeuse loseth the Battell and his life. On the other side the Duke of Guise fights with the Germans at Villmory and Auneau, and makes a great slaughter of them. The King following the Victory comes up close to the Enemy's Army; the Swisses yeeld themselves unto him, and the remainder of the Germans disband, and betake themselves to flight: they are followed and defeated in many places. The Duke of Guise in revenge destroyes the County of Mombelliart: the Sieur de la Valette and Colonell Alfonso Ornano do great execution upon the Hugonots in Dauphiné.

**G**reat was the hope the Lords of Guise conceived, that the Princes of Bourbon prosecuted with so many plotts, and so streightly beset on every side, would at last sinke under the persecution of the League; and that the Hugonot party being destroyed and brought to nothing, the Catholike Religion would be left alone in the Kingdome, and their old wonted power alone in the Court: it noe lesse was the constancy wherewith the King of Navar, unanimously followed by the other Lords of his party) stood on his defence; and his condition which before was wont to be hard and dejected, as it were gathering strength from the assaults of the enemyes, seemed in a manner to rise againe, to respond at last with the greatnesse of his courage, and the accomplishment of his designes. For his generous resolution of challenging the head of the League to a duell, and of proffering with the danger of himselfe, to end the miseries of the Kingdome, had won him the generall favour, and applause; and excommunication at Rome, though in some sort it had confirmed, and approved the League which had never been openly received into protection by Pope Gregory, and though it had increased the scruples of many mindes; yet on the other side; it had wrought a resentment in the Parliaments; and many men of the *long Robe*: and which imported most, had alienated and displeased the mindes of many Prelats; those jealous of the greatnesse of the Crowne, the succession whereof they held ought to be decided by the assembly of the States Generall of the Kingdome, and not to depend upon the arbitrement of the Court of Rome: these as defenders of those priviledges which they pretend doe belong unto the *Catholike Church*, preserved (as they said) with great constancy, to the care and diligence of their predecessors; so that the persons of the Princes of Bourbon, were become more acceptable to many, and their reasons lesse disfavoured, which in former times were wont bitterly to be hated, and universally abhorred. To these was added the favour of the Kings *Minor*, who being sharply persecuted by the League, and open Enemies to the Guises, were forced by necessity to take part with the King of Navar, and with their advice, counsell, and assistance, to withstand his danger as much as they were able,

*de Robbe longie*



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and contrive many meanes to strengthen and uphold him; Nor did he fail either by writings to justifie his reasons to all the severall *Orders*, or by actions to prepare for his defence; but with an unwearied mind, and body, drew forces from all parts, fortified his strong places, and stored them plentifully with victuall, provided artillery by all possible meanes, furnished himself with ammunition, gathered money, solicited the Nobility, armed, and exercised the Infantry, and without taking any rest, had his eye still intent upon all those things which were needfull to sustaine the encounter of so great a power.

The Duke of Mayenne marched towards the River Loire with his army, consisting of 500 *Gens d'armes*, 1500 *Reiter*, 400 light Horse, and 5000 Foot: the Marechal de *Byrr* moved also towards those parts, (but by severall wayes) with his forces, which were appointed to make warr about Rochelle; and *Claude* Sieur de la *Chastre*, with the Souldiers raised in Berry, and Sologne, came along the bankes of the Loire to joyne with the Duke of Mayenne; but *Emmanuel* Duke de *Mercœur* Governour of Bretaign was advanced before them all with 800 Horse, and 1500 Foot of that Province, and entred already into those parts which were held by the Hugonots in Poictou.

The warr is  
begun again  
between the  
Catholikes  
and Hugonots.

On the other side the King of Navar, after he had consulted with the Prince of Condé, and the Marechal d'Anville, *S'. Paul de Cade-jous*, having drawn those forces that follow him into one body, had settled himselfe to defend Guien, where the greatest weight of affaires was like to fall, and he sent the Prince of Condé into Xaintonge, that by meanes of his adherents in that Country, and the helpe of the Rochelers he might endeavour to fortifie as many places as was possible and take as many others as he could, to make the greater resistance, and give the greater hinderance to the proceeding of the Enemy. With the Prince of Condé were the Duke de la *Tremouille*, who of a voluble nature was newly turned to the Religion, and party of the Hugonots, the Sieur de *Roban* a Lord of great note in Bretaigne, and a neer kinsman to the King of Navar; the Count de la *Roche-fan-cault*, the Sieur de *Clermont* of Ambois, Monsieur de *S'. Gelais*, who was Campe Master Generall, and many other Lords, and Gentlemen of those parts, with whom he was scarce

gone

from S. Jehan d'Angeli, to visit the places in Poictou, when he received intelligence that the Duke of Mercœur was already past Fountenay, and came on towards him plundering and burning the Country; wherefore desirous in the first encounters of the War to shew his face to the enemy, and to have a bold prosperous beginning to future things, he advanced presently whither he was guided by the cry and flight of the poor Country people. But the Duke of Mercœur being certified from many places of the Prince's coming, and finding himself too weak to venture further into the enemy's Country, which was all up in arms against him, resolved to retire to Fountenay, a place belonging to the Catholicks, there as in a secure station to stay for the Kings Armies, which were marching that way. But that intent of his was frustrated; for they that commanded Fountenay being allied to the League, excusing themselves that they had no order from the King to receive him into the Town, shut the gates against him at his arrivall, and hee with great danger and incommodity was forced to quarter in the Suburbs called *Loges*, receiving no other relief from the Townsmen, but a very small quantity of victuall. Not many hours after the Duke came up, resolved to fight, and ready to fall upon the enemy; presently they began to skirmish furiously, the Catholicks having the advantage of the place, and the Hugonots the number; but the fight having lasted till night, successfully enabled by the Hugonots, and no lesse constantly sustained by the Catholicks; and the Duke de Mercœur considering, not being assured of those within the Town, hee was in danger of being defeated the next day, determined to save himself with expedition, and raising his Camp in the silent time of the night, without giving any notice of it by drum or trumpet, began to march with all speed toward the Loire, and that with such a generall diligence, that they did not allow themselves time to eat that day, marching on in order to recover some secure place; and yet being followed by the Prince with his Cavalry, he was faine to leave behind him of his Souldiers behind him, and not onely to abandon the booty they had taken, but also most part of their Carriage and prey unto the Enemy.

The Duke of Mercœur being chased away, as the Prince ordered to those places that were of his party, he had notice that



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that many Catholick Gentlemen united together, and yet advertised of the successe, were coming up to joyn with the Duke; wherefore without loosing time, or giving them leisure to be informed of it, he hastened toward them with so great speed, that being suddenly overtaken, they were not able to make much resistance, but some of them were killed upon the place, and some being taken prisoners, freed themselves afterwards with a promise not to bear arms against the Princes for a certain time. The Prince encouraged with this happy successe, purposed to assault the Isles and Castles neer Rochell, to reduce all that quarter to his devotion, and have more field room to sustain the War; wherein he had so prosperous a fortune, that having everywhere routed those (with great slaughter) that came to oppose him, seizing upon all the Forts that were neer, and taking all the passes thereabouts, he was so much increased in courage, that he resolved to besiege Brouage, wherein was the *Sieur de S' Luc*, one of the League, (with no contemptible number of Infantry) and some other Gentlemen of the Country. The Rochellers consented to this Enterprize, both for the profit, and reputation which hee doubled by it; and having sent a great many Ships thither, besieged the Fortresse by Sea, whilst the Prince having possessed that passage which is the onely way to Brouage by land, and having shut up the Defendants within the circuit of the walls, streightned the Siege very closely on that side.

The Castle of  
Angiers taken  
suddenly by  
the Hugonots.

But whilst fixing his minde wholly upon that business, hee neglects no opportunity of blocking and incommodating the Town, a new accident happened that invited him to a more important deliberation: for the *Sieur de la Roche-mo*, Captain *du Halot*, and Captain *le Fresne*, secret adherents to the King of Navar, and enemies to the Count *de Brissac* (Governour of Angiers, having found means to enter as friends into the Castle of that City, one of the strongest and chiefest Fortresses in all France; suddenly killed the Governour with those few souldiers that were there in Garison, and seized upon it without much difficulty; but whilst they sought also to make the Town revolt, they were besieged by the people, who taking arms, had with trenches cut off the passage to the Castle; and they beginning to write to all parts demanded present relief from the Prince of Condé, who was much neerer then the King of Navar. Angiers is a City

side the Loire, seated in a sweet, fertil, plentiful Country  
 y well peopled, famous for the study of the Law, and comi-  
 diously situated to fall into all the Provinces of *Gallia Cel-*  
 , which environs it on every side with a large spacious  
 passe : wherefore the Prince accounting it a very great  
 an opportune occasion which offered it self unto him, not  
 ly to take so principall a City, but also to remove the War  
 and the River Loire (a thing alwayes desired, and thought  
 y advantagious for the Hugonots) applied his minde to car-  
 uch speedy relief, that he might seise upon the Town by  
 help and inlet of the Castle, before it were streightned and  
 up by the Catholicks. Indeed this was a very great and  
 efull designe, but opposed with no lesse difficulties ; for  
 o over so broad a River without having any passe in his  
 ls that could be maintained, to enter into the heart of  
 e Provinces which held (without division) of the Catho-  
 party, and put himself between two powerfull Armies,  
 h marched into those parts to meet him, considering his  
 es, seemed rather a rash, then a generous attempt ; and  
 it the Siege of Broüage, which was reduced to an hard  
 ition, and almost to a certainty of being taken, to ven-  
 upon so doubtfull, so hazardous an enterprize (for in the  
 le of Angiers there were not above sixteen souldiers, be-  
 the Captains, and it was doubted whether they could  
 out till relief came) seemed an unprofitable, dangerous  
 ution. Yet the Prince's minde inclined to hope for the  
 lt of Angiers, and it being of so great consequence, that  
 e uncertain, more perillous hazards were not to be refu-  
 or the gaining of it, he resolved to follow the course of  
 fortune, the prosperity whereof did with wonderfull be-  
 ings in a manner assure him of a most happy conclusion :  
 erefore leaving Monsieur *de S' Mesmes* with the Infantry  
 Artillery at the Siege of Broüage, and giving order that  
 Fleet should continue to block it up by sea, hee departed  
 n the eighth of October to relieve the Castle of Angiers  
 800 Gentlemen, and 1400 Harquebuziers on horse-  
 . Nor was this enterprize (esteemed so rash by Souldi-  
 f great experience) lesse prosperous in the beginning then  
 ther actions ; for though hee neither had any Passe that  
 of his party, nor boats ready to crosse the River, he got  
 neverthelesse happily, and without much difficulty at  
 Rosiers,



1585 Rosiers, having found certain boats there, which (laden with Wines) were rowing along the River, and accidentally came to that side of the bank: Having passed the River, they found the *Sieur de Clermont* with about seven hundred Horse, who having gone before into the Country of Maine and the parts adjacent, to draw their friends together, being afterward informed of the business of Angiers, was come with great expedition to unite himself with the Prince for the same designe; or missing of him there, to passe the River, and joy with him at the siege which was laid before Brouage. The Forces being met with exceeding gladness, and the *Sieur de S' Gelais* marching before with two Troops of Horse, to discover the Country, and provide victuall for the Army, upon the twentieth of October they quartered at Beaufort a place not far from Angiers, where they intended to rest themselves the day following, that they might come more fresh to the attempt of so great an enterprise.

The Castle of Angiers is recovered by the Catholics before it is relieved.

But the Castle was recovered by the Catholics two days before; for the Townsmen having at first taken Captain *Halot* prisoner, who was gone out to parley, and to persuade them to turn unto his party, and having the next day killed Captain *le Fresne* whilst hee treated at the Bridge of the Castle with certain Deputies about the present affairs, had generally set themselves to besiege the place; where on the one side, the Count *de Brissac* Governour of the Citie being arrived; and on the other, *Henry de Joyeuse* Count de Boucchag Governour of the Province; and not many dayes after the Duke of *Joyeuse* himself, who came up with some number of Gentlemen to assist his Brother; and Monsieur *de la Roche morte* being at last slain with two shots, whereof one took his tongue, and the other went through his throat; the six thousand souldiers being left without a Captain to command them, and not agreeing very well among themselves, some of the King's Catholics and some Hugonots, had in the end capitulated to yeeld upon certain conditions, wherewith upon the 30 of October, being Sunday, they delivered up the Castle into the power of the Governour.

But the Prince of Condé beleiving that the Castle held still for his party, having divided his Forces into divers squadrons on the 21 in the morning about break of day, advanced towards Angiers, not by the great road which leadeth straight

the gate of the towne; but by that way on the field side, which led to the trenches made by the Catholikes to besiege the Castle. Those of the Citie having notice from all parts of the Princes coming, and finding themselves already Masters of the Fortresse, retired into the suburbs of the Town, where with trenches, and barricadoes, stood upon their defence, to receive the assault of the Hugonots with more security. At their first arrivall it was easily known that the Castle held no longer of the Princes party; for instead of giving signes of joy for the coming of that relief which they called for, they played with their artillery very fiercely against the first Troops of the Army, who under the *Sieur de Belais* were come within Canon shot, by which token though the commanders knew that the Castle was already surrendered, yet in the heat of their first fury they fell most gallantly into the neere suburbs of the Towne, and fought stoutly many houres, not without much blood on both sides. This was one of the accustomed effects of a first onset; but their spirits cooling, and the Prince, with the other Lords and Captains, knowing that to perish obstinately in that skirmish, was but to lose men, time, and their labour; and that it was necessary to take another resolution, they sounded a retreat, the Sun not being yet neer setting, and marched off to rest their souldiers in a village hard by. There the consideration of their present condition, changing their late gallantry into a great and reasonable fear, they began to think what was then to be done for the safety of every one; wherein those difficulties appearing impossible to be overcome, which the hope of getting the Citie of Angiers, had at first made seeme very light and easie, and not having any time to spare, they should give the Catholikes leisure to fall upon them, they drew away without any determinate resolution, and as if they were leaving themselves to fortune, began to march toward the River *Loire*, which they were necessitated to passe, if they would save themselves. But all the Country already beginning to rise at the ringing of the *Toque saint*, and being informed that the people had with great diligence taken away the boats as every-where from the River side; that Monsieur *de la Roche* marched along the banke to meet them; that the Duke of Mayenne having passed over at Orleans with all the Army, was advanced towards them with all expedition; that on the o-



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ther side the Marechal *de Byron* came up with his forces, the Count *Bou-chage* who was fallyed out of Angiers, drew together the gentry and common people, made trees to be cut down, spoyling the wayes every-where, and that the Duke *de Joyeuse* with a great power was at their backes; they were forced to take a course very contrary to their first intention, and dividing their men into three squadrons, one commanded by *S<sup>t</sup> Gelais*, another by the Prince, and the third by the *Sieur de Rohan*, they thought best to deceive the Enemy, by turning from the river, and marching out of the great high-wayes, to get betweene the Armyes, into the most woody parts of that Province, and with a long compasse striking speedily into the higher parts of *Beaufse*, to passe the River suddainly in some place where the favour of fortune, and their unexpected arrivall might open the way for them, and give them opportunity. In this manner, (the Commanders with exceeding care, and the Souldiers with wonderfull terror) they marched all that night, and the following; but the event shewed how hard that resolution was to be effected; for the whole Province being up roiled about them, they had neither leasure to rest, meanes to find, nor way to get through those strange difficult passages, and the cry and concourse of the Country-people, and the ringing of the *Toquesaint* wheresoever they came, gave the Catholicks sufficient notice of the place where they were, and guided their Armies directly to encompass them, just like the tracing and hunting of wilde beasts through the woods. Wherefore the *Sieur de Rohan*, who was neerer his own Country than the rest, the Confines of *Bretaigne* not being far off, gave the Prince to understand, that to continue still together would be the losse of all their men, and therefore advised him to divide his Forces into many small Troops to delude the enemy, who would be called sometimes this way, sometimes that way, by the tumult of the people, and by stealing secretly through the most remote hidden places, to endeavour the saving of that whole, which being united could not possibly escape so great a danger. But the Prince standing in suspence because his courage would not suffer him to come to that resolution; the *Sieur de Rohan* saying that hee would not perish for another obstinacy and want of experience, departed from him with his men; and having divided his Souldiers and Gentlemen

little parties of about ten or fifteen apiece, hiding themselves, and throwing away their arms, at last (though in many dayes) with infinite trouble and danger, through woods, and diverse severall wayes, he recovered Breagne, and thence by other passages hee got in the end Rochelle. The Prince after hee had marched with his forces in one body another day, seeing that he could resist no longer, nor keep them together, tooke the same course, and commanding all his men every one to his owne industry, and protection of heaven, he himself with the *Sieurs d'Avantig-de la Tremouille*, and some eight or ten more in company, took that way by chance which fortune presented to them. His division of the army into so many severall parcells, let the Catholikes loose their way, for being called to several places, by the tumults and advertisements of the People, they could not follow the trace of the Prince and his Commanders; and it so fell out that having surrounded, and taken certain small parties of private Souldiers, they could never get upon any person of note; so that the Prince crossing unknown as a Traveller through the Country of *Maine*, and become to the uttermost parts of Lower Normandy, went to the Sea-side, and there finding by chance certain Ships laden with merchandize, hee embarked neer *Auranches*, and sailed first into the Isle of *Garnsey*, and after into England, where being honourably received by the Queen, hee was not many months after conducted to Rochell with certain men of War. The *Sieur de S' Gelais* being got into the Forrest of *Orléans*, and having made an uncertain intricate voyage, coming almost neer to *Gyen*, passed the River *Loire* in little boats belonging to certain mils, leaving his horses to the Enemy, and having hired others, went like a traveller to those places that were of his party. The *Sieur de la Tiffardiere*, *Aubigny*, and others had hid themselves in the houses of their friends and kindred, which some of them had in one place, some in another; many changing their clothes saved themselves on foot, but many also fell into the hands of the Catholicks, and were by the Country people cruelly cut in pieces. This was the issue of the Prince of Condé's enterprise, wherein all his Army was dispersed and scattered without fighting, exceedingly weakening the Forces of the Hugonots in a time of so great need.

Whilest the Prince and his souldiers ran so adverse a fortune,



tune, the *Sieur de S' Mesmes*, who had been left at the Siege of *Brouage* was forced about the same time to retire with very little better successe; for the *Mareschall de Matignon* drawing neerer with a great strength to relieve it, he seeing himself with the Infantry alone, and they frightened and discouraged with the news of the Prince's ill-fortune, thought it the best way to retreat, and not obstinately to hazard the remainder of the Army, which was so necessary for the defence of their own places; yet the report of the Prince's defeat being spread in the Camp, was so great a terrour to every one, and that lesse to the Commanders and Gentlemen, then to the common Souldiers, that each man purposed to provide for his own safety; so that *S' Luc* falling out of *Brouage*, and following those that were scattered severall wayes, made a great slaughter of them in many places; whereupon the Commanders despairing to rally the Army any more, got away as well as they could possibly, to secure their own strong holds. The same did *Henry de la Tour* Viscount of *Turenne*; for being entred very hopefully into *Limoges*, and having already stirred a terrour into the people of those parts, the news of the Prince's overthrow coming to him, hee judged it a safer way to retire, then alone to oppose the violence of so many Armies, which were marching into those Quarters to destroy those of his party.

But the *Sieur de Lesdiquiers* head of the Hugonots in *Languedoc*, having raised Foot and Horse, had begun a sharp War against *Monsieur de Mangiron* Lieutenant of that Province, and against *Colonell Alfonso Corso*, whereby raising all the Country (the sagacity and readinesse of the Commander supplying the inequality of Forces) the affairs of the Hugonots were brought into a very good condition: having taken many such Towns and Castles, which though not very strong, were very commodious; and with the hopes of booty drawing together a great number of old souldiers, such as were wont to live among the troubles of War.

In the mean time the Heads of the League being augmented in hopes and courage by the Prince of *Condé's* ill successe, and the defeat of his Army, were exceeding earnest with the King to shorten the term of six months prefixed by the late Edict, for the banishment of the Hugonots; urging, that since they had declared they would resist his will by force, they



no longer to be suffered, but that their totall extirpation was to be endeavoured with the greatest speed that might which thing the King knowing to conduce but little to the end of his designes, resolved yet to satisfie them, and with an Edict reduced the term of six months which had been granted to them, to the space of but fifteen dayes; after which, the other Provinces being quiet by reason of the small number of Hugonots that were in them, they prosecuted the war as well in Poitou and Guienne, as in the Province of Languedoc. The other request made to the King by a great number of Prelats at the suggestion of the League, took not the desired effect, being to publish and observe the Decrees of the Council of Trent; for not being willing to oblige or engage himself further in the League then he had already done, judging that the demand was unseasonable, and excusing himself by the troubles that encompassed him on every side, he referred a business of so great weight to a more quiet season wherein hee might maturely deliberate and resolve upon.

With this face of things, all tending to the distractions of this obstinate War, began the year 1586, full (contrary to common belief) of exceeding great machinations, but of few and weak executions touching the War. The Duke of Mayenne in the end of the year before was come with his army to Chateau-neuf in the Confines of Guienne, whither the Marechall de Matignon Lieutenant of that Province was come to consult about the finishing of the War; who being privie to the Kings intentions and designes wherewith he desired those affairs should be managed, demonstrated the terrible sharpnesse of the season, and the condition of the country, not onely afflicted with a great dearth and want of all, but also with the violence of the Plague, which had already for many months been wonderfully spread in divers places: and considering that the chief Towns were so diligently mann'd and fortified by the King of Navar, that it was not to attempt them in that extremity of weather, and scarcity of provisions, hee counsell'd to assault the lesser places, the more open parts of the Province, to reduce those unto obedience, which not being strengthened with any principal fortification, were yet rich and fertill, and from which the Hugonots by ordinary contributions drew means sufficient to maintain



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maintain themselves. The D. of Mayenne, though for his own honour, and for the credit and strengthening of the League desired to make himself remarkable by some eminent enterprise, yet not suffering himself to be transported by the violence of his passion, or the wind of hopes to think of impossibilities, easily concurred in the same opinion, fearing he should lose much reputation, if attempting any principall Fortresse he should not be able to carry it; whereof he was the more doubtfull (besides the reasons alledged by *Matignon*) because he had but a small train of Artillery, consisting of but four pieces of Canon, and two Culverins, with a very small quantity of Ammunition: wherefore passing by S. Jehan d' Angely (where neverthelesse the Hugonots were in very great streights and fears, as also all other places of the like condition) they resolved with a joint consent, though for contrary ends, to divide the Army between them, and to busie themselves about taking in weaker places whilest the sharpnesse of the Winter lasted; and then re-uniting their Forces to apply themselves to that enterprize which time and opportunity should present unto them. So the Marechal returned to Bourdeaux, the *Metropolis* of that Province, where a part of the Army, and having commodiously, or rather laboriously refreshed his men, and put them in order, laid siege to Castels, a place of small consideration, and with various successes consumed all the Winter in that expedition; in which time the Duke of Mayenne with the greater part of those Forces attacking the weakest places, took Montignac, Beaulieu, Gaignac, and other places of small importance, and which only served to keep the reputation of his Army alive. But in the budding of the Spring time, advancing to joyn their Forces together, he felt such bitter windes and extraordinary rains for many dayes, that the sufferings of lying in the field all the Winter, being increased by those of the dearth of victuall, and contagion of the plague, which grew daily more rife in those parts, the Army began to be exceedingly infected, not only all the principall Lords and Commanders being sick, but a very great number of the souldiers dying continually, and all these difficulties being overcome with infinite patience, he joyned at last with *Matignon* in the beginning of April. At his coming, first Castels, and then S. Bazeile yeelded themselves, and with some difficulty the Fort of Montsegur, and

which would probably have proceeded further, and perchance begun some more important enterprize, if the diseases which annoyed the Army had not at last assailed the General: the Duke of Mayenne being dangerously sick of a Fever, was forced to leave the Camp and retire to Bourdeaux. So the weight of all business being left to the Marechal, the editions of Arms went on but slowly; for the Kings inclination (though secret) was, that the Clergy being wearied in the length of the War by contributions, the Nobility by taxes, and troubles, and the people by the oppressions of Soldiers and their multiplied grievances, should all return with a secret desire to ask and long for peace, which by the institution of the Heads of the League they had caused to be broached, so that things coming about again to their former condition, the plots of his enemies might be deluded, and the way might lie open to himselfe for the continuation of his designs.

But the Duke of Mayenne being (though late) recovered of his sickness, and returned unto the Army, valiantly took Castillon, a place of some moment held by the Baron de Gagnac, and then Puis Normand another of no lesse importance, after which actions knowing that his Army was wonderfully weakened by many sufferings, and divers accidents, he had but small store of ammunition, and other necessaries for the taking in of places; and (which troubled him much) that he was not furnished with money from Court to maintain his Army, so that his Souldiers were many payes in arrear, he dispatched the Sieur de Sessaval to inform the King of the state of his affairs, and to demand new supplies of men, and money, foreseeing that if matters continued as they had begun, his Army (to his small reputation) would be dissolved of it self, within a few months: for the King of France knowing he had not strength enough to resist and be the field, having discreetly fortified all his places, and stored them with abundance of all things, reserved onely two thousand small shot, and three hundred light Horse, with a few gentlemen that followed his name in the Province, with few forces, expert, ready, quick upon all occasions, and not troubled with Artillery, or Carriages, he ran up and downe the great expedition, now this way, now that, providing all things necessary, relieving places that were in distresse, and never



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never suffering the Enemy to have any opportunity to fight with him ; for by his skilfulnesse in the wayes, and by the unwearied patience of his Souldiers, he appeared, and vanished like lightning, being far off in the morning from those places where he had been seen the night before ; by which Condé and speed that was almost incredible, he made War against a great Army, though languishing by continuall sickness that distressed the Camp : and having to do with a Commander, who, grave and wary in his resolutions, proceeded always with very great deliberation, he opportunely furnished and relieved the chiefeest places, surpris'd many scattering Troops of the Army, cut off the passages of their victuals, and kept the Army in continuall motion, and very great suspition ; whereby the Duke of Mayenne perceived that his Forces continually wasting and decaying, and wanting money and ammunition, if he were not speedily succoured with fresh men, and other necessities, he should come off with dishonour from that war, wherein never seeing the face of the enemy, he should be faine to consume his Army in assaulting, not the weakest places, for they were all taken already ; but strong Towns excellently fortified, and provided with all things, which though he should take at last, yet would it be with the lessening and destroying of his own Forces, and that afterwards he should be exposed to the King of Navar's valour and celerity, who with hiee (though invironed with a thousand difficulties) knew very well how to lay hold of his opportunities.

While the War is managed in Guienne on this new manner, the Prince of Condé having got together a good Body of men in the quarters about Rochel, had taken and sacked the Castle of Dompierre, made himself Master of Soubize and Mornac, and kept in awe the whole Country ; for the quartering whereof the *Sieur de S' Luc* being issued out of Brois with a like number, they met neer the Isle of Oleron, where they fought with various successe a whole day, though with some interruptions, and with almost equall losse on both sides ; for though the Catholicks lost the Regiment of Colonel *Turcelin* with about 500 Firelocks ; yet on the Hugonot side almost all the Lords and chief Commanders were killed or wounded, particularly *Rienx* and *Snilly* (the Sons of *Madame de Lot* already deceased) who dyed both within a while after ; nor was it long before they were followed by *Guy de Laval*

elder Brother, who in the flower of his age, wasted continuall toyl and action, died of a burning feaver at that very time, as also Monsieur *de Rohan*, who died at Rochel of the same disease.

Yet did not the heat and troubles of the War take off Prince of Condé from other thoughts: for being desirous of a particular bond to tie and engage the Duke *de la Tremouille* to himself, who was newly come over to his party; and desiring that, to make some addition to his own fortune, and may be also desirous of issue, he about that time took to wife *Charlotte Catherine* the Dukes Sister, who with her excellent beauty had also a considerable dowry, as being a sharer in the inheritance of the ancient and once most flourishing House of *Tremouille*. But neither the pleasures of Marriage, nor the delights of his new Wife did at all slacken the Prince's warlike bent, who full of courage, and a despiser of the most imminent dangers, did valiantly embrace all occasions of fight, nor would at all yeeld to the violence of his Enemies, notwithstanding the slenderesse of his own Forces.

In this condition were the affairs of War when the Marshall *de Byron* arrived in Xaintonge with another Army, desiring to do some exploit, not so much to damnifie the Protestants, as out of an emulation to the Duke of Mayenne, resolved to lay siege to Maran, a place very convenient to cut up Rochel by land, and to cut off the traffick and commerce of the inhabitants with the Isles and Cities adjacent, for which the Rochellers and all the Hugonot party were much perplexed: wherefore the King of Navar seeing the Forces of the Duke of Mayenne's Army weakned, and the boldnesse of their first fury abated, left the Viscount of *Turenne* in Guienne, to follow the War in the same manner as he had done before, and went suddenly with 300 Horse to Rochel, doubting that the Prince's too much boldnesse might run into some great error in those parts; for being a prudent Judge of his own strength, he resolved with himself, and had given absolute Order to his Commanders, that managing their affairs with wisdom and celerity, and possessing themselves alwayes in secure advantagious places, they should spin the War out as long as they could, and not give their Enemies any new occasion of opportunity; which not suting well with the Prince's nature, since the death of Monsieur *de Rohan*, remained sole Head



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in Xaintonge, the King of Navar intended by his presence to establish that resolution, and to order the government and managery of the War himself. But being come to Rochel, and finding the Citizens there in great confusion by reason of the Mareschal *de Byron's* designe of besieging Maran, he stayd no longer then while he was informed of the present state of things, but knowing his arrivall to be very opportune, because the Rochellers durst not lessen their Garison to strengthen that of Maran, he went personally thither, and the next day having considered the situation of it on every side, he began without delay to make trenches, and to raise redoubts and batteries for the defence of it, and that with so much diligence, that assisting in the work unweariedly his own self, not in the space of many dayes, but hours, he brought it to perfection.

Maran is a great Town, and of great importance, seated by the Ocean Sea, in a low fenny place, as it were in a *Peninsula*, and so encompassed on every side with Moorish war grounds, that there is no access to the works thereof but by very few, and those narrow passages. These the King of Navar made to be shut up with trenches, raising a Fort at the end of every *avenue*, which full of small Artillery, and defended by a competent number of Musketers, might hinder the Enemies approaches, having in the rest of the fenne which was not very deepe, caused many planks to be sunk, which were stuck full of great nails, and other instruments proper to do mischief, might do harm to those that should have the boldness to enter and passe over to the dry land.

Maran besieged  
by the Catho-  
licks.

On the other side, the Mareschal *de Byron* having drawn his Forces together, and made a review of them at Niort, about the midst of June marched towards Maran, where having by their Sallyes proved the courage of the Defenders, who taking advantage of their situation, issued out boldly to skirmish, and fell so hotly upon his first Squadrons, that he himself was engaged in the action, whence he came off lightly wounded in the left hand; he took a resolution to proceed warily in the businesse, and raising certain Forts against those of the Defendants, as the quality of the ground required, all his hopes of gaining that place were reduced only to the length of the Siege.

In the mean time the Court was busied in setting forth

new Armies, and making new warlike preparations; for the King not willing to suffer that the increase of strength, reputation and adherents, should redound unto the Lords of the House of Lorain, and the followers of the League, was resolved to put other Armies into the hands of his trusty Favourites, and to keep up their reputation with new Expeditions, and new Governments of Provinces, which he knew would succeed to his own greatnesse and advantage against the power of the Lords of Guise. By this advice he obtained also another end, which was to tyre out the Catholick party by the maintenance of so many severall Armies, and bring them all again to intercede for peace, which was so necessary for the effecting of his designs. Wherefore, besides a million and two hundred thousand Crowns which he had gotten by Tenths from the Clergie, he urged at Rome for licence to alienate one hundred thousand Crowns *per annum* of Church-revenues; and the people oppressed in so many places, and almost in every Province by the insolence of Souldiers, though they were far from the places possessed by the Hugonots, felt verthelesse the calamities and miseries of Warr. Two severall Armies were making ready, one under the Duke of Mayenne, to go into Auvergne, and thence into Languedoc to recover places which the Hugonots held in those parts; the other under the Duke of Espernon, to go into Provence, and to recover the possession of that Country, which the King since the death of the *Grand Prior* had conferred upon him. The preparations of these Armies to the disadvantage and open disfavour of the Guises, kept all the Nobility and Martial men of the Kingdome in employment; for every one desiring to be in the favour and protection of the Kings *Minions*, who in disposing of gifts and honours carryed all things at their own pleasure, ran all voluntarily to their Colours; and with great trains and costly preparations of warlike ornaments endeavoured to win the affections, some of the one, some of the other of these Lords, who through the Kings secret instigations, were intent to draw all men by their liberality and ostentation of rewards, to follow the course of their fortunes; that not onely such as were Neuters came from all parts to join them; but also such as had been resolved to follow the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Heads in the War of Guise, leaving their first intentions, determined to follow the



fortune of those that had most power. To this was added that the King to moderate by his presence, and with his own counsels the Warrs managed by his Favourites, and to augment their reputation, was resolved to goe to Lyons, both Armies being to march the same way, so that by the moving of his own Person he drew after him great number of men of eminent quality, and the expences were still increased without end. Whereby with new impositions, with erecting new Magistrates, with inventions of new Taxes, and with the disposing of new Offices, the people was every-where wonderfully burthened and oppressed; the King being still constant to his own opinion, that by how much the greater were the miseries and oppressions of Warr, by so much the sooner would they extort an universall consent to the necessity of Peace, and make the authours of those disorders odious and detestable, rendring disfavoured unto all the formerly so much favoured endeavours of the League; wherein his inclination agreeing with the splendor and subtilty of his designe it was impossible by any reasons in the world to alter that determination.

But whilst the King is infinite busie, and the Courtiers more ardently studious in ordering these affaires, a most powerful army was preparing in Germany for the reliefe of the Hugonots; for the King of Navar having long foreseene, that the King would easily be brought to an agreement with the League to his disadvantage, and having learned by former experience that all the hopes of his party, consisted in the aid of the Germans, which the union of the Protestant Princes was wont to afford unto the Hugonots, had sent the *Sieur de Pardaillan* thither (a wise man, and by long travell versed in their severall customes) who treating confidently, and particularly with every Prince, and every *Hans-towne*, might shew them the danger of their common Religion; aggravate the hatred of the Guises to the Protestant party, and exhorted them to continue the assistance formerly lent unto the Hugonots against the persecutions of their Enemies; which business being excellently managed by *Pardaillan*, had not only stirred up the mindes of those Princes in favour of the Hugonots, but had also much raised the hopes of the King of Navar, so that having turned his thoughts that way, at the beginning of the Warr, he had dispatched the *Sieur de Clermont* into

many, to ripen the fruits of that seed, which had before  
 opportunly sowne by *Pardaillan*. And because both  
 Princes and people of those parts (very great honourers of  
 Religion, which they hold to be the true one, and also of  
 the minde, and flexible nature to the urgency of entrea-  
 and efficacy of reasons) might more easily be moved to  
 go unto it; *Theodore Beza* a most eloquent Preacher of  
 Hugonots, went to the same effect from Geneva, into  
 many and Swisserland, who by his authority and dis-  
 ciples, stirred up every one of the chiefe men, to imbrace the  
 cause in favour of those, who were of the same, or at least  
 of a little different Religion. The Queen of England en-  
 couraged the same, not onely by countenancing it, and by  
 words, but also by her actions, for keeping in prison Mary  
 Queen of Scotland Cousen to the Guises, who was obstinat-  
 ly stuck to their faction, shee desired that the League, and  
 House of Loraine, should be utterly suppressed, or at least  
 banished in France, that she might have free power to dispose  
 of her life, and of the affaires of Scotland and England:  
 therefore shee not onely assisted the King of Navar with her  
 authority which was very great in Germany, but had also de-  
 voted a good some of money, to be laid out in the raising of  
 souldiers there. To the negotiation of *Clerwant*, to the ex-  
 ecution of *Beza*, and to the money of England, the Duke  
 of *Buillon* added also his assistance, who holding Sedan, a  
 strong place, and other Townes and Castles about the  
 frontiers of France and Germany, that were of the Hugonots  
 Religion, and in their Counsells united to the King of Navar,  
 was fit instrument for the expedition, and Leavyes of the  
 French Souldiers; for the Palatine of the Rhyne, the Duke  
 of *Wittembergh*, and the Protestant Cantons of the Swisses  
 consenting; and the King of Denmarke concurring; but  
 especially the Count *de Mombelliard* a Lord bordering upon  
 France labouring in the businesse, there began to be raised  
 a most powerful Army, that ever had come out of that Coun-  
 try to relieve the Hugonots. But because these Princes knew  
 they had no occasion at all to offend the King of France, and  
 enter in a hostill manner into his Country, they resolved,  
 that the Army (which was preparing against the next  
 year) to send this yeare, for a colour, a numerous Embassy,  
 to complaine in the Names of them all, of the breach of that  
 Peace,

Great forces  
 are prepared  
 in Germany in  
 favour of the  
 Hugonots;

Mary Queen  
 of Scots Cou-  
 sen to the  
 Guises impris-  
 oned by Eli-  
 zabeth Queene  
 of England.



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Peace, and violation of that Faith which had been given to the Hugonots, with whom they were interested and united in Religion, and to demand of the King a cessation of Armes, and a confirmation of those Edicts so often granted to his Subjects for the liberty of conscience: foreseeing well that if they consented to their demands, the Hugonots would be relieved without further noise of Armes, and if he should persist, and deny them, they might thereby make a faire pretence for a new Warr, and take an occasion, not altogether unreasonable, to raise those forces they intended.

This determination of the Germans did very much displease the King of France, being not onely displeased that they should presume to meddle with the affaires of his Kingdom, but also terrified with the fear of forreigne forces; who in former perillous Commotions used to destroy Provinces, ruin cities, and people, disturbe all things both Divine and Humane, and put the state of the Crowne into extreme danger. But this Prince, accustomed to govern himself by the subtilty of wit, to whom (though oftentimes very unsuccessfully) presented the faire appearances of cunning inventions, did alwayes repulse themselves; he began to think with himself, that from this evill he might draw another good, and might use the occasion of the Germans for the speedy execution of his designes. Seeing the King of Navar reduced to such a weaknesse, though he made fearlesse resistance, he was yet brought to the last extremity of his fortune; and being himself every day more out of hope to have issue, since by a continuall incurable *Gonorrhoea*, and by infinite other proofs he knew himself unable to get children, he thought it best to unite himself by all means, streightly and sincerely with the King of France as the lawfull Successor of the Crown, to draw him into his Court neer unto his own Person, to make him partaker in the matters of Government, and by his means to make use of a forreign Army, for the utter suppression of the Guises and factions of the League, which being unexpectedly overcome between his Forces and the approaching storm of German Souldiers, could not possibly be able to make any stand, but would presently be quite extinguished and annihilated. Two things amongst the rest were principally the motives or reasons of this intention; one, the King of Navar's Religion being resolved (for the satisfaction of his own conscience,

Hen. the Third  
despairing of  
issue, resolves  
to farther the  
King of Na-  
var's right to  
the Crown, &  
to unite him-  
self with him  
for the destru-  
ction of the  
Guises.

oid the scandall that would arise from thence) not to re-  
le himself unto him, unlesse he would first return into  
osome of the Church; the other was that of his Sister  
en *Margaret*, Wife to the King of Navar, who having  
her self over to a licentious life, for fear of her Hus-  
s anger was fled from him; but being taken by his order,  
he Commission of the King her Brother, she was put as a  
ner into the Castle of Carlat in Auvergne, and from  
ce a while after removed to Usson in the same Province;  
er the custody of the Marquesse *de Canillac*, who (as it was  
rted) being become captive to his Prisoner, had set her  
erty; so she passing her time in certain houses of her own  
(in Auvergne) and continuing the same manner of life, was a  
great obstacle to those Agreements which might have been  
uded between her Husband and her Brother. To overcome  
important difficulties, having imparted his designe to  
Queen his Mother, who was wont to ripen busineses of  
est consequence, and to find out remedies for all the hard-  
pediments, they determined at last, that the person of  
ady *Margarat* was no more to be regarded, and that  
ig made her self unworthy to be acknowledged by them  
for a Sister or a Daughter (since the dispensation ob-  
d from the Pope at the time of her marriage being de-  
ie, did afford a colour and pretence for the breaking of  
they would make a divorce; and give *Christienne*  
ughter to the Duke of Loraine by *Claudia* the King's  
e) to wife to the King of Navar, who of a very pleasing  
aiour, and of an age already marriageable, was brought  
in the degree and quality of a Daughter by the Queen-  
ter: and as for the King of Navar's Religion, they re-  
ved to endeavour by urging the great good that would re-  
sult from it, and by so important a benefit as the assuring  
self of the succession of the Crown of France (which was  
right in question) to soften and bend his mind to turn  
indick, giving him those securities and satisfactions which  
uld be thought most fit to settle and confirme him. But  
ue all others were either suspected, or unable to manage  
business of so great difficulty and importance, the King in-  
ted the Queen his Mother that she would take the pains to  
into Poictou and Xaintonge to confer with the King of  
va; making her self for the present, as she had ever been  
in

By reason of  
the licentious  
life of *Margaret*  
Wife to the K.  
of Navar, the  
King and Q.  
Mother resolve  
to break the  
Match, and to  
give him *Chri-  
stienne* the  
daughter of the  
Duke of Lo-  
raine, who after  
married *Ferdi-  
nando de Medici*  
great Duke of  
Toscany.



1586 in times past, the Author and Mediatrix of the good and quiet of the Kingdom.

An accommo-  
dation treated  
with the Hu-  
gonots by the  
Queen-Mo-  
ther, and much  
disliked by  
those of the  
League.

The Queen takes upon her the charge of this business though much burthened with yeers, and exceedingly tormented with the Gout ; and therefore the Abbot *Guiovan-Basta Gnadagni* was dispatched to the Mareschal *de Byron*, to give order for a cessation of Arms on that side, and to appoint a meeting between the Queen and the King of Navar. The Mareschal following the instinct of his old inclination, and being neer the King of Navar at the siege which he had newly laid to Maran, obeyed the Kings command without delay, and they came to this agreement, That Maran should stand neuter, and that both parts should have free commerce thither, yet that the Governour should be put in by the King of Navar, and that the Garison should equally protect the Catholics as well as the Hugonots ; that the Mareschal should withdraw his Forces beyond the Charente (a River in those parts) and that the King of Navar, after having furnished all things necessary for Rochel, should go to meet the Queen-Mother at Poictou.

This Treaty did much displease the Guises, and all those that adhered sincerely to the League : so that on the one side, the Pope's Nuncio made grievous complaint thereof unto the King himself ; and on the other side, the Duke of Guise, who was at his Government in Champagne, made it be spoke of to the Queen-Mother by his Agents, and the people of Paris began commonly to murmur, that the cause of Religion was betrayed, that the Hugonots were openly favoured, that the course of the War was interrupted, which was like to prevent presently to an happy conclusion, that the King shewed openly that his mind was averse to the Catholick party, and that he desired by all means to cherish and maintain Heresie, although the King's designe and intention was yet unknown to every one, the very name of Peace had wrought a jealousy in the quick apprehension of the Duke of Guise, and gave occasion of talk to the common people. The King answered the Nuncio resentingly, That the backwardnesse which the Clergie shewed in submitting themselves to the vast expence of the War, and the difficulty which the Pope had made in granting licence to alienate the hundred thousand Crowns *per annum* of the Church Revenues, had made him incline to our

infels of Peace ; and that he thought he neither did any  
ng against his conscience, nor against the Office of a Chri-  
n Prince, if he laboured to restore peace and tranquillity to  
people of his Kingdom, already wasted and undone by the  
amities of War : That it was a fine thing to stand afar off  
l intermeddle in the Government of others with words and  
er-expeditions ; but that a good Father of a family ought  
ave more regard to the evident good of his own house,  
n to any discourses of strangers. Yet the Nuncio having  
lied, that the true way to give his Kingdom Peace, was to  
irpate the very roots of Heresie ; that the safety of the soul  
to be preferred before temporal respects ; that the last end  
aim of the War begun with the Hugonots, was quietnesse  
tranquillity, which, by reason of the weaknesse of the  
ommunicate Princes, was not very hard to be compassed by  
everance ; that the Prelates of France had never with-  
own themselves from the equal burden of expences, nor  
ould they at all refuse it for the time to come ; and finally, that  
ad certain hopes from Rome of the grant of that license  
hch His Majestie desired : the King moderating his dis-  
tise, began to shew him the great danger and evil conse-  
quences which the inundation of Forraigners that was prepa-  
n, would bring along with it ; for the diverting whereof, it  
a necessary to feign and dissemble many things ; and that he  
ould assure the Pope he would never conclude any thing  
hch could prejudice the Catholike Religion, or the good  
honour of the holy Church.

The same things in substance were urged to the Duke of  
use from the Queen-mother : but he more particularly was  
oved to consider, that this being done to hinder, and by de-  
yto divert the coming of the Germans, did all redound to  
aparticular service of the League, and his own private bene-  
for he that was placed in the confines of the Kingdom on  
a side by which they thought to enter, was more liable then  
y other to the danger of their incursions : That he knew  
weaknesse of the King's Forces, the want of Money, and  
n he contrary, the great strength of the Army which was rai-  
n in Germany ; and therefore it was necessary he should suf-  
er he counsels that were begun to be managed with dexteri-  
y, which did all result at last unto the same end.

It was needful by means of their confidents to instil the

H h h h

same



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same things into the people of Paris, which already began to be bridledly to mutiny : and it was necessary to affirm them with so much efficacie, that being gathered up in divers places by those that favoured the Hugonots (which secretly were many) and told unto the King of Navar, filled his minde with great jealousy and suspicion, to the exceeding prejudice of the Treaty undertaken by the Queen, who being gone to Chincieux, a place of pleasure built by Madame *Valentine*, and at that time in her possession, expected till the Abbot *Guadalupe* and the Sieur *de Ramboillet*, who were gone to treat about it, had appointed the place of interview between her and the King of Navar, about which there arose many difficulties, by reason of the deep suspicion he was fallen into that they sought to deceive him ; whereupon he refused to go beyond the places which were held by his party, and without being accompanied by such Forces as were needful for the guard and security of his own person. On the other side, it was very unfit and very unsafe for the Queen to put her self into the power and Forces of the Hugonots ; and the businesse was such as could not in a few hours be treated and resolved on in the Field. But the King's Letters and Messages were so frequent, and his desire was so great to have that Interview brought about, that though the King of Navar, being raised by the neer approach of the German Ambassadors, and by the hope of forraign Forces, either cared little for that Meeting with the Queen, or would make it with his own perfect security and entire reputation, and therefore would not consent to go out of the confines of the Country possessed by him ; yet at last resolved to satisfie him, and to go into the furthest parts of Poictou, bordering upon Xaintonge ; and having caused the Marechal *de Byron*'s Army to draw backward, she agreed to come as far as *S<sup>t</sup> Bris*, a place very neer the King of Navar's Garisons, and encompassed with the Forces of the Hugonots.

In the mean time the King, to give leasure to this Meeting, and to defer the audience of the German Ambassadors till he knew the issue of that Treaty, began his journey towards the Frontiers, as he had appointed, leaving order that the Ambassadors should be received and entertained with great Honours and Feastings till his return to Paris.

The Dukes of *Espernon* and *Joyeuse* began to move with their Forces at the same time, upon occasion of the King's departure.

ure ; yet they marched divers ways, and with divers intentions : For the Duke of Espernon neerly united to the King'signes, distrustful of the League, an enemy to the Guises, inclined to favour and uphold the King of Navar, provided in Provence, with a desire to reunite it, and reduce it wholly to his obedience, but neither to foment the designs of the League, nor to persecute the party of the Hugonots. But the Duke of Joyeuse transported with hopes, and spurred on by the emulation of Espernon, had partly forgot the interests of the King, the authour of his greatness, and onely root of his sudden growth, and being allied unto the House of Lorraine by his marriage with the King's sister-in-law, began partly to second the counsels of the *Guises* ; and desirous of glory, ready to employ his Arms vigorously against the Hugonots : for which cause, being departed from the Baths in *Bourbon*, (where he had stayed a few days, to cure some indisposition that troubled him ) he drove the Lord of Chastillon from the siege of Compierre, which he had beleaguered with his main Forces drawn together in the quarters about *Langues*, took *Malaisies*, *la Pierre*, *Marvegots*, and *Salvagnac*, all places of consideration in that Province ; and entering *Languedoc*, no lesse full of pride then warlike boasting, would have the greatness of his fortune appear distinctly to his own eyes, and draw his Army to a *Rendez-vous* within sight of the Citie of *Tholouse*, where ( his father commanding as the King's Lieutenant ) he had been bred up in the first yeers of his infancy. But the Duke of Espernon with a great Army, and Forces better ordered, accompanied by the *Sieur de la Valette* his brother, who was appointed his Lieutenant in Provence, entered there to make himself be received Governour by the Parliament, just at the very time when *Lesdiguieres*, being come thither from *Dauphiné*, had with a great slaughter routed *Monsieur de Vins* the chief adherent of the League in those parts, and had reduced the Catholike affairs to a hard condition. This conjuncture was not unfavourable to Espernon ; the followers of the League did already plot how to exclude him from the Government ; and *Monsieur de Vins* had laboured to make some places refuse to accept him. But he being arrived in a time when they were yet dismayed by the great they had newly received, though *Lesdiguieres* was forced to retire again into *Dauphiné*, yet *Vins* had neither



strength nor occasion to oppose him openly ; and the Duke having taken Seine , commonly called *La Grande-Tour* , and many other lesser places , in a few weeks brought the whole Province under the obedience of his government ; there viving left his brother with the charge of the Army, he returned speedily to Court ; his interests of ruling the King's *Genies*, and moderating his deliberations, not suffering him to be far from thence.

At the same time the Germane Embassie arrived at Paris, wherein besides a select number of honourable persons, were the Count *de Mombelliard* and the Count of *Issembourg* in person, Lords for the noblenesse of their blood and the quality of their power, of very high estimation, and who ardently favoured and managed the Germane Levies. These being entertained at the King's charge, and with all the highest of Honours, seemed yet unsatisfied at his so far distance, and the delay which was interposed of their negotiating with him, interpreting that to French pride and disdain, which depended upon more secret and remote occasions: so that the two Counts, thinking they should take off from their own reputation by staying long to wait for him, full of hidden anger, and desiring much greater favour to the Hugonots, returned home, leaving the charge of the businesse to the other Ambassadors. The King having by redoubled messengers received the news of their departue, and the distaste which the rest shewed upon it, began to return with small days journeys towards Paris, desiring still to hear that the Queen having overcome all difficulties, had at last conferred with the King of Navar : But delays being already spent, and the businesse of that Intervention proceeding extraordinary slowly, he was in the end necessitated to stay at S' Germans, and give audience to the Ambassadors, but with a countenance no lesse doubtful and uncertain, then his minde was perplexed & unresolved ; which yet notwithstanding became presently free and resolute: for Prince *Casimir* Ambassador having spoken in the name of all the rest in bold terms and high words, no lesse full of tacite threats, then open contempt, the King, as a Prince of a tender sensibility, offended at that proud manner of proceeding with him, and kindled with so great indignation, that, contrary to his wonted custom and first designe, he answered the Ambassador himself, with so much sharpnesse and resentment, that

The Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes of Germany being come to Paris to treat in favour of the Hugonots, having spoken highly to the King, are sharply answered, and depart unsatisfied from the Court.

ly they were wonderfully dashed ; and the next day after, without other audience, with small honour , and as little satisfaction, they were dismissed. The discourse of the Ambassadors in substance contained a long complaint ; That the King, to satisfy the unjust desire and perverse ambition of the Pope, and of certain Princes and Communalities of his Kingdom, had broken his word with those of the Reformed Religion, and taken away that Liberty of conscience which had formerly granted and established by so many Decrees : That therefore the Princes of Germany , who were interested and united in the same Religion , intreated him to put an end to the War and disturbance of Arms, granting both Temporal and Spiritual peace to all his Subjects, whereby he might appease the just wrath of God due to such as break their word, might also give them occasion to preserve their ancient Friendship with the Crown ; notwithstanding which , they were straightly obliged to provide for the safety of those who without fault of theirs ) being in distresse, did implore the assistance of those Princes that agreed with them in the confession of the same Faith. On the other side , the King's Answer contained, That having been called and chosen by God to the possession of his Crown, he had also authority not dependent upon any body, to establish Laws, publish Decrees, grant Pardon, and make fitting Provisions, according to the quality of times, and the need of his Subjects, and therefore might also revoke, change, alter and retract them at his pleasure, as he was best directed by his Divine Majesty : whereunto he did give the lye to whosoever went about to tax him as a breaker of his word, if for the interest of his Subjects and good of his Kingdom he had revoked a liberty granted conditionally, and but for a time ; and that as he had formerly done, so he would reign freely for the future, marvelling that any should presume to interpose and meddle in the Government of his People, and in the Authority of his Person : That this was his last resolution, neither was it needful for him to stay any longer, to hear any other particulars from them. The Ambassadors urging to have that Answer given in writing, he angrily refused to do it ; and giving order that they should be conducted to lodge at Poissy, the next day after (being the ninth of September) to the city of Paris.

There



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There notwithstanding the resolute answer given to the Protestant Princes already divulged every-where, and the progresse of the War against the Hugonots, already kindled in many places, the mindes of the common people were more then ever inflamed against his person and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed against in pulpits, and particularly slandered in private meetings; for it being already spread broad by the Preachers and Heads of the League, and rooted in the minds of the Parisians, that the King favoured the King of Navar and the Hugonot party, and sought by under-hand means at the sute of his *Minions* to bring him to the succession of the Crown, and to establish them in the free profession of their Faith; the hatred conceived upon this occasion afterwards increased by the frequency of Taxes and impositions, and the continued exalting of the Duke d'Espernon and the other favourites, who not only were highly suspected, but extremely hated by the greatest part of the Citizens. Wherefore, besides the suggestions of the Duke of Guise, who kept the *Sieur de Meneville* perpetually in the City for that purpose, the chief of the people being (in favour of the League) kindled of themselves to conspire both against the Actions and Person of the King, had framed a Councell of such as were most interessed, consisting of sixteen persons because the chief Wards, or as they call them, the *Quartiers* of the City were so many) which was to rule and moderate the progresse of that businesse, and the mindes of the common people. *La Chappelle Martel*, *Jehan le Clerc* *Sieur de B...* President *Nully*, and *Charles Hotman* were from the beginning as Heads and Presidents of this Councell, and all \* *T...* were brought into it, by means of certain men chose by them, one of each profession, who being admitted to the Councell, made their relations and received their orders concerning whatsoever was resolved by the *sixteen*, as well for the defence of the City, as the service of the League, and to oppose themselves against the designs of the King and his favourites. The meetings of this Councell was at first in the Colledge of Fortet, commonly called the \* *Cradle of the League*, afterward they assembled themselves in the Church of the Dominicans or Jacobines; and at last, for fear of being suspected and discovered, they met not any more together in any certain determinate place; but sometimes in or

The Parisians by the suggestions of the Heads of the League, being set against the King, frame a Councell of 16 principall persons, by whom they were governed, receiving their orders and resolutions.

\* Or Companies.

\* *Le berceau de la Ligue.*

ivate house, sometimes in another, with wonderfull se- 1586  
sie.

But neverthelesse all these things were known unto the  
g by the relation of *Nicholas Poulain*, who (as we have said *Nicholas Poulain discovered all the plots of the League unto the King.*  
ore) moved either by hope of reward, or by the sting of  
science, made the King acquainted with every particular,  
means of Monsieur d'O and the High-Chancellor; for as  
chief instrument in the Union of the Parisians, he knew the  
hidden counsels that were plotted in that congregation.  
they of the League not yet finding that their practices  
e discovered, and being fomented and swelled with pro-  
s by the Duke of Guise, and Don *Bernardino Mendoza* a  
Spanish Lieger at Paris, their boldnesse passed so far, that  
les having possessed the whole scope of the City, listed  
tly those men that were fit to bear arms, and made great  
isions to arm them, they had also begun to communicate  
other principall Cities of the Kingdom to raise and unite  
in the same conspiracy, which being by inveterate use  
ustome grown to an unbounded liberty, they began al-  
y to think not onely of seising upon strong Towns and  
resses, but went so farr as to dare conspire against the  
s own Person, that they might be able afterwards to or-  
ne affairs of the Kingdom at their pleasure, and as the  
ue should think fit.

happened that this Councell of the League being held  
ay in the Jesuits Colledge, a proposition was made by  
Confederates in the name of the Spanish Ambassador, to  
se the Town of Boulogne, a Fortresse in Picardy seated  
the Shore of the \* Ocean Sea, then under the Govern-  
of the Duke of Espernon, and in his name kept by the  
de Bernay with the authority of Governour. The pro-  
alleged that the Catholick King being about to set  
a mighty Fleet to go for England, was content  
using his Forces in favour of the League) they should  
n France at their first arrivall, provided they might be  
ed with a strong, large, and convenient Harbour, where  
might securely enter; that there was no place more fit  
Boulogne, seated in those parts which were neere the  
f Paris, placed right against England, hard by Flanders  
give supplies from thence; the Duke of Parma being  
aising a very great Army to joyn with the Forces of  
the

They of the League plot to surprise Boulogne by the Spanish Fleet, which is revealed by Poulain. \* The Author in many places calls that the Ocean Sea which we call the British Sea.



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\* Attendants,  
or guard; so  
called, because  
in old time  
they went with  
bows and ar-  
rows.

the Fleet: They shewed that the enterprife was not difficult for the Provost *Vetus*, a faithfull instrument of the League, sing every three months to ride his circuit, and visit those parts with fifty of his \* Archers, which were commonly wont to go along with him, might surprise one of the gates of the Town at his entry, and keep it till he were relieved by the Duke of Aumale with the Forces of the Province, at which coming those few souldiers which were there in garison being cut off, it was most easie to make themselves Masters of the place; which being a very principal one, was greatly desired also by the Duke of Aumale himself, who never having been able to attain to the absolute Government of Picardy, tried all wayes and plots, though bold and dangerous, to compass it. This attempt of Boulogne did very much please the Confederates, hoping that all the Spanish Forces would turn unexpectedly in favour of their designs; but it was no less hopefull to the intents of the Ambassadour *Mendoza*, considering the great benefit the Navie would receive by so important a place, and so large, so commodious an Harbour as well in the prosecution of the Enterprife upon England as if it should be imployed in the affairs of France: where the common opinion concurring to the same end, it was resolved in the Councel, that the businesse should be attempted, and the Provost being informed thereof, who was most ready to undertake it, the fitting assignation was given to the Duke of Aumale, who by reason of his wonderfull inclination to the affairs of the League, and his desire to make himself absolute in the Government of Picardy, did with as much readiness put himself in order for the designe. But Lieutenant *Poulain* was no lesse solicitous then they to give the King intelligence of all the businesse by means of the High-Chamberlain: so that Monsieur *de Bernay* being advertised, and fully prepared, received the Provost in so dextrous a manner, that in the entry of the gate, between the draw-bridge and the Percullise, he was taken prisoner with the greatest part of his men: and the Duke of Aumale appearing a while after under the walls, was by the fury of the Canon shot forced to retire.

Yet for all the failing of this enterprife, did not the Confederates find that their secret consultations were laid open to the Kings knowledge; but ascribing the successlesse event to

at attempt to chance; and to the wonted diligence of the  
*eur de Bernay*; they continued their accustomed inclinati-  
 s with so much ardour, that they consulted of taking the  
 ing himself returning with a slender guard (as hee was wont  
 do) from the *Boys de Vincennes*, whither he retiring himself  
 m time to time to the exercise of his devotions, (or as his  
 racters said, of his debauches) at his return entred by the  
 te *S' Antoine*, the farthest part of all the Citie from the  
 ure, where his Guards were, and about which the Court  
 s lodged. But they themselves had not courage to profe-  
 e that attempt, not having any Head of the Confederate  
 nces there present, and the King having notice of it by the  
 ne means, began to take better heed to himself, and to go  
 h more caution thorow the Citie and the places about it,  
 ing himself alwayes to be attended by the Captains of his  
 ards, and by a good number of his most trusty Gentlemen,  
 suffering the five and forty appointed for that service par-  
 larly, to stir far from his Person. He was oftentimes think-  
 to chastise their temerity, and to revenge himself as well  
 he contempt which the Preachers shewed, speaking pub-  
 ly against him, as of the conspiracies of those stirrers up  
 he people, which had caused the greatest and most im-  
 tant City of his Kingdom to revolt against him; but ma-  
 ythings withheld him from it; the Treaty begun with the  
 ig of Navar, the end whereof he desired to see before he  
 e any new disturbance to the League; the neer coming in  
 he forreign Army, to oppose the violence whereof, if he  
 ould not agree with the King of Navar, he was necessitated  
 ake use of the Forces of the League, and keep united with  
 e Lords of the House of Lorain; much lesse was that a fit con-  
 stitute to break out into open war with them by punishing  
 e Parisians, the so numerous Forces of such a populous City  
 e requiring many preparations to subdue them, and the ab-  
 ne of the Q. his Mother, without whose advice he was not  
 ot to take any resolutions of such consequence as concern-  
 e whole summ of his affairs. To these weighty respects,  
 e the unfitness of the time, was added the Office also of  
 e *seigneur de Villequier*, who being Governour of Paris, either  
 of a certain propension which men have to defend and ex-  
 those that are under their command, or out of a belief  
 a they conspired not immediately against the King, but

They of the  
 League consule  
 about taking  
 the King as he  
 returned from  
 hunting.



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The designe of taking the Bastile, Arcenal, Paris and the Louvre, and to cut in pieces the Minions and the King's adherents, and to take the King himself prisoner, revealed, and not effected.

Thus the King by dissembling increased the popular boldnesse and temerity; so that the Duke of Mayenne being about this time returned to Paris, (who seeing his Army destroyed by toil and sicknesse in Guienne, and not having been able to obtain from the King either recruits of men or supplies of money, was come personally to Court after the taking of Chastillon) the Heads of the Parisians were ready to make their addressees to him, aspiring to bring their designs about under the protection and conduct of his authority. *Hotel-Bussy*, *la Chapelle Mortel*, President *Nully*, *Prevost* the Curate of *S' Severine*, and the Preacher *Vincestre*, went secretly at night unto him, and made him acquainted with their Forces, the union of the people, the Arms already gathered, and with the intention they had, not onely to reduce the City under the power of the League, but also to seize upon the King's Person, and put his Favourites to death, who gave him such wicked counsel in favour of the Hugonots. The Duke of Mayenne, because he had ever been of a contrary opinion to his brother, was not fully informed of these particular practices managed by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal, and who by nature was averse from too bold precipitate counsels, stood a while in doubt, and took time to resolve till the night following, which being come, and the same Deputies of the Union being come unto him, he desired them to inform him more distinctly of their intentions, of their Forces, and of the Plots to which they trusted, being not disposed to undertake any thing which was not sure to be effected. The Deputies presently did so, and related to him, That first of all they meant to make themselves masters of all the chief places of the City, and

had laid the Designe in this manner: That to get the *Ba-*  
*stille*, they would go by night to the house of the *Chevalier du*  
*net*, who dwelt in *S<sup>t</sup> Catharines* a very remote place; and  
 one of the Archers which are wont to wait upon him, who  
 privie to the Plot, cause him to be told that the King asked  
 him; at which he opening his house to go out, an hundred  
 men should enter, and having taken him, should force  
 to open the gate of the *Bastille*: That at the same time  
 main Archers and Serjeants with whom they had agreed,  
 should cause the \* *Chastelet* to be opened, under pretence of  
 bringing certain prisoners thither, as it often happened, and  
 coming in, armed men should make themselves masters of it:  
 at the gate of the \* *Arcenal* where there was no Guard,  
 should be opened unto them by the two Founders of Ord-  
 nance, whom they had dealt withal, and who dwelling within  
 the city, had promised to open it when they pleased: Which  
 things being performed, they would presently run to the house  
 of the High Chancellour, of the first President of the Par-  
 liament, of *La Guesle* the \* *Procureur-general*, and of the King's  
 Chancellours, who being taken unexpectedly in their beds,  
 might easily be cut in pieces without resistance. Which things  
 being done, they would barricado all the streets with barrels  
 of earth and dirt, and with Chains, Bars and other things,  
 to the end that none might be able to relieve the Citie, or draw  
 them in Arms together, every Ward standing upon the defence  
 of their own quarter; and eight thousand armed men chosen  
 amongst them all, under the command of some expert Leader,  
 as the Duke of Mayenne himself, if he pleased to be there,  
 should beset the *Louvre*, where there being onely the ordinary  
 guards, and the retinue of Courtiers, it would be easie to  
 take it by force, or constrain all those that were there to yeeld  
 to famine, having no provision of victuals within it: which  
 being done, all the King's *Minions* and other Counsellours  
 should be cut in pieces, and the King himself put in a Mona-  
 sty, till the Princes of the League had resolved of a future  
 form of Government: the Duke of Mayenne being to go  
 presently with new Forces into Guienne, and the Catholike  
 King sending in a mighty Army over the Pirenæan mountains,  
 to destroy the King of Navar and the Hugonot party. At these  
 proposals the Duke of Mayenne, a stayed man, was in much  
 greater suspense then before, both for the cruelty of the fact,

\* Captain of  
the ordinary  
Warch of Paris

\* A Court of  
Justice in Pa-  
ris, as Guild-  
hall in Lon-  
don, where al-  
so many are  
imprisoned.  
\* The Maga-  
zine of Arms.

\* Attorney  
General.



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and because he thought it not secure to attempt such things upon the onely foundation of the common people, who for the most part are deceitful; and therefore answered the Deputies, That they should think better of the ordering this enterprize, and that he also would think upon it, and provide Commanders and other necessary means for the execution, if he resolved to meddle in it: And indeed, either doubtful in minde, or to have more convenience to think upon a business of so great consequence, he fained himself not well, and neither stirred abroad, nor admitted any to visit him.

But in the mean time *Poulain*, who knew all the business, was not slow in going to the High Chancellor the next morning betimes, to make him acquainted with the whole design; but he found him going out of his lodging sooner then ordinary to counsell, wherefore seeing much company with him, he was resolved to defer the discovery till the after-noon. It happened that he being very much in debt, some Creditors of his having got leave to arrest him, lighted upon him that morning, and caused him to be led prisoner to the *Chastelet*, where seeing himself shut up, he by a private note let the High-Chancellor know of the disaster that had befallen him, and how necessary it was that he should speak with him about things of importance: whereupon the Chancellor causing him to be brought bound before him, took him into his closet, intending to examine the occasion why he was imprisoned, and there he was fully informed by him of all that had been proposed to the Duke of Mayenne, and of all the designs and attempts of the Parisians; but to deceive the standers-by, seeming to be very angry with him, and that he would have him sell his Office to satisfy his Creditors, he sent him bound to Secretary *Villeroy*, who set down his whole relation in writing; and to cover the business, so that those of the University might not have the least suspicion, he with an angry countenance, and more angry words commanded him to be carried back to prison, from whence by a fained security, which the King himself caused him to give, he was set at liberty a few dayes after. But the King being informed of the conspiracy of the Parisians (though Monsieur *de Villequier* continued to assure him, and to cry out they were but lyes and inventions) *Poulain* being often rebuked and villified by him, as one brought to despair by his own evill life, tryed by this calumny

ake his profit;) commanded nevertheless that the *Che-  
er du Guet* should remove and lodge in the Bastile; cau-  
the founders of Ordnance to be put out of the Arcenal, and  
in the Provost *Papin* with his Archers for a Guard;  
ngthened the guards at the entry of the *Louvre*, and drew  
e of the Duke of Espernon's Horse and Foot within a  
of the Town, which in time of need might be brought in  
e garden of the \* *Tuilleries*, at a back gate opening into  
fields.

\* The garden  
of the *Louvre*.

They of the *Union* were much astonished, finding all their  
ts were discovered, but they knew not upon whom to  
he fault, nor could they mistrust *Poulain*, because the acci-  
of his imprisonment had excellently disguised his intel-  
ce. But the Duke of Mayenne was much more discon-  
d at it; who having never consented absolutely to the  
piracy of the Parisians, saw himself yet included in their  
ar, and as it were engaged within the King's power, by  
m he might very easily have been taken, had it not been  
hose respects which made him proceed warily, and dis-  
ple all things to attain to the end of his designs: where-  
if he had before fained himself sick, that he might have  
e conveniencie to ripen his determination; now he was  
stitated to do the same for fear of being taken and put to  
n by the King if he should go to the *Louvre*. But when  
e the space of many dayes it was known that the King made  
reater preparations, being satisfied with having secured  
helf; the Duke of Mayenne recovering courage, resolved  
have the Citie, and retire to his Government of Bour-  
ne; whereupon going to the *Louvre*, he made as if it  
l been necessary for him to go into the Country by reason  
his want of health, and asked the King leave; who for all  
dissimulation could not forbear to say, *How now Duke? will  
u forsake your League?* whereat the Duke faining not to  
drstand him, and saying, that he knew not what his Ma-  
te meant, departed without further delay; the King re-  
ving no lesse to see him go, and leave the Parisians without  
had, and without any settled resolution; then he to be  
t of that danger, and to have escaped the King's forces with-  
t hazard of his life or reputation.

The Duke of Guise took it very ill, that the Parisians  
revealed their designs to his Brother, as well because  
know-



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knowing himself to have a freer courage and a more full sprightly wit, he desired in all things to be the man that should give the first motion and beginning, and that should order the course of all enterprises; as because he knew the nature & actions of the Duke of Mayenne were not altogether conformable to the aims of his intents: but the Parisians excused themselves, that they suspected their counsels were already discovered; whereupon their fear lest the King should prevail upon them, had caused the determination of imparting it to the Duke of Mayenne, that they might execute the businesse without delay, having also believed, that the having recourse to one Brother more then to another was of no great importance; since one was present, and the other far off, and employed in other affairs: Wherefore the Duke of Guise, not to be idle in the midst of so many businesses, and not to let his reputation grow stale and decay, had upon slight occasions begun a War voluntarily with the Duke of Bouillon, who possessing Sedan and Jamets, very strong and important Towns, with other lesser places upon the Confines of Loraine and Champagne, did by them keep open the passage for the German Army which came in favour of the Hugonots to enter France; wherefore the Duke of Guise, who desired to shut up that way by trying to drive the Duke of Bouillon from thence, having made a great complaint, that the Garisons placed in the Towns which were under Sedan (where great store of Hugonots were gathered together) did much harm to the villages joyning upon Champagne, he assaulted suddenly and took Donzi, a place in that territory very commodious to block up the principall City, as he presently would have done, if any other enterprise had not diverted him.

The Governour of Aulne, a very principall Town in the Dutchy of Bourgongne, denyed to yeeld it up to the Duke of Mayenne, to whom it had been particularly assigned, being encouraged by his so far distance, and his having been employed so long with the Army in Guienne; and the \* *Grand Esquier* Lieutenant of that Province, a man meerly dependent upon the King, though he made shew of desiring to force that place, did yet cunningly defer to do so, nor could he find any way to bring him to his due obedience: Wherefore the Duke of Guise, who would endure no such affronts in the Province he held and governed by his Family, and particularly in Bourgongne

\* Master of  
the Horse.

gne, closely united with Champagne, and standing upon  
 Confines of the Kingdome, and jealous of his Brothers re-  
 ation, and of his own, laying aside the enterprife of Se-  
 came suddenly into Bourgongne with all the Forces of  
 League, and without other leave from the King, unexpe-  
 ly besieged Auffone, which having a sufficient Garison,  
 defendants shewed themselves so couragious, that in their  
 ally they defeated Colonel *S' Paul's* Regiment of Foot,  
 ng six Captains and three hundred souldiers, and in the  
 wing assaults which were fiercely given unto the wall,  
 back the assailants oftentimes with much losse; but be-  
 traightned by the continual battery of three and twenty  
 on, the greatest part borrowed from the Duke of Lorain,  
 distressed with mines, escalodoes, and redoubled assaults,  
 expecting no relief from any place, because some few Foot  
 Horse raised in Mombelliard (which State borders upon  
 gongne) and in Geneva by Monsieur *de Clerwant*, were  
 ated by Monsieur *de Rhosne* Camp-master to the Duke of  
 e, they capitulated in the end to yeeld themselves, and  
 ng leave from the Duke to go to Sedan and Jamets, up-  
 ne eighteenth of August they delivered up the place to  
 Duke of Guise, who having made the Baron *de Senesay*  
 ernor, returned presently to the Government of Cham-  
 e, and from thence went to Soissons, where in a *Diet* of  
 principall Heads of the League, it was resolved, that the  
 with the Duke of Bouillon should be continued; where-  
 as he was resolute in his determinations, and most quick  
 e execution, having in a few dayes put his Army in or-  
 ne attacked Rocroy, a place fortified after the modern  
 y and constantly defended by the *Sieur de Monmore*. But  
 at multiplicity of assaults and variety of attempts, where-  
 the art of the Duke of Guise was admirable, and his valour  
 esse, the having no hope of relief constrained the defen-  
 s to yeeld at last; amongst which, one called *Persevalle*,  
 two other Captains corrupted with money and promises  
 the Duke, fained to retire to Sedan, and Jamets, giving  
 assurance they would deliver up a gate of each of those  
 ts, when it should be their turn to have the guard of them;  
 on which hopes, though with Forces inferiour to what was  
 quise for the besieging a place of so great moment, he  
 attered at Mouçon, a Town neer Sedan, and resolved  
 under

Auffone a  
 strong place in  
 the Dutchy of  
 Bourgongne  
 besieged and  
 taken by the  
 D. of Guise



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under colour of streightning it, to expect the performance of those promises.

But while the Duke of Guise does these things in Champagne, the Queen-Mother (the place of interview with the King of Navar being appointed) was come to Cognac, attended by *Ludovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers (who having the League, had put himself wholly under her protection,) by the *Mareschal de Retz*, the *Sieurs d'Abin*, and *de Rambois*, by the Abbot *Gnadagni*, Secretary *Pinart*, Monsieur de *L...* *fac*, and divers other personages, who for quality and wisdom were of great esteem.

On the other side, the King of Navar was come to Jarnac with the Viscount *de Turenne*, the *Sieur de la Force*, and *M...* *guidon*, the Baron *de Salignac*, and many other Lords of his party; but with so great a strength (having with him eight hundred Horse, and few lesse then two thousand Foot) at the first notice of them, put the Queen-Mother into great suspicion, there not wanting those who doubted, who spread abroad a report, that she was come with an intention to take her, and carry her away by force to Rochelle. But after it was known that the King of Navar was come that manner for his own security, as one who by reason of his own weaknesse, and the usage he had received at other times, was in doubt of being deceived; and that the inconstancy of his nature, and the absurdity of that business had taken away all jealousies, they met at last upon the twentieth of October at *S<sup>t</sup> Bris*, equally distant from the place whence they came, there being on the Queens part besides her ordinary Court, only the Captain of her Guard with five hundred Horse; and on the King of Navar's Captain *Lomelle* with five hundred many. The gates were guarded by two Companies of Horse, one of the one party, and the other of the other, and in the field the Cavalry of both sides, in two severall Squadrons, the King of Navar's commanded by the Count *de la Roche*, and Monsieur *de la Noüe*; and the Queen-Mother's by the *Sieur de Malicorne* and other Gentlemen of the Country.

Their publick discourses passed in complaints on both sides; The King lamenting that the King of Navar's obstinacy not to change his Religion, and to keep so far from Court, put the King upon a necessity of making war: and on the other side, the King of Navar complained, that with

The interview  
between the  
Queen-mother  
and the King  
of Navar at *S<sup>t</sup>.  
Bris*, wherein  
nothing was  
concluded.

stood still obedient to the King's commands, and most ob-  
 ant of the Edicts, he to satisfie the Lords of Guise, and  
 er enemies to quietnesse, had broke the Peace. But being  
 eto secret conference, the Queen laid open the conditions  
 ch the King propounded of the divorce of Queen *Marga-*  
 and of the Marriage with the Princessse of Lorain, who was  
 e present, and being of an age already marriageable, shewed  
 ens of most noble education and discreet modesty. To this  
 ch the Queen told him, that a *Manifest* should be added  
 eclare him first Prince of the Blood, and lawfull Successor  
 ne Crown; and alledged, that from thence would necessa-  
 result the disuniting of the Duke of Loraine Father to the  
 cesse from the League, and from the Lords of Guise;  
 losing so principall a foundation, either would become  
 t of their own accord, or if they did not submit themselves  
 y to the Kings will, they might with help of the German  
 y, which was upon the point of entring the Confines, be  
 y ruined and suppressed. That to attain so great a good,  
 ing else was required from the King of Navar, but onely  
 onversion to the Catholick Religion, and his return to  
 rt; for as concerning the Excommunication of Rome,  
 the Popes Declaration of his incapacity to succeed in the  
 wn, as soon as he should be a reall Catholick, the persecu-  
 of the Guises being taken away, and the League destroy-  
 he revocation of it would without difficulty be obtained;  
 he facilitating whereof, the King, who at first was dis-  
 ed that *Fabio Mirto* a Neapolitan Arch-bishop of *Nazaret*  
 been declared *Nuncio* for France in the place of *Girolamo*  
*gzzoni* Bishop of *Bergamo* a Venetian, and had refused to  
 ot of him, was since perswaded to receive him; and be-  
 e, Monsieur de *S' Goart* Marquesse of *Pisani* his ordinary  
 massadour to the Pope, he had also appointed the Duke of  
 embourg for extraordinary Ambassadour, both men of  
 l worth and prudence as would easily know how to o-  
 me the greatest difficulties they should finde in that  
 rt.

This indeed was the best resolution and the most powerfull  
 d destroy the Lords of Guise, and the League; to restore the  
 t authority, and Majestie to the Kings person, and to put  
 e affairs of France into a secure quietnesse; and the King of  
 vr himselfe was of opinion that it was so, whereupon he



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took onely to dayes time two consider of it. But it was credd that things should go in another manner, and that not peace, and accomodation, but warr, and ruine should make way for the King of Navars exaltation ; for on the one side his thoughts represented such a fear of being caught againe, and deceived, by the bitter memory of *S<sup>t</sup> Bartholomew's* day ; and on the other so weake hopes of his succession to the Crowne ; by reason of the youth of the King, and Queen, and a infinite number of accidents which might crosse it in length of time ; that the shame of forsaking the Hugonot party, from which he acknowledged his present condition, and of having (to the scandall of his name) changed his Religion so often, condemning himselve not onely of inconstancy, but even of atheisme, if it should be known that he swayed his faith to the interests of State, he resolved not to consent to the Queens propositions, but to see if by another way there might be any meanes to obtaine the same ends.

With this determination he returned to the second Conference in the same place, where after the same complaints, conceale what was treated of between them, they came to secret discourses, wherein he shewed that the forrain forces, might altogether as well be united with the Kings, and turn with him to destroy the League, and easily to suppress the House of Loraine, without his being obliged to change his Religion, or come to Court : that the King in former times had plainly known the ingenuitie of his Nature, and the desire he had, not only to obey him, but also make him to be obeyed by the stiffnecked Rebels, against whom he would imploy not only the German Army but all his owne forces, friends and adherents, and his very life : that he was ready to give the King all possible assurance, and hoped that in a short time, his actions would of themselves give testimony of his faith and sincerity : that therefore it was now superfluous to treat of changing Religion, a thing of so great moment, and to be resolved on with very mature deliberation, and with those circumstances of counsels, instructions, and other particulars, which might satisfie his conscience, and give just pretences to his resolutions : that it was also out of season to presse his coming to Court, where he could not secure himself he should stay with out danger, till the Guises were utterly suppressed, whose power would never suffer his minde to rest in quiet till he saw them

de unable to practise their wonted machinations : and with  
at heart, with what courage could he return to live in Paris,  
ere the power of the League was so mighty, and the mindes  
he people so cruell, unlesse the incendiaries and stirrers up  
umultuous conspiracies were taken out of the world ? that  
King therefore should take what the nature of things  
uld permit in that present condition, and become certain  
th reason) that their common enemies being the same, and  
same interests pleading for them both, he would labour  
h that candor and that efficacie which the exigency of the  
ter required.

To these reasons the Queen answered, that as his conver-  
a was easie, so neither could it want just pretences ; for if  
King should make a League with him while he was diso-  
ient to the Catholick Church, and openly excommuni-  
d, besides the infamy which his name would incurr (by  
gling in a conjunction not onely abhorred, and never so  
h as in thought consented to by any other of the most  
istian Kings ; but also immediately contrary to the Vow  
Oath taken solemnly at his Consecration) he should more-  
r give colour to the complaints, and justifie the practices of  
League ; and which was of very great consideration, he  
uld stir up all other Catholick Princes of the world against

That upon their agreement would presently ensue the  
olt of the City of Paris (already in an uproar with but fee-  
that they treated with him) and the rebellion of many o-  
chief Cities, as also the alienation of all the Catholick  
ility, and the greater part of the Kingdom : that this  
the way to facilitate the King of Spain's assistance of the  
gue, who would presently be forced to turn those prepa-  
ns into France which were made against England. That  
he first news of it the Pope, of an angry hasty nature,  
old run precipitately to *excommunications* and *interdictions*;  
old presently dispatch great Supplyes in favour of the  
gue, and stirr up all the Italian Princes to unite them-  
es with him for the defence of Religion. That the Duke  
orraine would not consent the marriage of his Daughter  
old be consummate whilest he was an alien from the  
rch, nor would the States endure he should be declared  
lawfull Successor of the Crown whilest he held the Faith  
te Hugonots. In conclusion, that his perseverance was



1586 accompanied with all manner of difficulties and impediments; but his conversion did wonderfully facilitate and lay open the way to all his hopes, neither doubtfull nor uncertain, but well grounded and secure.

The King of Navar excused himself, sometimes with the indecency of changing, sometimes with his conscience, sometimes discovering his fear of being brought into the net again; but in his excuses the perplexity of his minde, and the force of the Queen's reasons appeared; whereupon new time was taken, and another Conference appointed within two or three dayes, wherein to facilitate the businesse, the Duke of Nevers was admitted on the Queen's side, and the Viscount de Turenne on the King of Navar's; but they (contrary to expectation) did rather increase the difficulties, then open the way to a resolution: for the Duke of Nevers desiring to shew his Eloquence and Learning as he was wont to do, wrought great doubts in the minde of the King of Navar, to whom the Italian arts were suspected; and the Viscount, a man notable for his wisdom and cunning, then stout and valiant, though he shewed a great inclination to favour the Queen's reasons, yet the common opinion was, that for fear of being abandoned with the Duke of Momorancy (so they called the Marechal d'Ancre after the death of his Brother) and of losing those great hopes which he had of power and command in the Hugonot party, neither desired Peace, nor the King of Navar's Conversion; and that therefore he secretly dissuaded him from it, wherefore neither in this third Conference could they conclude any thing; but at that very time the King of Navar had warning given him to take heed of the artifices of the King and Queen, who at the same instant while they treated with him, did assure the Pope's *Nuncio*, the Duke of Guise, and the people of Paris, that whatsoever was done was in favour of the League, and that the end would justifie, that this Treaty included such a designe as would at last break forth for the good of Religion; whereby his jealousy increasing, not thinking it safe to trust either the King's inconstancie, or the Queen's so much cunning, he resolved in the end to follow the fortune of the Hugonots, and not to trust the Court; neither would he come to the Conference any more himself in person, but continued to send the Viscount of Turenne, who treating very dexterously with the Queen, would never come to any conclusion at all.

Wh

With these Negotiations began the year 1587 ; upon the day whereof the King celebrating the Ceremonies of the Rights of the *S<sup>t</sup> Esprit* in Paris, swore solemnly not to suffer any other Religion then the Roman Catholike. This Oath of Obedience as it was sudden and inconsiderate, so both then, and many years after, it was blamed, as absurd, and contrary to his own Inclinations : for, to treat of an Agreement with the King of Navarre, and vow the extirpation of the Hugonots, did immediately contradict one another. But neither they that spake then, nor they that looking upon things afar off, recommended it, did so afterwards, when they knew either the King's intention, or the contents of what was secretly treated with the King of Navarre : for Monsieur *de Rambouillet* being returned from Poictou, and arrived already at Court upon the 7 of December, with Letters from the Queen, and with Relation of all that had passed with the King of Navarre, whereby the King was certified that it was impossible to conclude any thing, he standing averse from changing his Religion, and proposing an Agreement without speaking any thing of matters of Faith ; the King, to take away that hope from the King of Navarre, and to make him consent to be contented ; or if he would not change his minde, being resolved, or being necessitated to joyn with the League to oppose the German Army, made this Protestation very opportunely, whereby he at once beat down all the complaints and calumnies of the Heads of the League, and appeased in great part (at least for a time) the mindes of the Parisians, who (as the commotion of the people are wont) varied their thoughts and inclinations with the breath of every the slightest accident ; whereupon he was afterward able to stir to gather an Army, and turn against the forraign Forces, without being molested by the Parisians ; though the wonted Incendiaries did not fail to strive to stir them more then once. The King's inclination was clearly seen in this, That when the course of affairs did necessarily force him to treat of any thing in favour of the Hugonots, he consented to it very slowly, ambiguously, and after long consideration : But if the businesse were to favour or assist himself to the Catholike party, he concurred in that with much readinesse and resolution, that his motion to the benefit of the Catholike Faith plainly appeared to be natural, and the other produced by necessity, and violently constrained.

And

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The solemn  
Oath of Henry  
the third.



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And as for the King of Navar, the news of the King's Protestation being speedily come unto his ear, and he complaining that the proceedings were contrary to what was treated with him; the Duke of Nevers answered him opportunely, that if he call'd to minde all the late Treaties, he should finde that ever the King had offered to tolerate or embrace Hugonot Religion, but that indeed he had tried all possible means to make him forsake it, and turn to the Catholike, which the King was so fully resolved to live and die, that no accident, how averse soever it might be, could ever be able to drive him from it. However it were, this is certain, that the Queen having by Monsieur *de Ramboüillet* given the King account of the King of Navar's last resolution, received Commission at his return to change her discourse in that Treaty, and in stead of the propounded League between them, to try if she could procure a Truce for some few months, to gain time to make preparations against the Army of the Germans. But neither did this take effect: for though the Viscount of Turenne came often to the Queen, and that the Duke of Nevers and the Marshal *de Biron* went often to the King of Navar; yet they concluded nothing but a suspension of Arms for so few days, that the King did not care to ratifie it; and the King of Navar not willing to retard the coming of the Germans, broke the Treaty, and went away to Rochel; as also the Queen, with the same speed, beyond her age, or the season of the year, returned to Paris; where all the late Treaties being repealed and discussed, chiefly by the counsel of Monsieur *de Villeroi*, it was concluded necessary for the King to unite himself to the Heads of the League betimes, and with their Forces together to oppose the German Army, so that the King of Navar might not by any means possible be able to joyn with them, if they saw his minde could not be brought by any composition to an agreement with the King, and that the firmnesse of his resolution could not be broken by any largenesse of Commissions: wherefore nothing remained, but to follow the same way, troden by so many other Kings, till some other occasion should make an overture of new resolutions, and to resist the violence of the Hugonot Army, that the Kingdom might not be left a prey to the fury of strangers, that the Royal Majestie might not utterly be abased and made contemptible, and that he might not be ruined while he was

unanimously

armed, and an enemy to, or at least distrustful of both the  
tions.

Monfieur de Villeroy argued, that ease and want of Arms  
taken away the splendour and reputation from the King's  
son : That the Taxes and Impositions excessively increa-  
, had rendered it odious ; and that therefore taking Arms  
in himself with a mighty Army, shewing his wonted valour  
greatness of courage, and putting an end to the calami-  
of War by an absolute Victory, he might recover his for-  
Majestie, make the shadows of so many contrived powers  
his Subjects vanish with the sunshine of his greatness, and  
the fear and terrour into those who thought to force him to  
rent to their own wills : He shewed that this was the true  
to dissipate and frustrate the strength of the League ; for  
when he should once command his own Armies, the No-  
ity and Souldiery would much more willingly follow his  
ard than the Ensignes of the Lords of Guise, and that e-  
yone would rather draw water from the fountain ( if they  
at ) then from the brook. He also alledged that by his  
eration in favour of the Catholikes ( which his actions  
d shew to be sincere ) he might assure himself of the Po-  
and Spanish Forces, since neither of them would ever dare  
it against him, when the pretence of Religion was taken  
a : and that it was already known how the Pope, forc'd  
the truth and evidence of reason, had answered Cardinal  
Levé, urging him for assistance in favour of the League,  
he knew not how to take Arms against a lawful Catho-  
and religious King, unlessse first they could make it plain-  
appear that he favoured the establishment of the Hugonots ;  
the King of Spain not having the courage to declare him-  
f openly, had gathered his Forces together under pretence  
making War with England, waiting for an opportunity to  
against him, but not otherwise then the cloke of Reli-  
n might give him occasion. Moreover, he affirmed that all  
counsels were but politick subtilties and inventions,  
ways, difficult knots, impossible *Chimæra's*, and deceitful  
decs : That this onely was the great high-way and beaten  
d that led to Victory and repose ; after which, lightning  
e wight of their loads and burdens, he might give breath  
d quiet to the common people, and get the love and affecti-  
of all his Subjects. In sum, he concluded with his wonted  
axine, That the King could no way more easily destroy the  
League,



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League; then by carrying himself plainly and sincerely, as the other Kings his glorious Predecessours had done: for by taking away the foundation of pretences and complaints, the fabric of all those plotted designs would fall to ruine of it self.

These reasons, or rather evident necessity, made the King resolve to unite himself with the League, and to oppose the Army of the Germans; and therefore he presently dispatched *Myron* the Physician to the Duke of Guise, to let him know that he had endeavoured by the Queen his Mother's late Interview, to draw the businesse out in length, and to procure suspension of Arms with the King of Navar, thereby to divert the entry of the Germans, and make them fall asunder by delays, as he had prosperously done so many other times, without endangering the whole sum of affairs; but having found the King of Navar's propositions were very hard, and the time of the coming of the Germans still drawing on, he was resolved to oppose them by force: That he would dispatch the *Sieur Sancy* to the Cantons of the Swisses, to make strong Levies. That he was preparing an Army commanded by the Duke of Joyeuse, to be sent against the King of Navar, to the end that being kept in play, he might not be able to passe the Loire and come to joyn with the Germans: That he would make another ready to march where need should require, but that the Germans being first to come into Lorain, and then in Champagne and Burgongne, Provinces governed by him, and the Duke of Mayenne his brother, it was also necessary that they should take Arms, and calling in all their friends and dependents, should make up a Body of an Army, able to withstand upon and distresse that of the Hugonots in their entry. *Myron* the Physician found the Duke of Guise at Mouçon near Sedan, where, with the Forces he had, by slight inconsiderable enterprises, he endeavoured to straighten that place, expecting that *Perseval* and the others that went out of Rocroy, being corrupted by money and his promises, should give him some opportunity to surprize either Jamets or Sedan it self: for one of them was in one City, and the other two in the other. *Myron* delivered what the King had given him in charge, adding the Queen-mother's exhortations, accompanied with kinde Letters, expressing a confidence in him; and with a difficulty (because the necessity of opposing the enemy was reciprocal) carried back word from the Duke of Guise

he would obey his Majesties commands, and that draw together the friends and dependents of his house, he would fail of those endeavours which he had always been wont to in the exigencies of the Crown; beseeching his Majestie he would but once free himself of the stubbornnesse of Hugonots, and give way that his Kingdom might be purged from the deadly poison of Heresie.

But this liberty of framing an Army to oppose the Germans given to the Duke of Guise (which howsoever he would taken of himself) the King was still in wonderful great difficulties which way he should carry himself, both to hold the King of Navar in play, and make war with so great an Army as ready to invade his Kingdom: for as when the wills of his subjects were unanimous, and well united with him to the end, the French Nation was so warlike, that it needed not to fear the force of any forraign enemy: so now having onely a very great number of Hugonots in every Province, (which at that present raised greater difficulties) the intentions and Forces of the Catholikes being divided by several causes, the event of things was by that discord made very doubtful and uncertain: Nor did the Victory of the Duke of Guise present it self unto the King's minde with lesse terrour then the loss of the King of Navar and the Germans, not being able, in any way soever the event succeeded, to promise himself any thing but infinite dangers, and greater troubles then he had had in times past: which afflicted him so much the more, the Duke, being a Prince of exceeding providence and quick sight, he had all difficulties and future incounters as it were presented before him; whereby he was not onely taken off from his wonted entertainments, but watching whole nights in most deep considerations, he went often out of his chamber in the most silent hours, and coming into the lodgings of the Queen his Mother, held long consultations there: to which he called (as more trusted then any others) sometimes the Marshal de Retz, sometimes the Abbot *del Bene*: for the Duke of Espernon, though most beloved by the King, and master of his favour, was yet an open enemy to the Guises; and the Marquis of Mole on the other side, who for his wisdom and experience in matters of Government was highly in esteem, was yet suspected in this businesse, by reason of his enmity with the Duke of Espernon, and all the men of greatest credit depended



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neerly upon one of these two, nor (though he fained the contrary) did the King much like or esteem the Duke of Nevers, because he thought with his wisdom to rule in all things as an Oracle. Thus all the secret consultations were reduced one to four persons, unlesse the widow Dutches of Uzes, a Lady of great worth, and excellent wit, and who, as it is believed, had also in her younger dayes been very acceptable to the King, did participate in the counsels of some affairs, though not of the most secret and intimate ones. To these the Sieur *de Ramboillet* was often joyned, who, of a subtil nature, powerful eloquence, and profound learning, began to rise in credit neer the King and the Queen-Mother; but he was not yet made a secure Confident, and therefore all secret business did not appear unmasked to him. Thus all the present difficulties and future doubts being exactly sifted among these, and the opinions of the other Cabinet-Councillors being heard upon some particulars, the King's determination was shut within these limits: That the Duke of Joyeuse with competent Forces should go against the King of Navar, but the *Jehan Sieur de Lavardin*, of whose endeavours the King was very confident, should go along with him as his Lieutenant and moderator, to the end that the King of Navar might be held in action, but not suppressed; it being sufficient to keep him so in play, that he might not get loose to joyn himself with the German Army. That the care of hindering the country, and opposing the first violence of the forraign Army should be left to the Duke of Guise, and the other Lords of his Family, being certain that the Duke for the haughtiness of his minde, the defence of his own estate, and the encreasing of his reputation, a thing so necessary for the Heads of popular Factions, would passe by no occasion which should offer itself of fighting with the Germans, from which battell an equal joy and benefit would result which way soever the event succeeded; for the Conquerors and the conquered would be equally routed and destroyed; or rather, it was very probable, that the Duke of Guise, being much inferiour in strength, would either in one or many encounters be defeated, and by consequence the League broken to pieces; but that to prevent the Conquerours from having free passage to the sea, and do their pleasure to the ruine of the Kingdom, the King should make up a mighty Army with Swisse-Infantry.

with the greatest number of Nobility that he could, to be  
y to withstand all dangers, and give the law as he pleased to  
the Conquered and Conquerors; a thought for the speci-  
esse of it so imprinted in the King's mind, that as he walk-  
one he was often heard to break forth into these words,  
*INIMICIS MEIS VINDICABO INIMI-*  
*S MEOS.*

A saying of  
Henry the third.

With this resolution he presently dispatched Monsieur  
ncy to the Swisses to raise 8000 Foot of that Nation, and  
Army was begun to be prepared wherewith the Duke of  
use was to march into Poitou and Xaintonge, where the  
of Navar, since the Queen-Mothers departure, not losing  
nute of time, had taken Chisay upon composition, and  
y by assault, stormed S' Messant, and forced Fountenay  
eld, surpris'd Mouleon, and having made himself Ma-  
of all those Quarters, gathered all possible Forces, called  
s dependents and adherents, raised new Infantry, and  
l his endeavours a work to draw together a competent  
y, wherewith he might march to receive his Germans, to  
et which businessse, it being necessary to return to Ro-  
to gather money, and furnish himself with ammunition,  
ft two Regiments of Foot to keep those places he had  
en under the command of *de Bory*, and *Charboniere*, Co-  
s, or as they are now commonly called, \* *Camp-Ma-*

\* *Maistres de*  
*Camp.*

But the same of the King of Navar's successes, and the  
plaints of the Catholicks, who exclaimed in a manner  
ckly, that the Country neer unto him had been left with-  
n Army, purposely to give him opportunity to augment  
forces; constrained the King to hasten the dispatch of the  
le *de Joyeuse*, who with a great number of the Nobility  
ofse favour he had exceedingly won by his courtesie and li-  
city) and with between seven and eight thousand Foot  
light Horse, was almost ready to begin his march. Be-  
his departure the King calling to him in private Monsieur  
*Lwardin* (chosen Lieutenant General of that Army, a man  
raason of his ancient dependencies not ill-affected to the  
of Navar's party) informed him of his intentions, and  
necessary it was for him to proceed with such mode-  
in that War, that the Hugonots might be kept in action  
but putting the whole summ of affairs in hazard; it not

The King  
sends an Army  
against the K.  
of Navar, and  
gives secret  
order to *Lavay-  
din* to oppose,  
but not sup-  
press him.



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being fit in the difficulty of that present conjuncture, to engage the Catholick Forces, nor venture them in such sort as might prejudice those busineses that were in agitation: after long Instructions, he filled him with great hopes and promises, if he could order matters according to the Informations he had received. But *Lavardin*, either not sufficiently informed in a short discourse or two, or perchance being able for want of capacity to discern the Kings intention which was, that affairs should be kept in equall balance; or else drawn by some interested dependants upon the King of Navar, was imprudently afterwards in a manner the instrument of ruining that Army, which was not taken notice of by the Duke of Joyeuse, who (full of high generous spirits, and puffed up with the great abundance of Nobility that served under him) having hastily passed the Loire, fell so unexpectedly, into the Hugonots quarters, that the Regiments of *Bory* and *Charboniere*, which over-ran the Country everywhere, were not able to make their retreat, but being beset and surrounded in the Town of S'Eloy, though they made a gallant resistance for many hours, yet were they at last taken by force, and cut in pieces to the very last man. The *Sieur de Bory* was left prisoner, and *Charboniere* saved himself by flight at S'Messant, which Town being besieged, and terribly entered, in the heat of that victory was faine to yeeld within a few dayes, and was unfortunately sacked by the violence of the Souldiers; and with the same fury the Abby of Maille and Thonne-Charente were also taken. But the *Sieur de Lavardin* not being able to resist the will of the Duke of Joyeuse (who desirous of glory, not averse from the designs of the League, and (as he said himself) desirous that the Preachers of Paris might have occasion to magnifie his actions, and make his name famous, aspired by his enterprizes to confirm the greatness to which Fortune had raised him,) began to attempt that by policie, as he thought, which he could not openly bring to passe; and by slackening the discipline of his men, and by giving the common souldiers frequent opportunity of spoil and plunder, was the occasion that many ran away (for most of them sought to get home and save what they had gotten) to which the sicknesses and diseases being added in part caused by hard duty, but much more by ill government, the Army was strangely diminished in a short time.

ch being known and certified by their musters, the Com-  
nders, and *Lavardine* among the first, began to advise the  
ke not to proceed further till his Infantry were recruited,  
hout which it was impossible for him either to take in any  
wns, or to make warr in the inclosed fenny places of  
ntonge; this counsell, and the news that came daily from  
urt of the Duke of Espernon's greatnesse and authority,  
ch pierced the Duke of Joyeuse very deeply, made him re-  
le to take Post, and go to the Court in person, as well to  
p himself fresh in the King's memory, as to obtain a new  
ition to his Forces. But his coming thither caused him  
e discontent then his absence had done before; for he  
nd that the Wife of his Brother *Henry Count de Bouchage*  
newly dead, who was sister to the Duke d'Espernon, and  
maintained that friendship (at least in appearance) which  
their emulation was wholly blotted out of their hearts: to  
ch misfortune was added, that the Count either out of ex-  
ene sorrow for his Wives death, whom he most dearly lo-  
or out of a satiety of worldly things, or (as it was re-  
ed) because he had so promised his Lady in her life time,  
ct the habit of a Capuchin, making himself be called Frier  
e de *Joyeuse*, to the infinite grief of his Brother: nor did  
adversenesse of his affairs end there; but at the same time  
aw the marriage concluded between the Duke of Espernon  
the Countesse of Candale, heir of that most noble, wealthy  
mily; which Wedding the King did not honour so much  
in the vanity of Pumps and Ceremonies, as he had done that  
the Duke de Joyeuse, but with presents of infinite value,  
with the additions of inestimable riches, whereof the Duke  
Espernon was a very carefull manager. To these serious  
nesses the Courtiers added also light youthfull discourses;  
r the Duke of Espernon loving *Mademoiselle Staway* one  
e Queen's Gentlewomen, and the Duke of Joyeuse *Ma-*  
*moiselle de Vitry*, another of the same Court, whom they  
ee wont to present with very rich gifts: they said that the  
ue of Joyeuse at his return found he had also quite lost the  
eat of *Mademoiselle de Vitry*; for being won by the Duke  
Espernon's presents, or the hopes of marrying *Monsieur de*  
*Coart*, who depended upon him; with a womanish incon-  
acie she was turned to that side, which either for the love he  
or her, or for envie and emulation, did wonderfully afflict  
him.

The Count de  
Bouchage Bro-  
ther to the D.  
of Joyeuse  
turns Capu-  
chin after the  
death of his  
Wife, whom he  
dearly loved.

The Duke of  
Espernon mar-  
ries the Coun-  
tess of Can-  
dale, a rich  
Heir; the King  
honours the  
Wedding with  
great presents.



1587 him. These things striking deeply into the minde of Joueuse, but much more the lessening of the Kings favour which hee knew to be much abated (having publicly told him that the Court reckoned of him as a *Poltron*, and that he was not able to wipe off that blemish) he returned to the Army with those few Forces that were granted him, and (as the custome is) present passion having more power over him then former benefits, hee resolved with himself to adhere wholly to the League, to wreak the hatred which he bore to his Corrivall, and presently to give battell to the King of Navar, hoping by a famous Victory to confirm his own fortune, and make himself equall to the Duke of Guise both in the Catholick party, and in the air of the common people's applause.

But it was in vain for him to pretend at one flight to reach so high a pitch, to which the Guises by long patience and many yeers endeavour, had attained by little and little; and by striving precipitately to force the nature of things, did hastily procure his own ruine; to which, whilest he runs on the one side with an unbridled fury, the King of Navar proceeding with more circumspection, was intent in gathering Forces from all parts to enable himself to move towards the Loire, and meet the German Armie. To him were joyed the Prince of Condé, the Viscount *de Turenne*, the Duke *de la Trimouille*, the Count *de Montgomery*, the Marquis *de Gallerande*, the Baron *de Salignac*, and a good number of Horse and Foot under many Gentlemen of note, and experienced Commanders; so that his Army was not so numerous as resolute and valiant. About this time, by the means of his ordinary Confidants, he had solicited *Charles* Count of Soissons, and *Francis* Prince of Conty Brother to the Prince of Condé, who till then had persevered in the Catholick Faith, continued neer the King's person in the Court; urging to them that the businesse now in hand did no longer concern Religion, but the defence of their Family, and the inheritance and possession of the Crown, to which not only He was called, but successively the whole House of Bourbon; and that it was therefore fit in that common cause and reciprocall interest, they should all unite themselves, to make the greater resistance against those who went about to exclude and ruine them; and that they should take example by their enemies, among which

of Mercœur and his brothers, though they were the King's brothers-in-law, and had from him received so much honour and so many benefits, yet because they were of the House of Lorraine, kept united with the Duke of Guise and the rest of the family, and stood out against their own sister and brother-in-law : That if it were lawful for them to do so for the execution of new, unjust designs, much more was it lawful for the House of Bourbon to unite themselves all together, for the defence of their most just, ancient Prerogatives, which were due unto them by the legal universal consent of the whole Nation : That they needed not fear they should suffer violence in their consciences ; for he that laboured for the good of others, would never take it away from those that were so near himself, but that they should take example by so many Catholike Lords and Gentlemen which followed the example of his party. By which reasons these two Princes were moved, as also because they saw themselves kept under, and little valued at the Court, resolved to go over to his party, and determined that the Prince of Conty should joyn with the Army of the *Reiters* as soon as they were come into France, that the Count *de Soissons* should go to the Hugonots in Xaintonge ; which that he might securely do, the King of Navar gave order to the *Sieurs de Colombiere* and *Sieur du Mont*, who had raised some Forces in Normandy in favour of his party, that they should conduct him to the passage of the *Loyre*, whither he had sent the Viscount of Turenne with eight hundred Horse to meet him; and it fell out so luckily that the Count and the Norman Forces went close by the side of Joyeuse his Army without receiving any damage at all, and united themselves with very great joy to the Army of the King of Navar, who highly incensed at the inhumanity used to two Regiments which were cut in pieces in Poitou, nevertheless, yet resolved to take revenge, advanced still forward, to meet the Duke of Joyeuse as it were assured of the Victory, and carelessly to meet him.

In the meantime the German Army was upon the point of going towards Lorain : for the Protestant Princes Ambassadors being returned home with the angry answer of the King of France, the King of Denmark, *Christian* Duke of Saxe, the Marquess of Brandenbrough, Prince *Casimir*, the Protestant Cantons of Swisserland, with other Lords of the



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The Protestant Princes of Germany, moved at the King of France his Answer to their Ambassadors, raise an Army under the Conduct of Prince Casimir; which being come into Alsatia, was forty thousand men, led by the Baron d'Onaw Lieutenant-General to Prince Casimir.

the same Religion, at the importunity of the King of Navarre Agents, but much more at the exhortations of *Theodore Beza*, gave resolute order for the raising of that Army; toward which besides the money gathered publicly in the Protestant Churches, and put into the hands of Prince *Casimir*, there were also sixty thousand Duckets added by the Queen of England. With this money, and the consent and endeavour of all the Protestant Lords in Germany, it was easie to raise an Army in that populous warlike nation; so that in the beginning of July there met in *Alsatia*, under the Conduct of Prince *Casimir*, upon whom that charge had been conferred by the rest, twelve thousand *Reiters*, four thousand German Foot, and sixteen thousand *Swisses*; for the other four thousand went to Dauphiné apart. *Fabian Baron d'Onaw*, born in Prussia, commanded as Prince *Casimir*'s Lieutenant-General; a man of private condition, but risen to high esteem by the favour of the King of Denmark and of the Count Palatine, and accounted a man of very great boldness and courage, but of neither wisdom nor experience proportionable to an employment of so great weight: And though in the beginning of August *Guilliaume de la Marke* Duke of Bouillon came up with twenty thousand Foot and three hundred French Horse, and by Commission from the King of Navarre was to have been General of that Army; and though at his arrival he displayed the white Cornet (a mark due to the supreme Commander) yet retaining only the name, he left the Command wholly to the Baron *d'Onaw*, both for his age, and because he was of the nation, as was out of respect to Prince *Casimir*. With the Duke of Bouillon were *Robert Count de la Mark* his brother, the Sieurs *de Guise*, *de Monluc*, *de la Noüe*, and many other French Gentlemen to whom the Sieurs *de Mouy* and *Cormons*, with many other of their adherents, came from Geneva with two hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot; and every day the Army increased with the number of those who ran thither from Dauphiné and the other confines of France: so that before it moved out of *Alsatia*, it amounted to the number of Forty thousand fighting men.

Before this Army marched, there came an Edict from the Emperour *Rodolphus secundus*, sent to the Baron *d'Onaw* which contained, That he having without his License, and without the Letters Patents of the Empire, caused that Army

be raised to invade the Kingdom of France, should present-  
 isband it, and desist from the enterprize, under pain of ba-  
 nishment out of the Empire, both to himself and those that  
 should follow him. To which threatning the Baron *d'Onaw*  
 answered in writing, That the enterprize being neither his,  
 against the Empire, nor against the Kingdom of France,  
 for the relief of the oppressed Confederates of the Pro-  
 tant Princes : and the German nation having ever had that  
 liberty to enter themselves into pay under whom they pleased,  
 that it were not against the Emperour nor his Jurisdictions,  
 neither thought himself obliged to desist, nor to disband  
 his Army, but that without offence to the Emperour he would  
 continue the businesse begun by Commission from his Princes.

*Rodolphus the second the Emperour commands the Baron d'Onaw by a publike Edict to disband the Army raised without his leave, and to desist from the businesse, upon pain of the Imperial banishment: to which the Baron answers, with excuses that he ought not to desist.*

As the Emperour making no reply, nor proceeding to any  
 new Prohibition, about the middle of August the Army  
 was ready to begin to march. And to the end that busi-  
 nesses might prosper under the conduct of the Duke of Bouil-  
 lon and the Baron *d'Onaw*, the Count *de la Marck* was ap-  
 pointed to lead the Van : the Command of the German Ca-  
 valry was given to the Baron *de Bonck* an expert Souldier of  
 that nation ; that of the Swisse Infantry, to *Claude Antony*  
*de Clermont* ; to *Moüy* the command of the French Foot ;  
 to *Sieur de Guitry* a French man, and *Lodovick Ronf* a Ger-  
 man, being Marshals of the Field.

Against all these preparations, the Duke of Lorain ( who  
 in all the other Wars had ever stood neuter, and now had de-  
 clared himself in favour of the League, and of the Lords of his  
 family ) being first at the frontiers, was in a very great fear,  
 thinking he had not sufficient force to make resistance, and with  
 letters and Messages solicited the Duke of Guise, and all his  
 friends and confederates, that since they had drawn him into  
 so much danger, they would also be ready and speedie to help  
 him out. He had raised two thousand *Reiters* out of the Ter-  
 ritories of the Catholike Princes of Germany, under the com-  
 mand of the Baron of Swartzenbourgh ; eight hundred other  
 Horse, some \* Albanians, some Italians, and four thousand  
 Foot of his own State ; to which Forces the Prince of Parma  
 Governour of the Low-Countries, in performance of the  
 League with the Catholike King, had added eight hundred  
 Burguignon Horse, under the Command of the Marquesse  
*de Lavray*, and two thousand Foot, all Wallons, under the

\* Or, Croates.



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Command of the Marquesse *de Varambone*. But it being necessary to put a Garilon in Nancy the chief City of Lorain, and many other lesser Towns, he had neither Force enough left to hinder the passage of the Germans, nor to defend his Country from their incursions; and therefore the Duke of Guise, the very soul and life of his party, and upon whom the foundation of all the affairs of the League was settled, drew his friends and Forces together from all parts to assist and defend the Duke of Lorain.

Nor did the King of France make lesse preparations than the rest; but being resolved to shew his face, and make himself Arbitratour of affairs, he drew all his Forces together: besides eight thousand Swisse Foot raised under the public Colours of the Catholike Cantons, he also levied fourteen thousand French Foot, summoned all the Souldiery, called the Nobility to attend him, having determined to command his Army himself in person; wherein he received no other hinderance, but the unquietnesse of the Parisians; for the Preachers and the Councel of *Sixteen* ceased not to stir up the people, and to make frequent tumults in the City, insomuch as the Authority of the King and his Magistrates was despised and troden under foot, with very great danger of an open change desired and procured by them. Nor durst the King in that present condition punish the authours of those tumults, for fear of causing an absolute revolt, and in a conjuncture of so great danger, deprive himself of that City, which had ever been the *basis* and foundation of his party; this encouraged them with more boldnesse to multiply their designs, which would have produced the event aimed at by the Heads of the League, it first the imminent fear of the German Army, and then the King's Oath taken against the Hugonots, and the promise wherewith he took Arms for the common defence, did not restrained and withheld the people, who out of fear, and some certain respects of duty, were not very forward to embrace seditious counsels. But the King having with great clemency and patience often quieted those uproars raised without occasion, full of ill will towards the Heads of Sedition though cunningly dissembling it, having left the Queen together as Regent in Paris, and Monsieur *de Villequier* as Governor, departed from the City about the end of July, and went to Meaux ten leagues from thence, about which place he

cater

used Quarters to be taken up for his Army. Thither the Duke of Guise came unto him, Meaux being a Town under his command, and they met together with shews of exceeding kindness and respect, but thoughts very different from the outward appearance. The division of both Horse and Foot was made in the Duke of Guise's presence, the King having appointed twenty Cornets of Horse, and four Regiments of Foot for the Duke, reserving all the rest for the Army which was to lead himself; but almost all the Horse were withheld afterward with severall excuses, and the Duke of Guise had onely those Foot left him, which were brought by his dependents; for in their meetings and discourses, suspicions being rather increased, then former heart-burnings taken away, the King was so much the more firmly settled in his intention, to beware no lesse of the Duke of Guise, then of the forraign Army; and to leave him weak, that he might be more easily cut off, since that whether his Forces were many or few, hee could do no lesse then draw neer the Enemy, and fall upon him either in the State of the Duke of Lorain, or in the Consequences of his own Government.

After two dayes the Duke of Guise departed, and making *Rendez-vous* at S<sup>t</sup> Florentin, a place neer Troye, with seven hundred Cuirassiers of Gentlemen that were his dependants, five hundred light Horse, part Albanians, part Italians, and part sent by the Sieur de Balony Governour of Cambray, and with six thousand French-Foot led by the Sieurs de *Joannes*, de *Assseau*, de *Gies*, and de *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, his old Colonels, he marched straight toward Loraine. All the Lords of that Family were met together at Nancy, where the Duke commonly resides, and there fell to consult which way they should oppose the German Army. The opinions were different, or rather positively contrary: for the French Lords, among which the Duke of Guise was the chief, would have made the seat of War in the State of the Duke of Lorain, a straight narrow Country, and by reason of the abundance of Rivers, fit for some great enterprize, keeping the Germans busied in a place where they could not hope to joyn with the King of Navar, and where being neer their own Country, they would easily stand and run home upon every small occasion or disorder that might arise: nor did the greatnesse of the forraign Army at all dismay the Duke of Guise, a man of a resolute undaunt-



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ed courage ; but despising the number of raw untrained men newly raised in haste, he thought himself able to accomplish any thing with his old tryed souldiers. But the Duke of Lorain was of a contrary opinion ; who with the Marquesse de Pont his eldest Son, the Count *de Saulme* his principall Minister, the Count *de Chaligny* one of the King of France his Brothers-in-law, and with the Sieurs *de Ossonville*, and *Balsompierre*, thought it not fit to submit his Country to all the dangers and miseries of the War, and thought he had done too much, in declaring himself for the French Lords of his Family, and in being at so great charges, and in undergoing many dangers to satisfy them : wherefore hee desiring the Germans might not be hindered in their passage, but the keeping all the principall Towns well provided, and waiting upon them with a flying Army, to the end they might have lesse opportunity to hurt the Country, that impetuous torrent might be suffered to make an inundation in those parts to which it naturally tended : and by how much the more he saw the Duke of Guise ready and desirous to put the event of busineses opportunely to the hazard of a day, so much the more did he fear that danger. Wherefore because the opinions differed, he concluded freely, that he would not let them play his State at that game ; and that if the Duke of Guise and the French Lords had an humour to fight, they should reserve themselves till the enemy were entred into France, it satisfying him to preserve his own with as little loss as possibly he could, considering the greatnesse of the enemies Army. With this resolution all the guards were recalled from the Confines, to quarter in strong places, and the Sieur *de Ossonville* Generall of the Duke of Lorrains Forces, rode thorough all the State, causing the Mills and Ovens to be destroyed, and the victuals to be carried away from all places, to the end that the German Army finding scarcity of provisions, might resolve to passe on without delay ; and because the Duke of Guises forwardnesse made the Duke of Lorain suspect, that against his will, he would with inferiour Forces, and without necessity put it to a battell, he himself, though far in yee, would command the Army ; and to honour the Duke of Guise, gave him onely the charge of the Vangard.

Care taken by the Duke of Lorain that the German Army might not stay in his Country.

The same divisions were in the German Army ; for the Duke of Bouillon and the Count *de la Mark* desired to make



feat of the war in Lorain, not onely to have conveniency  
actual, and to garison Sedan and Jamets, their own Towns,  
which bordered upon that State, but also to ruine and undo  
the Duke of Lorain, whose neighbourhood was suspected by  
the Duke of Guise, and knew much more evidently afterwards.  
On the other side, Monsieur *de Monglas* the King of Navar's  
uncle lately come from him, and the Sieurs *de Mouy*, *de Cler-*  
*mont*, *de l'Auguiere*, and almost all the French pressed to  
them go forward, and entring into France without de-  
lay to take the shortest cut that might bring them to joyn  
the King of Navar, whom they affirmed to be upon his  
march, to come as far as hee could to meet them. There  
were not some among the Germans who were much plea-  
sed with the neernesse of their own Country, and with a War  
that was like to be so easie, by reason of the inequality of  
the forces; but the Baron *d'Onnam*, intent to execute the Com-  
missions he had received from Prince *Casimir*, resolved at last  
to entrie into France, without making any longer stay in the State  
of Lorraine then what was necessarily requisite; yet purposing  
to do as much mischief there as the brevity of the time would  
allow, without going about to take in any Towns: with-  
out intention, but with little correspondence among the  
Commanders, and as little government among the Souldi-  
ers (there being no man whose authority and experience was  
portionable to so weighty a businesse) the German Army  
began to move; and upon the 26 of August came into the Coun-  
ty of Lorain.

Already were the Guards withdrawn, which at first had  
been placed at the principall passes of that State, and the  
Germans being retreated into their walled Towns, had left all  
the wayes free; wherefore the Germans began to plunder  
the Country without any resistance; not forbearing mur-  
dering of Towns, nor any kind of hostile act whatsoever,  
in the harm were much the lesse, because the people had  
convenient time to absent themselves, to drive away their  
cattle, and hide their goods in secret places, and what they  
could not carry away they had spoyled and burned. But it  
was not long before the Germans felt the Forces of the  
Duke of Guise desirous to discover their  
strength,



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The first assault given by those of the League to the Germans in Lorain.

strength, and to try their valour and discipline, sent forth *Sieur de Rhosne* and the Baron of *Swartzembourg* with hundred *Reiters* and three hundred French Horse, to beat their neereſt quarters. These two Commanders being come upon the thirtieth of August where the enemy lay, fell on the quarter of the Baron *de Bouck*, and at first put them into great confusion : and though they were driven back at last by so much a greater number, yet they brought away a Cornet with them, which the Duke of Lorain presented to the King of France, as a token that to their shame the German Army was come already into his Country. Yet did the Army continue in the same confusion, in quarters in keeping their Guards, in rising, and in marching : for the great abundance of men bred tumult and disorder of it, and there was no Commander able to govern a Body composed of so many several Nations mixt together, and of a different manner of discipline. The Duke of *Bouillon* a young Lord, and though of great courage, yet of little experience, was not very much obeyed by the Germans. The Baron *d'Onaw*, whom they obeyed, might rather be counted in the number of valiant Souldiers, then of Commanders who for birth and wisdom were fit for such an employment ; and the other inferiour Officers being of several Nations and different dispositions, did rather increase than lessen that confusion.

These things being known to the Duke of Guise, he offered to meet handsomly with them, either as their Army was about to quarter, or to rise, before time or experience should inform the Commanders of their error. But the Duke of Lorain persisted in the same opinion, nor would upon any terms suffer them to come to a Battel within his Territory. The Duke of Guise was necessitated to comply with him, not because of his age, and because he was in his own Countie, but also by reason of the inequality of the Forces : So the *Reiters* passed on without any lett or impediment, as far as *Pont-Saint-cent*, a great Town seated upon the declining of a hill, the foot whereof the River *Meuse* passeth under a spacious Edge of ancient building. There Monsieur *de Rhosne*, and an hundred Harquebuziers on horseback, being quartered with three hundred Light-Horse, the Duke of Guise came up to view the place, having resolved to lodge the Vanguard there, to make the

the passage of the River more suspected to the enemies, and to make them a little more wary in pillaging the Country : but at every time of his arrival, the German Army was espied from the top of the hill marching in their divisions directly toward the Bridge, thorow a little Plain that spreads it self from the bottom of the hill : whereupon the Duke of Guise, desirous to discover the quality and order of the enemy, having commanded out the three hundred Light-Horse, drawn them up without the Town, and spread the hundred Harquebuziers along the bank of the River, he himself unarmed as he was, with the Sieurs *de la Chastre*, *Bassompierre* and *Dunes*, and two gentlemen of his attendants, all six in number, passed over the Bridge, hoping to get up to some high place, from whence they might conveniently discern the motions, and distinctly receive the number and order of the Germans ; but he was hardly come to the other side of the bank, when he was charged by two Troops of *Reiters* who marched before the Army to discover the Country ; to avoid whose fury, he was fain to retreat over the Bridge again at a good round trot. The enemies Horse being come to the bank of the River, and seeing it defended by the Harquebuziers, and that the Duke of Guise with five and twenty Gentlemen that were come up to him, stood firm at the entry of the Bridge, they made a halt to stay the first Troops of the Army, and in the mean time some of them (which was a very remarkable thing) being come to the very brink of the River, lighted from his Horse, spanned his Carabine very leasurely, and taking aim, gave fire with wonderful security ; and though above two hundred shot were made at him in the mean time, he was not onely untouched, but not so much as daunted at all ; so that he got on horseback again with the same gravity, and retreated safely a foot-pace to his fellows.

A bold act of  
a German  
Trooper.

In this interim, the Sieur *de Guitry* Marechal of the field lay upon the bank of the River with four hundred other Horse, who with the two first Troops of *Reiters* came directly forward to possess the Bridge : But the Duke of Guise, finding himself much weaker then was requisite to defend the place, and that not onely the Duke of Lorain's Army was a great way from him, but also his own Vanguard which had been left far behinde, he caused the Harquebuziers to retire and put themselves again in the Body of Monsieur *de Rhosne's*



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*Rhosne's* Cavalry ; and having dispatched *Bassompierre* and *Chastre* with order to put the Army in readinesse to receive him, in case he should be straightned and followed by the enemies, he began to retreat, skirmishing himself in the last ranks and very gallantly sustaining the charge of the *Reiters*, who having passed the Bridge without further resistance, followed him close at the heels, *caracolling* and giving fire continually with their Pistols : but being come to the bottom of the hill which had a steep troublesome ascent, the Duke of Guise's Light-Horse, and he himself with his Gentlemen, who were bravely mounted, got up quickly ; whereas on the other side the *Reiters* with their great Friezeland-Horses, were much longer about it, and after they were at the top of the hill were faine to make a stand to give their horses breath ; whereat this time he opportunely making use of, passed over another small River that was before him, and without any shew of flight arrived safely where the Field-Marshal had with excellent order set the whole Army in Battalia ; which being drawn out between three hills in form of a half Moon, with the Cavalry on each wing, and Foot placed within the banks and ditches by the high-ways, and among the stakes in the Vineyards defended by the Canon planted upon a little mount, made so gallant a shew, that the German Commanders being come up to face them with the first Troops of their Forces, judged in respect of the strength of that situation, the Battell was not to be hazarded, being they could by no means make the Lorain-Army dislodge from their post, nor fight with them there, without too evident and almost insuperable disadvantage.

Wherefore retiring to the main Body, they quartered in the Villages neer *S' Vincent*, into the Castle whereof the Duke of Guise entered that same night with six hundred Musketeers, that it might not be left in the enemies power : and the Duke of Lorain, who saw that contrary to his desire the Duke of Guise by his boldnesse, and to disengage himself from the *Reiters*, had like to have put his State in very great hazard, to avoid the same danger, removed a great many villages from thence, leaving them free passage to continue the voyage which with pillaging and burning they had begun ; and quartering his Army in the chiefest places, that the enemy might not have opportunity to take and sack them, with the

at care and circumspection stood barely upon his de- 1587

At last, upon the eighteenth of September the Germans moved upon the Confines of France, and took up their first quarters at S<sup>t</sup> Urbin; which Town being of the Duke of Guise's patrimony, was by them in a hostile manner burned; they then put themselves in order, and by reason of the extraordinary rains that fell, they stayed there four dayes, in which time Fran<sup>çois</sup> Sieur de Chastillon came up with a hundred Cuirassiers, and eight hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, who with wonderfull great difficulty had from the farthest parts of Languedoc passed by the way of Dauphiné, and the Confines of Savoy, as far as Grizelle, a Town upon the borders of Lorain, to joyn with the forraign Army; but being come to Grizelle, he was suddenly charged by the Duke's Forces, and constrained to retreat into the Castle of that Town, where he had been in manifest danger by reason of the weaknesse of the Army, if the Count *de la Mark* had not advanced with the Van of the Army to disengage him, who no sooner appeared, but the Lorain Forces retiring, he went on to S<sup>t</sup> Urbin to joyn with the rest of the Army upon the 22 of September, which day the Duke of Guise (having left the Duke of Lorain at Bar, and refused to enter into the Confines of the King of France which he were called) quartered with twelve hundred Horse and two thousand Foot at Joinville, but two leagues distant from S<sup>t</sup> Urbin.

The German Army entred France with an infinite deal of baggage, not onely by reason of the great store of carriages which they had with them according to the custome of their Country, but also of the abundance of spoil and plunder which they had got in the Territories of Lorain, and which they still increased daily; nor did their disorders and confusions cease, though they were come into an Enemies Country, suspected on every side; but rather every one presuming upon the certaintie of their strength, (for they were above forty thousand fighting men) they quartered very wide and open, minded nothing but pillage, were negligent in their guards and watches, the fields being every-where full of grapes, of which that Nation being exceeding greedy, they disordered their squadrons, and ran confusedly to satisfy their gluttony; and much the more, because the Duke of Guise's handfull of

The German Army going out of Lorain rich with spoil, enters France, where not esteeming the D. of Guise's small Forces, they continue to pillage and destroy the Country.



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men made him contemptible to their pride ; nor did they think they could meet with any thing that could do harm to so much a greater number, well armed, well mounted, well provided, (which was true) but wonderfully ill ordered and disciplined. The number of Commanders made opinion differ about the way they should march ; for some counselled that following the easinesse of the wayes and the abundance of victuals, they should go on thorow Champagne to Brye, and to the Isle of France as far as the City of Paris, to strike the very heart of the Catholick party, and not to linger about matters of small importance, experience having shewed, that the Hugonots had never had hope of victory, but when they had entered the very bowels of the Kingdome, and brought terror and damage to the City of Paris : but others knowing that they wanted a Generall who was capable to manage the weight of that imployment, and that therefore all their marches were difficult and dangerous, perswaded to move streight toward the head of the River Loyre, to passe over it above *la Charité* or at some other place thereabout, and to go without delay to joyn with the King of Navar, without whose conduct and command they despaired of effecting any enterprize. The last opinion prevailed, and with that intention crossing the Provinces of Champagne & Bourgongne about the end of September, they took the direct way toward *la Charité*, to passe the River there, as the Duke of *Deux-Ponts* had done at the same place ; and because the Count *de la Mark* dyed about that time of a naturall death, the charge of the Vanguard was given to Monsieur *de Chastillon*.

The Duke of Guise followed the track of the Germans and though his Brother the Duke of Mayenne were joyed with him, with the Forces he brought out of his Government of Bourgongne ; and though the Marquesse *du Pont* had followed him also with no contemptible number of Gentlemen whereby in all he had fifteen hundred Horse, and little more than three thousand Foot, yet because he had no Body of an Army, he quartered alwayes in advantageous places, keeping neerer the Germans, that hee might not lose any opportunity (which he watched for with extreme diligence and impatient desire) to fight ; but the Duke of Mayenne following his stayed resolutions, and the Marquesse *du Pont* instructed by his Fathers admonitions, did opportunely allay his forwardness

thei

wing him that the whole fortune of the House of Lorain was  
 uced to that small handfull of men, and would run into a  
 nifest ruine, if he should be so rash as to assault the Enemy  
 h Forces so infinitely inferiour : that hee could give no  
 ater joy nor contentment to his Enemies, then to offer up  
 whole *being* of their Family to spoyl and havock by so cer-  
 a danger, the event whereof, whatsoever it could be,  
 uld overthrow his Forces for ever ; that it was a businesse  
 ong, mature deliberation, and which could never be suffi-  
 ntly pondered and discussed, to hazard all his former la-  
 urs, all his present Estate, and all his future hopes upon the  
 t of a Die with so much disadvantage : and with what  
 ngth, with what number of Horse and Foot would he as-  
 an Army of sixteen thousand Horse and twenty thousand  
 rman Foot, flanked with 4000 of the choifest French Fire-  
 ks ? that it was no small matter, if they could be able to  
 end the principall Cities, and the walled Towns of those  
 ovinces which were under their Government ; and that he  
 ne ought not to assume that charge to himself which prin-  
 ally concerned the King of France, and which never had  
 n assumed by so many others, who upon occasion of other  
 rman Armies had had the care of the Frontiers, and who  
 reserving onely the places of consequence, had let the storm  
 where the principall Armies were, and where the whole  
 of businesse did reside. These considerations abated,  
 t extinguished not the ardour of the Duke of Guise, who  
 ing vaster thoughts, and higher designs, did within him-  
 alone presse forward the effecting his own resolutions :  
 having undertaken to be patron of the League, assumed  
 care of the popular cause, and conceiving hopes of ruining  
 adversaries, and making himself not onely Arbitrator and  
 derator of the Kingdom, but also the glorious restorer of  
 n Roman-Catholick-Religion, he foresaw he should grow  
 e in reputation, and lose his credit within and without the  
 ighdom, if the King, and not he, should win the victory  
 ver the Germans, which would turn the scale, and make him  
 erior that should obtain it : besides, suspecting that the  
 ig held secret intelligence with the Hugonots, he feared  
 ha the *Reiters* joyning with the King of Navar, and the King  
 eing on the other side with a strong Army in the field, they  
 ight catch him between them ; and therefore he aspired with



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all the powers of his minde, to destroy or at least weaken the Army, before it could come to the consummation of that designe : finally, the desire of glory, which in him was most ardent and unmeasurable, would not let his minde be in quiet, he did not make his valour famous in so conspicuous an occasion : Wherefore, sometimes marching before, sometimes beside, sometimes behinde the enemy, with unwearied diligence both in himself and in his Souldiers, he used all his uttermost endeavours to incommode and distresse them, by putting them upon a necessity of quartering close together, by protracting and retarding their march, and finally by striving to bring them to a scarcity of provisions.

The great abundance of all things causing surfeits, brings great mortality in the German Army.

But the abundance of wine, grapes, fruits, and flesh, whereof there was great plenty in those Provinces, did more harm to the Germans then all the labour and industry of the Duke of Guise ; for by excesse and surfetting, in a Country differing from their natural clymate, such frequent dangerous diseases were gotten into the Army, that their number daily decreased, and their march was not a little slackened ; to which the rains of Autumn being added, which were wonderfully immoderate in the beginning of October, did much increase the mortality ; and in that deep dirty Country the ways were so broken, that it was most difficult for so great a multitude to march, being (as they were wont) exceedingly ill ordered and commanded.

The same rains did also hurt the Duke of Guise's Army, and so much the more, because being in continual motion, they did perpetually suffer by the ill weather : But though the Souldiers were without shoes, and almost without clothes, and their horses tired and almost quite spoiled, yet the great confidence they had in their Commander, and seeing him the first in all incommodities and sufferings, made every one undertake them willingly ; and because they were all old Souldiers, hardened to the toils of War, the diseases did not spread amongst them, which had brought the affairs of the enemy into a very ill condition. In this manner, with frequent skirmishes, the Armies came as far as Chastillon upon the Seine, where the *Sieur de la Chastre* having put himself in, for the defence of that Town, not so strong as populous ; as the Germans passed by, they skirmished continually for four hours, with some losses on both sides.

But having passed the Seine at Chastillon, turning on the right hand, they marched from thence toward *la Charité* to reach the Loire, not in those places that are neerer to the head of it, as the King of Navar had directed, and as his Agents had them in minde to do; but to endeavour to get a Bridge over which they might passe conveniently: and of this resolution not the Commanders, but the tumultuous cries of the Army were the occasion, who would not hear of being led through narrow, barren, mountainous Countries, as those parts from whence the River springs, but would spread themselves with their wonted pillagings and licentious manner of living, in the more fertil, spacious parts of France, as those parts thorough which they were to march toward *la Charité*, and pass neer unto it.

But they were extremely deceived in their hopes; for the King of France being departed from Meaux, and then from Compiègne, where he had made the general *Rendez-vous* of his Army, and being come to Estampes with eight thousand Swisses, ten thousand French Foot, and four thousand Horse, the Duke of Nevers commanding as Lieutenant-General of the Army, the Duke of Espernon leading the Van, by their advice prudently come unto the Loyre; and having broken and carried away all the Passes, taken away all the Boats, and well garrisoned and provided all the Towns, encamped along the banks of the River, to hinder the enemies from wading over, or passing it in any place.

This difficulty exceedingly puzzled the German Army: for they had been made believe by the French Commanders, both before they were raised, and after they were entered into France, that the King would tacitely give way to their passage, and that they were to have no other enemy but the Duke of Guise, whose Forces were to be feared; as soon as they saw the King in Arms, and led to oppose them in a hostile manner, not onely with a great strength, but with wonderful providence and Military policy: and after that the Duke d'Espernon, who was generally thought partial to the Hugonots, did personally assail the Troops of Horse that plundered the Country, and had slain many of them, took one of their Cornets, there ensued such a confusion into the Army, that the authority of the Commanders was not able to settle it. The German Cavalry

*Henry the third goes in person with an Army to oppose the Germans, and to keep them from joyning with the King of Navar.*

*The German Army mutinies.*

began



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began to cry out aloud for their pay, which had been promised them at their entry into the Kingdom, nor had money appeared yet from any place to satisfy them. The Swisses that were with their Country-men with the King, with the publike Colonels of the Cantons, talked of going over to his Army; and generally all of them murmured, that having been promised to be led by a Prince of the Blood, they yet saw not any one appear; and every hour tumultuously threatened the French Commanders, because they had rashly brought them thither, and falsely perswaded them that they held intelligence with the King of France. In this Mutiny the Commanders being come to the head of the Army, it was without much consideration precipitately resolved amidst that universal cry and tumult, to turn back again: and get into the Country of *Burgundy* (the ordinary nourisher of the War) and in the meantime to send men to the King of Navar, to demand money and a general, and to know which way the Army should march to unite themselves most easily with him.

At that time the King of Navar, being departed from his places that held of his party with the greatest number he could gather together, and having mustered them, marched directly toward the *Loyre* to finde some means of joining with the forraign Army. But the Duke of Joyeuse, spurred on by ambition, had wholly given himself over to the designs of the League, was inconsiderately gone for *Saumur*, and came with his whole Army to meet the Huguenots, desiring with great confidence by all means to give them Battel. Two little Rivers parted the two Armies from one another, one called the *Isle*, and the other the *Drougne*: the *Isle* on the Duke of Joyeuse's side; the *Drougne* (much bigger) on the King of Navar's; and between both Rivers were *la Roche-Chalais*, a Town neer the *Isle*; and neer the *Drougne* *Coutras*, a brave house built by *Lantree*, a famous Commander in the Wars of Italy. Both the Generals thought with reason that the passage of the River might cause a disadvantage to the enemy, and therefore the Duke of Joyeuse passed the *Isle* with all speed, upon the nineteenth of October in the evening, and quartered at *la Roche-Chalais*, with attention to lie the night after at *Coutras*, and to meet the King of Navar, and fight with him as he passed the *Drougne*. That purpose he sent Captain *Mercurio Bua* before with

banians, to possesse Coutras, and had sent away Colonels to  
e up quarters there. But the King of Navar, who com-  
nding an old well exercised Army, desired to meet in the  
in field without advantage of ground or Rivers, had waded o-  
r the *Drougne* the same day betimes in the morning, and had  
o sent the Duke *de la Trimouille* to make himself Master  
Coutras, and he himself followed the same way with the  
ole Army in Battalia. There was no doubt but the Al-  
ian Light-Horse were easily driven back by the greater  
nber; and returning the same night to *la Roche-Chalais*,  
ated to the Duke of Joyeuse, who was sitting at a gallant  
per with many of the Nobility, that the King of Navar had  
sed the *Drougne*, and was quartered in the Village at Cou-  
with all his Army; presently the Duke turning about to  
Officers, said, so loud that every one might hear him, *So,*  
*we have the Enemy shut up between two Rivers, and he cannot*  
*escape us; let every one be ready for the Battell to morrow*  
*break of day.*

At Coutras the  
D. of Joyeuse  
with his Army  
prepares him-  
self to battell,  
but with great  
confusion.

The Duke's Army was full of Nobility, and in number  
o strong; but the greatest part men rather forward then  
ert, who accounting the Victory certain, cared little for that  
er and discipline which almost always uses to cause it in such  
ounters; there was no Commander whose authority and  
perience could regulate the unbridled rashnesse of the  
ong Gentry, which greedily made haste to come to the bu-  
esse, believing firmly that they had imprisoned the Enemy  
etween two Rivers; and therefore the next morning, being  
erwentieth of October, they began two hours before day to  
ach, stragling confusedly toward the field where the Battell  
aco be. There they were drawn into Battalia, as well as  
obly they might, by the *Sieur de Lavardin* Lieutenant Ge-  
erll, having spread a long Body of Lances in the Plain, on  
hce Wings were two Battalions of Infantry, which flanked  
o either side; and he himself with the light Horse, led by the  
*Sieur de Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, was at the Head of the  
hce Army, having placed the Artillery at the point of the  
ft Wing.

But the confusion of those untrained Souldiers, who were  
om thither without order, and had scatteringly broken their  
ans, and disordered their Squadrons; and the way also to  
he place appointed being (to say the truth) narrow and  
woody,



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The King of Navar takes opportunity by the Enemies slownesse, and puts his Army in excellent order.

The French Translation sayes, and to the Marquesse of Gelerande.

The Armies face one another, and the Battel begins.

woody, made them lose so much time in embattelling, that the King of Navar finding that the Enemy moved, had convenience to bring up his Artillery, which by reason of the hasty passage was left the night before on the other side the River; who otherwise must have been faine to fight without his Canon, which would have been an extreme disadvantage to him. Now having received that benefit by the slownesse of the Enemy, he divided his Army, consisting of 2500 Horse, and 4000 Foot, into seven Squadrons, whereof four were Cuirassiers, one of Light-Horse, and two of Foot, and caused the Culverins, and the small Field-pieces to be planted in the Front of the Army upon the bank of the River, in a place somewhat higher than the Plain; the two middle Squadrons which marked the bottome of the half-moon he commanded himself; the Prince of Condé and the Count de Soissons on the right hand, and on the left the Viscount de Turenne; the Light-Horse were commanded by the Duke de la Tremouille, and the Sieur de Vivans, who was Marshal of the Field; and the two Squadrons of Foot on the right hand were commanded by the Baisi de Salignac, Chastelaum, and Parabiere, who upon their flank had a thick wood, and a ditch of seven foot broad; and the Lorges, Preau, and Charboniere on the left, all old experienced soldiers of that Party, who were defended with the walls and buildings of the Park, but more especially of the Warne. The care of the Artillery was committed to the Sieur de Crammont \* Marquesse of Gelerande, and the Baggage either purposely, or by chance, was left in the Village of Coutras without any guard either of Horse or Foot.

The Armies were very different; for the Duke of York's was clothed all with rich upper coats, set forth with gallant Liveries, Plumes, and other warren ornaments, but half in disorder, and all wavering, a manifest signe of want of experience; whereas the King of Navar's had no other defence then that of iron, nor other ornaments then their arms, yet with the rain, yet united and compacted in a firm perfect array, shewed their worth most clearly in souldier-like actions and behaviour. The Canon began to play on all sides (the sun being above two hours high) but either with different industry or fortune; for the King of Navar's making a lane to row the Catholick Lances, and passing from thence into his Squadrons of Infantry, made a very great slaughter of the

l put them all into confusion ; but the Duke's Canoneers  
elled their Pieces so low, that all the bullets struck into the  
und, and killed no body except one Gentleman of the  
nce of Condé's ; which the *Sieur de Lavardin* perceiving, &  
owing that to give the Enemies time to charge again, and re-  
ble their great shot, would cause the total routing of the Ar-  
which was so broken & disordered by the Artillery, that they  
lly kept in Battalia, having commanded to sound a charge,  
in with his Light-Horse so furiously upon those of the E-  
y which stood over against him, to the number of some  
hundred, that the *Sieur de Montigny* killed the Duke de  
remoüille's horse under him, and Captain *Mercurio Bua*  
ounded the *Sieur de Vivans* Marshal of the field very dange-  
ly ; and having scattered the Light-Horse, came up to the  
adron of Cuirassiers led by the Viscount of Turenne,  
m they charged not in the Front, but rushed fiercely up-  
their flank, and making way quite thorow them (what oc-  
he occasion was, for it was afterward diversely spoken of)  
on with full speed to the Village of Coutras, where the E-  
es Baggage was. There the Albanians being out of breath  
the length of their career, and seeing booty before them,  
to pillage, and were so long before they rallied again,  
they resolved to retire into some place of security without  
ig any further service. But the King of Navar having  
ely exhorted his men to fight for their common safety,  
having put thirty Gentlemen before him with short Lan-  
can but ten paces to meet the Catholick Cavalry, who ha-  
g begun their Charge too soon, were in such disorder with  
length of their career, that their Lances wrought not their  
ted effect, and did no good at all ; wherefore being  
own away, the fight remained equall, wherein, besides the  
our of the Souldiers, their Squadrons being much harder  
break thorow, then the long weak Battalion of the Duke  
Jvêuse, the Cavalry of the Catholicks was routed and de-  
ted in lesse then half an hour, the Duke himself among an  
ite of Lords and Gentlemen being left dead ; for being  
erhrown upon the ground, and offering 100000 Crowns  
ransom, he was with three Pistol shots most violently slain.  
had the Infantry better fortune then the Cavalry ; for be-  
g charged on all sides, and fierce cries resounding every-  
ce, that every one should remember the slaughter of S<sup>t</sup> E-

The Albanians  
break thorow a  
Squadron of  
Cuirassiers,  
run to Coutras,  
pillage the Hu-  
gonots baggage  
and could no  
more be rallied  
in the Battel.

The D. of Joy-  
euse thrown to  
the ground of-  
fers 100000  
Crownes in  
ransom, yet is  
slain.



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loy, where two Regiments of the King of Navar's were cut in pieces without mercy, the Souldiers were not satisfied till they had put most of them to the sword ; the Commanders being not able to restrain their fury, nor the King of Navar to prevent it, being busied elsewhere in chasing the reliques of the Cavalry.

The Catholikes lose the day, are all killed and taken prisoners, except a very few that save themselves by flight

The slaughter of the Conquered, and pursuit of the Conquerours, lasted three hours, after which they were masters of the field : Of the Canon, Colours, and Baggage, which in (to the laughter of Souldiers accustomed to the toil of War) they found many of those softer accommodations of ease and tenderneffe used in the Court. There were three thousand five hundred of the Catholikes, besides the Duke of Joyeuse, the Count *de S. Sauveur* his brother, Brissac who carried the General's Cornet, the Counts *de Suse*, *d'Albion*, *joux*, and *Gazelo*, Colonel *Tiercelin*, and many others : the number of prisoners was much greater ; for except *Ladon*, *Montigny*, and *Mercurio Bua*, who saved themselves, the rest remained in the power of the enemy. On the side of Navar's side there were not full two hundred killed among which not any man of great note ; and among those that were wounded, onely the *Sieur de Vivans*, Captain *was*, and the Viscount *de Turenne* but slightly. In this fore Victory the King of Navar shewed his clemency no lesse than he had done his prudence before in preventing the enemy from arranging his Army in order, and his valour in fighting : being returned into the place of the Battel, he stayed the slaughter of the Catholike Infantry, received the prisoners courteously, commending those that had behaved themselves well in that action, and pitying the death of the rest that had been slain in the fury of the Battel, caused the dead body of the Duke *de Joyeuse* to be honourably put in a Leaden Coffin and granted it to those that came to demand it, who caused it to be carried to Paris, where with a solemn Funeral it was magnificently buried.

This Victory of the King of Navar's, the first cause of the original of his safety, and so much the more glorious, being the first the Hugonots had obtained in the revolution of many Wars, did not much displease the King of France, well because he desired not the King of Navar's total suppression, lest the Guise's faction should be so much increased.

to remain arbitratours alone of the Forces of the Kingdom; also because the Duke of Joyeuse, raised by him with so much favour, to such a height of honour and greatnesse, had proved most ungrateful to him; being, out of an emulation the Duke d'Espernon, turned to favour the League; and if not openly, at least secretly, united to the designs of the Lords of Guise. Nor did it trouble him that the King of Navar, having got the Victory, and overcome the hinderance of that enemy, was able to march to meet the Germans; for he with a stronger Army had taken all the Passes of the Loyre, and so guarded the banks of the River every where, that he was certain neither of the enemies Armies could passe over it; and he hoped not onely to drive away the Germans victoriously, but also that they should be instruments to ruine and suppress the House of Guise, and all the plots and machinations of the League.

The King is not displeased at the losse, nor at the Duke of Joyeuse death.

At this time the German Army was in wonderful discord and confusion, not onely because there neither came money to pay them, nor that Prince of the Blood that had been promised them for their General, and because their hopes of being able to joyn with the King of Navar began to diminish; but also because the Duke of Espernon, who led the Vanguard of the King's Army, having often beaten up their quarters, they were certainly assured that the King, contrary to what their Commanders had perswaded them, had taken Arms against them, and followed them with a mighty Army, since they turned back from the River Loyre. But the Swisse Infantry were more unruly then all the rest; for seeing other Foot-Souldiers of the same Nation with the publike Ensignes of the Cantons in the King's Army, though they were of another Religion, were very unwilling to fight against their Country-men, and as unwilling to break their Confederacie nor lose their friendship with the King of France, with whose consent, and for the good of whose Kingdom, they were told they should fight when they came from home. The death of Colonel Tileman, who commanded all the Swisses under the Sieur de Clermont, put the affairs in an absolute confusion: for dying suddenly of a malignant Feaver and a bloody Flux, they had no Commander left that had authority enough to restrain the unrulinesse of the Souldiers, so that they tumultuously resolved to send messengers to the King of France, and

The Swisses do not willingly fight, when they see the Ensignes of their Cantons displayed in the enemies Army.



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to make up an agreement with him : which being come to the knowledge of the Baron *d'Onaw*, and the French Commanders, they made so much the more haste in marching away from the King's Army, to get into the Country of *Beauvais*, where the abundance of provisions and pillage might make the Swisses forget the tumultuous resolution they had taken. But this hastie march brought greater confusion into the Army, troubled with a great multitude of sick men, some whereof were left behinde in their severall quarters, and miserably murdered by the Country-people ; some carried along upon their Carriages, and following slowly the speed of those that were in health, were the cause that they quartered confusedly and in several places.

This disorder was very well known to the Duke of Guise, who at their returning back from the River Loyre, had wisely put himself between their Army and the City of Paris, to keep that City faithful to him, and to increase both the affection the people bore him, and his reputation, as if he were the onely defence that hindered that mighty Army of the Germans from offending the City and Territories of Paris ; whereas the King following slowly, seemed to have given over the care of the Parisians. He always lay in secure advantageous places, not far from the enemies Army, but made the ways continually well cleared by Captain *Thomaso Fratta* an Albanian, and the *Sieur de Vins*, who had the charge of the Light Horse, and who sending Scouts abroad and bringing in intelligence every minute, gave him notice of the moving and progress of the enemy. The Germans were come into the Territories of Montargis, twenty eight leagues from Paris ; and upon the twenty sixth of October were quartered in this manner. The Baron *d'Onaw* with the biggest Body of Horse, at Vilmory, a very great Village : The Swisses under the walls of Montargis, which Town was above two great leagues from thence ; and the rest of the Army scattered in several places about Vilmory ; but some a league, some two leagues from the Head-quarter.

The manner of their lying being told the Duke of Guise, and the draught and platform of it being brought unto him by Captain *Thomaso*, whilst he was at table at Courtenay with the *Marquesse du Pont*, and the Dukes of Mayenne, Nemours, Aumale, and Elbeuf, he sate a while musing, and silent,

en having sent for his own Trumpet, commanded him to  
und *Bontefelle*, and that every body should be in a readinesse  
march within an hour. At which order the Duke of May-  
ne asking him to what purpose he would move, and whither  
intended to go; he replied instantly, To fight with the ene-  
y. The Duke of Mayenne, who knew the inequality of their  
rces, began to smile, and said he was contented to be  
ted with: To which the Duke of Guise answered, with a  
ve countenance, that he spoke in very good earnest; and  
at they who had not the courage to fight, might stay in their  
arters; and without more words, put on his Arms, and ha-  
g set all things in order, took horse without any further de-  
. His authority was such, and his Souldiers had so great  
onfidence in him, that when it was known they were pre-  
tly to go charge the Army of the *Reiters*, there was no  
n dismayed at the great disparity of their numbers, but as  
they were going to a certain Victory, the Foot and Horse  
emulation of one another, strove who should be first in  
er and ready to march: onely the Duke of Mayenne and  
*Marquesse du Pont* considering the greatnesse and number  
the German Army, and that by fighting, the whole House  
Lorain, and the fortune of them all, was set upon the cast  
a Dye, and in a most dangerous precipice, would have dis-  
ved the Duke of Guise, shewing that they could not be-  
ee that he, a prudent wary man, would hazard all his for-  
e at so dangerous a game: But he persisting in his resoluti-  
ntold them, that to the end they might not think him rash,  
e would make them partakers of his designe, which was, A-  
ot midnight to fall into their Head-quarter, where he knew  
y kept not so strict Guards as they ought, nor were so vi-  
nt as Military discipline required, being certain that in the  
ult and uncertainty of the dark, the other quarters, nei-  
e knowing who nor how strong they were, by reason the  
ig's Army was not far off, would never stir to assist the  
ed-quarter, but would rather fortifie themselves within their  
v till break of day: But it was most probable of all, that  
e wiffes would do so, who were so far off, that they could  
y o means possible come time enough to help them: Where-  
or that quarter being suddenly assaulted where they slept in  
and security, without the least suspicion of an enemy, he  
most assured to have the Victory, and in that manner to  
disorder

The Duke of  
Guise jested  
at by the Duke  
of Mayenne,  
for saying he  
would assault  
the enemy be-  
cause they  
were indis-  
creetly quar-  
tered.



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disorder the whole Army ; and though it should succeed contrary to what reason perswaded, he could not want time and means to retreat with his Forces, not being troubled with a Carriages: And because the Duke of Mayenne answered that indeed it was a thing probable in appearance to succeed, but yet to be well thought upon; he (almost angry) replied that he that could not think of it in a quarter of an hour would never think of it in all his life-time: Whereupon the considerations of all the rest yeelding to the authority of so noble a man, they began to march about the shutting in the evening, with a designe to be about midnight at Vilmory seven leagues from thence.

The Duke of Guise knowing the want of discipline and experience in the German Army, resolves (though much inferiour in number) to fall upon them in their quarters.

The Duke of Guise marched first of all with thirty Gentlemen, and sixty Albanian Light-Horse; the Infantry followed in two divisions, one of which consisted of the Regiments of *Ponsenat* and *Chevrieres*, commanded by the *Sieur du Cluseau*; the other of the Regiments of *Gies* and *de Bourg*, commanded by Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*. After these went the Cavalry; the *Vanguard* (being five hundred Horse) was led by the Duke of Mayenne; the *Battel* (being four hundred) by the *Marquesse du Pont*, with whom were the Dukes of Nemours and Elbeuf; and the *Rere* (being four hundred more) by the Duke of Aumale and the *Chevalier* his brother. In this order they came into the Plain near Vilmory after midnight, and having found no obstacle, either of *perdu's*, or any other ties that should have rid the *patrouille*, the Duke of Guise putting himself at the head of the Infantry, led it silently into the *Bourg* (which thick of houses spreads it self about half a mile in length) and entered so softly, that the street was full of his Souldiers, before the Germans, who stood soundly, heard any thing at all of them. The Cavalry already set in order in the Field, the Duke of Mayenne taking the right hand, the Duke of Aumale the left, and the *Marquesse du Pont* between them, encompassing the whole *Bourg* almost on every side, to catch those who escaped from the fury of the Foot, should try to save themselves in the field.

All things being ordered in this manner, the Duke of Guise gave signe to Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, who with a great volley of Muskets began to set fire on the neereft houses, and the same did Colonel *du Cluseau* on his side; so that in a very

the flames gave light to the place of battell, if it may  
called a battell; where the Germans unexpectedly as-  
saulted, were without making any resistance, either slain by  
the sword, burnt in the fire, or destroyed with a thick hail of  
bullets. Onely the Baron *d'Onaw*, who lay at the farthest  
end of all the Town, had time to get on horse-back before  
the storm of the Infantry fell upon him, and seeing the high  
tower which led into the field was all on fire, and commanded  
the enemies souldiers, he turned upon the right hand with  
a hundred Horse that followed him, and through a narrow  
passage galloped out into the field, where having encountred  
the Vanguard, which was led up by the Duke of Mayenne to  
surge him, as he was a most valiant undaunted souldier, hee  
charged furiously into the midst of the Enemies, and meeting  
with the Duke of Mayenne himself, discharged a Pistol gal-  
lantly in his very face, which hitting something low upon the  
side of his helmet, did him no harm at all; but the Duke of  
Mayenne having taken notice that the Baron was without his  
head-piece, because he had not had time to put on all his  
arms, strook him a slash over the forehead, notwithstanding  
which he passed on into the midst of the Squadron, and with  
another Pistol killed him that carried the Duke's Cornet;  
and all the Van-guard falling close upon him, he having left a-  
bout eighty of his men upon the place, broke thorow all the  
squadron with fourteen in his company under favour of the  
darkness, and being sheltered by the night, saved himself at  
*Westen-London*, where another part of his Army was quarter-  
d. In the mean time the Infantry had made an end of destroy-  
ing the rest of his men, who perished all in the fire of the  
Town, not being any way able to save themselves, with so  
the danger to the Conquerors, that onely three men were  
wounded; but with so much spoil and rich booty, that never  
before souldiers were more loaden with wealth then they; for  
besides seven Cornets, two Camels that carried the Generals  
baggage, and two brasen kettle-drums, which for pomp wait-  
ed on the Cornet of the chief Commander, the souldiers took  
above 2800 horses, many gold chains, no small store of plate,  
rich clothes, and other things of exceeding great value, be-  
sides the money found about those that were dead; and the  
benefit of their prey was so much the greater, as the souldiers  
that fought were but few in number. The Duke of Guise  
who

The Baron  
*d'Onaw* gets out  
of Vilmory, &  
having fought,  
is wounded in  
the head, and  
saves himself  
by favour of  
the night.



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who was run to help his Brother the Duke of Mayenne, whether the cry and tumult of the fight had called him, found that the enemies were defeated, and the Baron *d'Onaw* fled with the losse of seventeen Gentlemen of the Duke of Mayenne's own Troop, and onely four more wounded, and when he saw all things in his own power, that he might not give the other Quarters time to fall upon him, nor the Swisses to move that way, he founded a retreat before break of day, and with his Infantry all mounted on horse-back, returned in the same order to his own quarters. The number of the slain was never so uncertain in any action as in this; for though each side endeavoured to encrease, and the other to diminish it, yet it is most cleer there could not be any certain particular knowledge of it, because the greatest part of them perished in the fire.

This overthrow did much dismay the German Army, who thought the Duke of Guise's industry most wonderful, and his courage no lesse admirable, and therefore stood in exceeding great fear of him: but they were as much terrified by the carelesnesse of the Baron *d'Onaw*, who to his dishonour was by his want of military discipline, given opportunity to the vigilancy and celerity of his enemies: whereupon, if the disorders and confusions were very great among them before, they were multiplyed afterward to such a height by the fear of the Catholicks, and distrust of their own Generall, as opened a way to their utter ruine and destruction; for the Swisses presently sent messengers to the King of France, who being brought in by the Duke of Nevers, were received by him with a fowre countenance, and angry words, not that he was not very glad to make a composition with them, but because he desired to draw the businesse out in length, that the German Army might not be dissolved till the Duke of Guise's boldnesse and thirst of glory had brought him to some precipice. Likewise the *Reiters*, and particularly those that had lost their baggage in the defeat of Villmory, mutined, demanding their pay, and the French Commanders disagreeing among themselves, could hardly keep their Foot together, that were most pitifully worn out by the extreme wet weather of Autumn; thus every thing tended to manifest ruine and destruction.

But it fell out luckily; for *Francis* of Bourbon Prince

of Conty, destined from the beginning to be their General, arrived then at the Army, who though he came without train, without money, and was of himself but little able to command in War; yet being a Prince of the Blood, and Son of the so renowned glorious Prince of Condé, he filled the whole Army with joy; whereupon the Commanders taking courage, wrought so much with the Swisses by prayers and entreaties, that they resolved to follow the Camp, and expect news from the King of Navar before they made an end of their agreement with the King of France. But their spirits and hopes were quite raised again by the news of the Battell of Coutras, and the death of the Duke *de Joyeuse*, which having passed thorow the enemies Country, was at last come to them: whereupon they began to talk, that the King of Navar being now victorious, would certainly finde some way or other to passe the Loire, and come to joyn his Forces with them. But these shews of prosperity were exceedingly counterpoysed by those reall difficulties wherewith the King opposed the deliberations of that Army; for being turned to march toward Vendosme, the King having left the banks of the Loire well guarded, was advanced himself to hinder them, raising the Duke of Espernon with the Van-gard to streighten and incommode them in their way, and the Duke of Guise following them in the rear, with frequent skirmishes, now as they were quartering, then as they were rising, sometimes in their march, ceased not to annoy them very much, and keep them in perpetual trouble; yet the contentment and rejoicing at the Prince of Conty's arrivall did wholly possesse the Army, and to rest themselves, to refresh their spirits, and recover their Forces, they had lodged themselves at Auneau, in the Territory of Chartres, a great Town well furnished with buildings, and abounding in provisions; and because the Castle, a place indifferent strong by the situation, was held by a Governour and Garison of the Kings, they had blocked up all the wayes that led towards it, and stopped them up with arms chained together, with barrells, logs, and other such like things, keeping their *Corps de Garde* at the ends of the streets, and setting out their sentinels on every side. With these preparations they thought themselves so secure, that they intended to lie three or four dayes in that Quarter, as well to ease themselves, as to consult what they should do; the delibe-



1587 ration of the Commanders not being yet very well resolved on; and because Auneau, though a great *Bourg*, could not contain all their number, many of them quartered thereabouts, and in the neighbouring Villages, making invitation and merriments every-where for the coming of the Prince of Conty, and for the Victory of the King of Navar, drinking deeply after the German fashion; and so much the more, because the Feast of *S' Martin*, and the great plenty of Wine that yeer, excited their naturall inclinations to dissoluteness.

But the Duke of Guise, who watched for all opportunities and occasions that might offer themselves, being informed of the intentions of the Germans to stay some few dayes at Auneau, dispatched the *Sieur de Vins* secretly to the Governour of the Castle, filling him with wonderfull great promises, if he would grant him passage throug the Castle one night that he might fall down unexpectedly to assault the Enemy. The Governour was a little doubtfull at first, because all the wealth of the neighbouring Towns was put into that Castle, and he having taken money from the Country people to secure them, that no souldiers should enter into it who might take them away, shewed himself backward in giving way to let in the Army. Yet he consented willingly to let the Duke passe under the wall, upon a narrow bank that lies along between the *Raveline* of the Castle-gate, and a very broad Lake that spreads it self over a great part of those fields. But the *Sieur de Vins* considering that it was not good to put themselves into the power of a mercenary man; and that it was necessary to be Masters of the Castle, to the end that whatsoever should happen, the Foot might have a secure retreat; he brought it so to passe, that the Governour went first to speak with Monsieur *de la Chastre* Marshall generall of the field, and afterward with the Duke of Guise himself, by whom being corrupted with money, and invited with very good hopes, he consented at last to receive him into the Fortre, having given him his faith, that the Country peoples goods should suffer no harm by the souldiers: so upon the eleventh of November the Duke of Guise departing from his Quarters at Dourdan towards the evening, made so much speed, that he arrived with his Forces, not much wearied, at the Castle of Auneau presently after mid-night. The back-gate being opened,

opened, he went in to make himself master of the place, and brought in an hundred Muskettiers with very great silence ; and the rest of the Infantry, to the number of three thousand, commanded by Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, stood ready along the bank under the Castle-wall, to assault the *Bourg*, and the barricadoes which the Germans had made up : and at the same time the Cavalry had encompassed the Lake, and being divided into three squadrons, had possessed the passage toward the field, drive back those that should seek to save themselves that day. Colonel *Joannes* was also come to the same place with a hundred Muskettiers mounted behinde his Horse-men, and had taken the passage to that gate of the *Bourg* which leads to the fields, just over against the Castle.

It was already break of day, and the *Reiters* Trumpets sounded the *Diana*, when the Infantry assaulted the enemies barricadoes with infinite fury : and though many of them lay all buried in wine and sleep, yet the *Corps de garde*, which were vigilant, received the assault most couragiously, and the success was doubtful for a time, till the Catholike Infantry, by setting the Carts and Barrels on fire, cleared the way, and removed those impediments that stopt it up ; whereupon the Germans *Corps de gard* not being able to make resistance of themselves, were in a very short space all cut in pieces, Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* entered with the first squadron into the street that lay on the left hand, and Colonel *Ponsenat*, with the second, into the street on the right hand, where they bravely set upon these few *Reiters*, who not having had time to get to Horse, came up to them afoot with their Pistols in their hands : but the fight was very unequal ; for the Muskettiers shot them at a distance, and the Pikes overturned all that came in their way ; so that the *Reiters* having nothing but short Pistols and their swords, could never come up to give one blowe to the enemy, and within a very little while all turned their backs, thinking to save themselves in the field ; but finding the way shut up, and the gate possessed, being also driven back by *Joannes's* Muskettiers, who had made good the passage, they fell into so great disorder and confusion, that they were presently slain by the shot without resistance. Some few who thought to get over the walls and flee crosse the field, were met withal by the Horse, and either miserably killed, or taken prisoners : onely *Bon d'Onaw*, much more fortunate in escaping then in fight.

The Duke of Guise gives a sudden assault to the Germans at Auneau, and with a great slaughter of them, obtains another famous Victory.



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ing, having by the help of a woman got over the wall toward the moorish side of the lake, saved his life, and fled into the quarter of the Swisses, which was little more then a league from thence. The slaughter of the Germans was exceedingly great and terrible, being inclosed on every side (for Colord *Joannes* was at last come in also at the field-gate) and with mentable cries they were all put to the sword without distinction: This bloody businesse continued till Baron *d'Onaw* being got to the Swisses, and the French Commanders being come to the same place from the other quarters, he exhorted, prayed and conjured them to follow him, promising them a certain Victory over the Catholikes, who in confusion, busied in spoil and execution, and wearied with watching, marching and fighting, could not be able to resist a much greater number, wherewith they might instantly fall upon them. But such a *Pannick* terrour had seized them, that it was not possible to perswade them to it: and the French Commanders considering that the Catholike Infantry would retire safe into the Castle, and that the Cavalry fresh and unwearied possessed the passage toward the field, dissuaded the Baron from that attempt; and having put the rest of the Army in Battalia, purposed onely to defend their post. The Duke of Guise, when his Souldiers were glutted with blood and pillage, rich in spoil, all gallantly mounted, and from Foot-Souldiers turned Horse-men, retired with eleven of the enemies Cornets, and all their Baggage, to Estampes, where having given God thanks, he instantly dispatched away the Cornets, and presented them to the King, giving him account (with proud Souldierlike boastings) of that notable Victory, which without blood he had so easily obtained.

But the King seeing the event prove quite contrary to his designe, resolved to prosecute hotly the remainder of the German Army, that he might have part in that glory which he saw resulted from Victory, and therefore he speedily sent for the Duke of Espernon that way, he himself following with all the Army, with a set purpose to meet the enemy. The Duke of Espernon, after the example of the Duke of Guise, attempted often to beat up the Germans quarters, but with small effect; for the experience of the Commander, the goodness of the Souldiers, and the successe, were all very unequal, circumstances which often make the events of like occasions

The Duke of  
Espannon be-  
gins again to  
treat an Agree-  
ment with the  
Swiss of the  
German Ar-  
my, and they  
have leave  
granted them  
to return with  
a Safe-conduct  
to their own  
home.

The *Reiters*, and their Commanders, and the French Souls, disheartened by the two late defeats, and forsaken by the Swisses, resolved to turn back and try to get out of the confines of France by the way of Bourgongne, hoping to get safe into Germany, and the Territory of Basile, and in that determination, being united and drawn close together, they began to march that way. But it was hard for them to get thither: for the Duke of Mayenne being returned into Bourgongne, had set himself to guard the Confines; and the *Marquis de Mandelot* and the Count *de Tournon* being marched to Lyons with the Forces of that City, were advanced to hinder them: the King with his whole Army was but a days march behinde them, and straightned them in the rear, and the Duke of Guise, with his wonted celerity, sometimes in the flank, sometimes behinde, and sometimes getting before them, ceased not to distresse them very much. The French Infantry was tired and consumed; wherefore the Souls, after disbanding of themselves, lay close hid in those Cities and Villages thorow which they passed: the horses spoiled and unshod, could not follow the hastie march of the Commanders; and the losse of their Baggage, the want of money, the



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the dearth of victuals (because all the people hid what they had in some secure place) the great rains, and dirty wayes, which are wonderfull in Bourgongne, their watching, weariness, diseases, and their disorders, had brought them to the extremity of desperation; wherefore the same *Sieur de Cormo* interposing, they resolved to submit themselves to the Kings mercy, who upon condition they would deliver him all their Colours furled up, and would promise not to fight any more against him, proffered to grant them a most ample safe conduct.

All the Army that was commanded by the Baron d'Onay disbands at last.

The Prince of Conty, the Duke of Bouillon, the *Sieurs de Cleruant, Chastillon*, and other French Commanders laboured to withstand that resolution, promising them relief from the King of Navar within a short time, and the arrears of all their pay, and endeavoured to perswade them not to do so dishonourable a thing, as to acknowledge themselves subdued and conquered, alledging that the Forces in *Lyonnois* were not so strong, but that they might passe that way; and go securely into the Territory of Geneva; but whilst they treat of the matters, being informed that the *Reiters* persisting in their determination of yeelding, intended to make them prisoners, thereby to win the favour of the King, and assure themselves of their pay to which they pretended, they resolved to fall away secretly, and separate themselves severall wayes, tery if they could save themselves by flight, before the Germans had opportunity to execute their designe.

The Duke of Bouillon flies to Geneva, and dyes there.

So the Duke of Bouillon with a few Horse making his escape without delay, by the way of Roane and *Lyonnois*, but travelling out of the ordinary road, after many troubles and dangers got to Geneva; where, being no lesse wasted with grief of minde, then toyl of body, he dyed within a few dayes after leaving his estate to his Sister, whom he recommended to the care of the Duke de Montpensier. The *Sieur de Chastillon* with an hundred Cuirassiers, and two hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back, having often fought with the Forces of Bourgongne and *Lyonnois* with wonderfull successe, and no lesse valour, got at last into Languedoc, and retired himself to his wonted Government in Vivarez. The *Sieur de Cleruant*, hid among the Swisses that went with a safe conduct escaped in their company to Basile. The Prince of Conty with a few Horse, lurking in remote places, got at last un-

known

own to his own house; and the other Commanders taking  
all wayes, ran very various fortunes.

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The *Reiters* having obtained leave of the King to carry  
their Cornets, but not displayed, divided themselves in-  
two parts; one with the Baron *d'Onaw* and Colonel *Da-*  
*in* passed thorow Savoy, where being shrunk to the num-  
of but five hundred, they were pillaged by the Duke's  
es; the other with the Baron *de Bouck*, passing thorow  
gongne to the Confines of the County of Mombelliard,  
followed by the Marquess *du Pont* and the Duke of  
e; by whom being overtaken without the borders of  
ce, they were all cut in pieces in many severall encoun-

Nor did this satisfie those Heads of the League; but  
a hostil fury they also sacked and burned the Towns  
Castles of that County, as well to revenge the like out-  
committed by the *Reiters* in Lorain, as because that  
nt had been the principall authour of raising those For-

The slaughter of the Germans was most lamentable,  
to the eyes of their very enemies; who sick with Fea-  
and weakened with bloody Fluxes, falling down by the  
igh-wayes, and in the Towns as they passed, were mi-  
y slain by the Country-people; eighteen of them were  
who left sick in a poor Cottage in Bourgongne, were cru-  
utchered, as the vilest creatures, by a woman, who cut  
eir throats with a knife, in revenge of those losses she had  
ned.

A woman kills  
18 Germans  
with a knife.

or had those Swisses better fortune, who to the num-  
f three thousand were gone into Dauphiné, under the  
mand of the *Sieur de Congy*, to joyn with *Lesdiguiers*,  
keeping the Hugonot party alive in that Province,  
make no great progresse for want of Forces, but busi-  
mself in taking in little places of small importance,  
in actions of small moment, having with him but a few  
ouldiers, and onely the Hugonot Gentry of that Coun-  
These Swisses accompanied with four hundred French  
tters, having passed the narrow places, marching on  
n with him, as they passed the River Isare, were as-  
ed by Monsieur *de la Valette* brother to the Duke of E-  
n, with the Cavalry of Provence, and by Colonel *Alfon-*  
no of the Isle of \* *Corfica* with the Infantry of Dauphi-  
ad so furiously charged there, that all the rest being slain

\* And there-  
fore usually  
called Colonel  
*Alfonso Cerse*.

upon

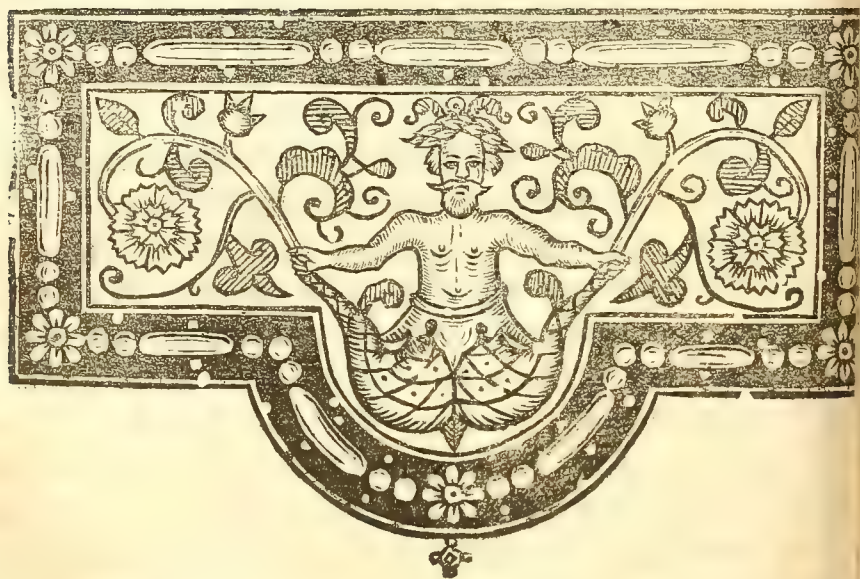


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The miserable  
end of the re-  
licks of the  
mighty Army  
of the Ger-  
mans.

upon the place, onely sixty of them escaped from so great slaughter : whereupon also the *Sieur Lesdiguieres* himself was forced to seek security among the mountains.

This end had that mighty Army of the Germans ; the defeat whereof, the King returning armed to Paris, entered as in triumph upon the twenty third of December, being his appearance solemnly received by the people ; though with the incredible applause of every one, but especially of the Parisians, the whole glory redounded to the Duke of Guise, whose name being become admired and immortal, was celebrated by the tongues and pens of all his adherents.

*The end of the Eighth Book.*





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Ninth BOOK.*

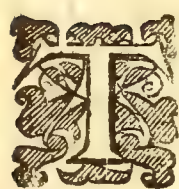
THE ARGUMENT.

His Book relates the determination of the Duke of Guise and of the League, to obtain (in the heat of Victory) their resignes of the King, and the ruine of the Hugonots: The Parisians assent unto it, and are more resolute then the rest: They prepare themselves to constrain the King by force, and to shut him up in a Monastery. The King being advertised, takes order to curb their unrulinesse; and to that end causeth the Swisshes to draw neer, and makes many other preparations. The Parisians finding they were discovered, to save themselves send for the Duke of Guise: At his arrival they take Arms, make barricadoes, drive out the Swisshes, and besiege the King in his Palace. He being not able to resist, flees away secretly, and retires to Chartres, and thence to Rouen: He resolves to make peace with the Duke of Guise, causeth it to be treated by the Queen-mother, and it is concluded. The Duke of Espernon goes from court, and retires to Angoulesm, where by a Conspiracy of the citizens, his life is in great danger. The Duke of Guise comes



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to the King to Chartres, and is favoured and exalted to the height of power. The States are assembled at Blois, according to the appointment made in the Articles of Peace. The Pope declares Cardinal Moresini his Legat in France. The King dismisses from Court the High-Chancellour, Secretary Villeroi and the Sieur de Bellieure: He sends an Army commanded by the Duke of Nevers against the King of Navar; who after the taking of many places, lays siege to Ganache. The States at Blois are begun: many practices and machinations are continued on both sides. The Duke of Guise causeth the States to demand that the King of Navar may be declared incapable of the Crown, and labours to be created Lieutenant-General with absolute authority in the Government. News comes that the Duke of Savoy hath seized upon the Marquesate of Saluzzo; busineses are changed by it: but the Duke of Guise orders matters so, that all redounds to his advantage and power. The King being very much straightned, resolves to cause the Duke of Guise to be slain: he findes difficulties and impediments, but at last his designe is effected, and upon Christmas-Eve the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal his brother are slain, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, with many others, imprisoned: He seleth Colonel Alfonso Corso to seize upon the Duke of Mayenne at Lyons; but he is forewarned, and retires to Dijon. The Queen-mother dies in the seventieth yeer of her age, and affairs remain in confusion.



He defeat of the German Army caused the depopulation of the Hugonots, no lesse then the greatness and exaltation of the League: for the King of Navar having received the news of so great a loss, though he were victorious beyond the Loire, yet fearing so black a cloud would suddenly pour a storm upon his head, he retired, without making other attempt, into his wonted retreat the City of Rochel; and the other Heads of his party shut themselves up in the strongest places, expecting the resolutions which they saw would be taken against them.

On the other side, the Duke of Guise, after the destroying of the County of Mombelliard, being come to Nancy with the other Lords of his Family, began without further delay

to consult of the means of accomplishing speedily the desires of the League, and of reaping fruits suitable to their present Victory. In this Consultation debated and reiterated for many days, the greater part of the Lords of the House of Lorain, forgetting moderation, so necessary in prosperity, spreading their sails very boldly, could talk of no less than the extirpation of the Hugonots, the deposing the King of the Crown, of putting him into a Cloister, as they had seen in Story, had been in former times done to *Chilperick*, destroying the House of Bourbon, pulling down the Ministers and Favourites of the Court, and disposing the Offices and Dignities of the Crown unto themselves, and in conclusion, of commanding and ruling the whole Government of France their own way; and were so puffed up with the pre-eminence of themselves, that their counsels were neither measured by justice nor possibility, presupposing they had all things in their own hands which were lawful for their desires to undertake, and that they could easily execute any determination, how high, how advantageous soever. These great enterprises were partly opposed by the Duke of Lorain, who of a moderate nature and moderate mind, no less remote from danger than far from the pretensions of the Lords of Guise, tried the authority he had, as Head of that Family, to restrain the deliberations which he thought too precipitate, and to confine matters for the most part within the limits of reason. The Duke of Mayenne assented to his opinions, and commended them very much, thinking (according to his old maxim) that every moment they put the whole state of the Family in danger without much necessity. But the Duke of Nemours, the Duke of Elbeuf, the Count *de Chaligny*, and almost all the rest, the Duke of Guise, who led no less by the violence of his own nature, and the acuteness of his wit, then by the prosperous success of his enterprises, could suffer no delay in following his conceived hopes, argued (not without reason) that the longer they deferred, the longer they gave the King to contrive their ruine, and to execute the designe of their suppression which he had already begun.

Vast thoughts  
of the House  
of Lorain, too  
much puffed  
up by prosper-  
ous successes.

This diversity of opinions was cause that they concluded to go in the middle way: and therefore about the end of



1588 January, in the year 1588 they resolved upon two confessions: One, that the Duke of Lorain with all his Forces and the assistance of Flanders, should assail the Towns that belong to the Duke of Bouillon, to root out the Hugonots from those parts, and to keep the Forces of the League in action; the other, that the Duke of Guise, and the other Confederate Lords, should not enter to oppose the King at the first; but that being united with the Cardinal of Bourbon they should strengthen their reasons, and to make appear that the nature of things did of it self carry businesse to their designed end, they should present a Petition, which should contain their demands for their advantage, and which should necessitate the King to declare his last resolution: for if he granted them their desires would be effected without noise or trouble; and if he refused them, he should thereby give them occasion and opportunity to make use of arms, and to acquire that by force which he would not consent to of his own accord.

The conjuncture of invading the Dutchy of Bouillon was in shew very opportune; for the Duke himself and the Count de la Mark his Brother being both dead, and having left *Charlotte* their Sister onely heir, under the tuition of the Duke of Montpensier, they knew that he being a Catholicke was not acceptable to the City of Sedan, Jamets, and other places of that Dukedome, and that they would not truely follow his Government, and Monsieur de la Noüe being Executor of the late Duke's will, was not onely absent, but also to deliver himself from the imprisonment of the Spaniards, by whom he had been taken in the Wars of Flanders, had promised not to bear arms against the King of Spain, nor against the Duke of Lorain: whereby it appeared that *Charlotte* wanted powerfull protection, and being likewise molested by the Count de Montleurier her Uncle, who pretended right to the inheritance, would hardly be able to resist the Forces of the Duke of Lorain, who also upon old pretences laid claim to many places of that State, and therefore without losing a minute of time, the Duke having put an Army in readiness under the command of the Marquesse du Pont his Son, accompanied by the Sieurs de Rosne and Osonville, after he had over-run and spoiled the Country, laid siege to Jamets with certain hopes to take it. But he found it a difficult business for Monsieur de Schelandre the Governour of it made

life and carefull provisions for the defence of it, and Monsieur de la Noüe having first by a long Apologie in writing expressed his stirring in a defensive War, and for the just right of forsaken Orphan, came to Sedan, and began to make strong preparations to maintain the War; so that the Siege of Jäts cooling of it self, proved so long, that it hardly ended with the year, wherein those things that happened, directed their arms to more important expeditions.

But the Duke of Guise being departed from Nancy, and come into his Government of Champagne, caused a long writing in the names of himself, the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the other Heads of the League to be presented to the King, wherein after many preambles, and many reasons very cunningly laid together, they demanded in substance, That he would unite himself truly with them, and would sincerely take himself Head of the League, to the destruction and root-out of the Hugonots. That hee would put those persons out of the Court, from his Counsels, and from their Offices, who should be named by the Catholick Princes, as suspected ill-affected to Religion: That he would make the Council of Trent be received and observed through the whole Kingdom, onely excepting those things which did prejudice the privilege of the *Gallique* Church: That he would grant them certain places which should be thought fit, unto the Confederate Princes for their security, wherein they might keep garrisons, and make necessary Fortifications at the expences of the Crown: That he would maintain an Army about the confines of Lorain, under the command of one of the Confederate Princes, to hinder the incursions of forreigners: That he would cause all the estates of the Hugonots to be confiscated and sold, wherewith the expences of the late Wars might be satisfied, and the Confederates might be assisted toward the maintenance of future matters.

The Duke of Guise causes a Writing to be presented to the King, with many cunning demands redounding to his own benefit.

The writing contained these principall things, and many others of lesse consequence, which being presented to the King in the beginning of February, was received by him with swonted dissimulation, and the answer deferred with his protracted delayes: nor did the Duke of Guise presse much to his resolution; for the end of the demand was onely to make the King contemptible, and render him odious to the people, suspected to favour the Hugonots, and furnish the League



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League with an occasion and pretence to take up Arms, and prosecute their begun designs while the prosperity of the fortune lasted. But these artifices were needlesse to make the King's person odious and contemptible. The burdens which the War, the maintaining of so many Armies, and his own profane manner of spending, daily increased, had lost the hearts of the people. The noise and splendour of the Duke of Guise's Victories, had obscured the majestic of his name, his obstinate favour to his *Minions*, had alienated the mind of his most ancient, most devoted servants: and the people of Paris swayed by the ambition of the Council of Sixteen, could no longer endure Government. The City was full of infamous Pamphlets, politick Discourses, Satyrical Verses, and fabulous Stories, which for the most part abusing the name of the Duke d'Espernon, redounded to the scorn and disgrace of the Royal Majesty. On the other side, all the streets, and every corner of Paris, resounded the praises of the Duke of Guise, celebrated in Verse and Prose by a thousand Writers, with the title of the *new David*, the *second Moses*, the *dearer of the Catholike people*, the *prop and pillar of the Church*; and the Preachers in their wonted manner, but with greater license, openly inveighing against the present affairs, filled the ears of the people with wonders, or rather miracles (so they called them) of this new *Gideon*, come into the world for the desired safety of the Kingdom: Which things spread from the City of Paris, as from the heart, diffused themselves thorow all the Provinces, as into the members, which were possessed with the same impressions, as well to the King's disadvantage, as in favour of the League. This Commotion was fully perfected by the King's own determination, which either blinded with the affection he bore the Duke d'Espernon, or because he would not advance other men whom they had so great cause to trust, declared him Admiral of the Kingdom and Governour of Normandy, Places that were vacant by the Duke of Joyeuse his death; which absolutely pierced thorow the heart of the Duke of Guise, seeing that he continued in his wonted customs, and that one man alone being exalted to the highest degree of greatnesse, himself, his brother, and the rest of his Family, how great soever their merits were, could never obtain nor compass any thing: so that forgetting his determinations resolved on at Nancy, and that wary moderation

The King declares the Duke of Espernon Admiral of the Kingdom and Governour of Normandy, to the great discontent of the Duke of Guise.

which the Duke of Lorain had advised, he began with-  
more delay, to think of reducing the authority of the  
vernment into his own power, making the Parisians  
principal instruments, who no lesse displeased and  
ensed then himself, did earnestly sollicite him to that  
lution: Wherefore having received particular in-  
nation of the state of things from the Council of  
een, whereby they assured him that they had twen-  
housand armed men in the City at their devotion, rea-  
o be put upon any enterprife: That they were divided in-  
xteen squadrons, to every one of which they had appoint-  
Commander; and that the rest of the people would with-  
question follow the stream of the chief men, by reason  
were ill-affected to the person of the King and the Duke  
bernou, and on the other side most zealous in the cause of  
gion, he considering that confusion easily ariseth among  
multitude, and that the division into sixteen several quar-  
was too many to meet altogether suddenly in one body  
n need should require, writ to the Council, that they  
ld lessen that number, and reduce it into but five quarters,  
hich they should appoint a place, where they should meet  
e signe that should be given them, and that they should  
ose things in such a manner, as might breed neither  
rder nor confusion: and as well to assure himself abso-  
y that that businesse should proceed according to his own  
as because he had no confidence in the small experience  
hose Heads appointed and chosen by the Parisians, he sent  
five Commanders, who were to order the five quarters,  
to rule and moderate the turbulence of popular Arms.  
e were the Count of Brissac, the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*,  
*Sieur de Chamois*, the *Sieur d'Esclavoles*, and Colonel *S*  
to whom the *Sieur de Meneville* was added, who from  
rst had been the mediatour and chief instrument in that  
nesse. These entered openly into Paris, under colour  
private affairs; and being lodged in those quarters of the  
that were appointed them, frequented the Court, and  
wed divers businesses, leaving the care to *Meneville*, of  
ging the matter to its conclusion: and to give the greater  
ance to it, the Duke of Guise gave order to the Duke of  
ale, who had Forces in Picardy, to make himself be o-  
d by many Governours of places, who fomented by the  
Duke

The Council  
of Sixteen in-  
forms the  
Duke of Guise  
of twenty  
thousand men  
in readinesse  
for any designe



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The Duke of  
Aumale is in a  
readinesse with  
five hundred  
Horse, to assist  
the Conspiracy  
of the Parisians

Duke of Espernon, refused to acknowledge him : That should keep five hundred good Horse in a readinesse to be the in due time, to put life in the designe of the Parisians, who knowing that such order was given, desired *Jehan Conty* of the *Eshevins* (or, as we call them in England, Sheriffs of the City) that he would let them have the Keys of the *Port S' Martin*, which he kept, as the custom is, to the end that when occasion should serve, they might bring in that supply which was to come out of Picardy : but he refusing, they dealt with *Pierre Brigard Eshevin* of the next quarter, who promised them the Keys of *Port S' Denis*, by which their assistance might be brought in as well as by that of *S' Martin* : And because they doubted that *Conty*, who had denied to consent to it, might reveal the businesse to the King, they found an invention to make him be complained of for an Heretick, and many other misdemeanours, putting him by that means in discredit, to the end that his relation might not be believed.

A Conspiracy  
against the  
King's Person.

Things being contrived in this manner, the means of executing them remained to be resolved on. The Commanders sent by the Duke, and the major part of those chosen by the Council of *Sixteen*, thought that to assault the *Louvre* where the King lay encompassed with his Guards, and the Nobility that attended him, would be a dangerous enterprize, of no small violence, and no ways likely to succeed : and they foresaw besides, that the fact would seem very scandalous to the rest of the Kingdom ; that also if it failed but never so little, or that the effecting of it should be a work of time, many disorders would arise, and the King might have opportunity to make himself superiour ; wherefore they resolved unanimously to make use of the occasion which the time of Lent would afford them, to take his person then when with the Duke of Espernon he should be in Procession as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, neither accompanied by his Guards, nor the ordinary retinue of the Court ; and as soon as he should be seized upon, under colour of a popular Sedition, caused by the indignation of the common people, exasperated by the heave punishments then laid upon them ; and enemies to the authority of the *Minions* that he should be shut up in a Monastery with strong Guards, after which the Duke of Aumale's five hundred Horse and his other Forces should presently come in, to take absolute possession.

on of the principal places, and keep them guarded till the  
ke of Guise should arrive; who calling the States Gene-  
and shewing either the King's incapacity, or his evil inten-  
s, and evil Government, might cause the affairs of the  
gdom to be disposed at the arbitrement and to satisfaction  
the League.

But *Nicholas Poulain*, who was privie to all this Conspiracy,  
by means of the High-Chancellour quickly make the re-  
tion that had been taken known unto the King, who  
ugh he did not absolutely give credit to the discovery, by  
on of the weight and importance of the thing, grounded  
on no other assurance then the bare affirmation of *Poulain*,  
an of no very good repute, and suspected by that means to  
k for profit and reward; yet thinking fit to look to him-  
he feigned himself not well, and upon that excuse forbore  
go to any spiritual exercises with the Fraternity of the Pe-  
nts. And that he might be the better assured of the truth,  
aused *Poulain* to be brought one night secretly into his clo-  
and in the presence of the High-Chancellour Monsieur  
and the Abbot *del Bene*, examined him particularly con-  
ing all things he had revealed, seeming not to believe  
, and to doubt that he was set on and suborned to say so,  
nose of the Hugonot party. *Poulain*, with a secure confi-  
ce and distinct narration, confirmed all that he had disco-  
ed, added all the particulars and smallest circumstances,  
ed all the accomplices; related from the beginning the  
le Conspiracy, and at last, with a free courage and settled  
ntenance, offered to be put in prison and kept there, till  
ad justified all that he had said; and in conclusion added,  
the Councel of *Sixteen* was to be held the next day in the  
se of Monsieur *de la Bruyiere*, (one of the conspiratours)  
that if the King would send whom he pleased along with  
with a sufficient Guard, he would put them all into his  
ls, so that none of them should be able to hide themselves,  
ny the Conspiracie. The King dismissed him with gra-  
e words, and very great promises, and went presently to  
Duke of *Espernon's* lodgings, where they conferred  
gher the space of half an hour; and being come from  
re about midnight, went to the Queen-mothers chamber,  
in was in the Palace, and having wakened her, told her  
ctly all that had been revealed unto him, and began to

*Nicholas Pou-  
lain* reveals the  
whole Plot to  
the High-  
Chancellour,  
and confirms  
it also to the  
King himself.

R r r r

consult



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consult whether he should do well to follow *Poulain's* advice and send the next day to take the Conspiratours.

The thing in appearance was easie and secure, but in effect full of great difficulty and danger: for it was not to be doubted but upon very little stir all the quarters of the City would be up in Arms, according to the order already taken, and under the Commanders already appointed, who would never suffer their Heads to be laid hold on and carried away prisoners by so small a number as a Company of the Guards, which was little they were able to send about that businesse: nor could they doubt of this effect, since they had often proved, that when any one of the Heads of the City had been taken by the Officers of the Court, either upon civil or criminal occasions, the common people had ever run violently and seditiously armed to deliver him: and if the people, being raised upon the apparent colour, that their Heads and Protectours were like to be laid upon, should suddenly assault the *Louvre*, the King and Court unarmed, unprovided, undefended, except by the ordinary Guards, they would hardly be able to make resistance against so great a Force, led by so expert resolute Commanders, and who being come to that passe, would readily embrace so delicious an occasion of making it appear that they stirred not to offend others, but onely in their own defence. They considered that the people of Paris were so powerful, that they could not be curbed, but by mighty Forces; and to undertake what they could not compasse, would be nothing else but to overthrow the businesse, and come off with losse and dishonour. They foresaw that the Conspiratours would presently be believed by the Dukes of Guise and Aumale, who were harby in Arms; whereas the King had no Body of men ready to assist him in a case of so great danger. They knew that they were not to trust in the Hugonot party, as well because they had always feared the King, and esteemed him a bitter enemy to their Religion, as because the defeat of the Germans had so terrified them, that they all thought rather of leaving the Kingdom to save their lives by flight, then of following the conduct of the Princes, to save themselves by the sword; and so much the more, by reason that the Prince of Condé's death (which happened about this time at S<sup>t</sup> Jehan d'Angely, by poison given him, as was reported, by his own servants, upon some private distaste) had raised the affliction of that party to the

Henry Prince  
of Condé poi-  
soned at S. Je-  
han d'Angely  
by his own  
servants.

utmost height ; wherein there was nothing left unshaken, but only the constancie of the King of Navar : Besides that, the far distance, and the other wonted respects, excluded the making of a foundation upon that party, especially in the urgency of this imminent danger : so that they could finde

Forces anywhere sufficient to bridle the Parisians.

Whereupon the Queen at last spake this conceit in the Italian

language : \* *Bisogna coprirsi bene il viso inanzi che sfuzzicare il*

*spazio* : adding, that it was necessary to arm and provide first,

and then means would not be wanting to suppress the Con-

spirators.

Wherefore, after long consultations, they sent for the Ab-

bot del Bene, with whom having pondered the same things a-

gain, they concluded that the Duke of Espernon, under colour

of taking possession of his Government of Normandy, should

presently into that Province ( bordering upon, and as it

is joyning to the Territory of Paris it self ) : That he should

secure himself of Rouen and Havre de Grace, chief places of

that Province, and which shut up the passage of the Ocean, and

the River Seine ; and that upon that occasion he should

draw some Forces together, wherewith he might be ready to

come up in time of need : That on the other side they should

labour by all means possible, as they had already begun,

draw Monsieur d'Entraques unto the King's devotion, be-

cause Monsieur d'Orleans, a Citie that stops the passage

between Berry and Beaufle unto the Territories of Paris :

That the Swisses which were yet under the King's

command, should be drawn to quarter at Lagny, and in other

places adjoining, to shut up the River of Marne ( com-

monly called The Nurse of the common people of Paris )

to cut off the passage from Champagne : for having

parties already, whereof the High-Chancellour had the

Government, and Pontoyse, because the Governour of it

was Monsieur d'Alincourt Father to Secretary Villeroy, Pa-

ris would be blocked up, incompassed and bridled on every

side ; so that bringing in afterward the greatest part of the

Swisses, and reinforcing the Regiment of Guards, by cal-

ling all the Souldiers to their Colours, who are often wont

to be absent in time of peace, they might then securely

suppress the Heads of the Conspiracy ; and if the people

should rise, it would be easie to tame them with the

\* He that will stir up a Wasps nest, had first need to cover his face well. A saying of the Queen-mothers.

Resolutions taken to free themselves of the Conspiracy of the Parisians.



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strength of the Swiftes, and the powerful curb of hunger in the mean time they concluded it was best for the King to assemble, and abstain from publike Ceremonies, and from certain suspected places, to give no opportunity to the execution of that Plot which the Conspiratours sought to accomplish.

This resolution, grounded as it were upon necessity, was approved the next morning both by Secretary *Valleroy* and the High-Chancellour, but most of all by the *Sieur de Villequier*, who still persisted in his opinion that the information was not true, but that the enemies of the Duke of Guise and of the Parisians, had suborned *Poulain* to raise this calumny, thereby to stir up some enterprise against them. Whereupon the King having sent for *Conty* and *Ugoley*, two *Eschevins* that consented not to the Conspiratours, would needs hear from them what they knew in that particular. *Conty* excused himself, that by reason of the report which was lately raised of him, that he was infected with the Hugonot Religion, and guilty of other crimes, he had not dared to tell any of those things he knew, for fear of being thought a malicious slanderer; and then disclosed openly all that had passed about the Keys of the *St Martin*: And *Pierre Ugoley* relating many particulars that were come to his knowledge, confirmed the same thing: so that the information being partly proved, they went on to the execution of those resolutions which had been taken.

The Duke of Espernon departed two days after with a very small company, that he might not weaken the Country; and being come to *Roüen* the *Metropolis* of Normandy, took possession of the Government, confirming as well the Parliament as the *Sieur de Carrouges* Governour of the City, unto his devotion, and to the King's party. But the same success did not at *Hayre de Grace*, because *André Brancace* *Sieur de Lars* a Provençal, who had the Government thereof given him by the Duke of *Foyeuse*, had already taken part with the League; the Duke of Guise, who diligently watched all opportunities, having dealt with him, by reason of the importance of that place, and caused the Parisians to give him thirty thousand Crowns, under pretence of keeping the mouth of the Ocean shut, and the passage of the Seine open, to hinder that the City might enjoy the traffick of the Sea, and the conveniency of bringing up the provisions which came from the

parts : by which reward, and the protection of the  
 ce of Guise, he was won to side absolutely with the League.  
 Therefore the Duke of Espernon knowing that he could not  
 v that place to his devotion, and unwilling to hazard his  
 titation at the first, letting alone the Country of *Caux*  
 re it is situated, he passed on the other side the Seine, to  
*eau de Mer, Honfleur*, and from thence by the shore of the  
 an to the City of *Caën*, where he was received with infinite  
 ause, because the place was full of Hugonots, and most a-  
 e from the designs of the League.

In the mean time the *Sieur d'Entragues* was treated  
 about the City of Orleans, by the means of *Secre-*  
*Villeroy* : in which negotiation there arose many diffi-  
 es, nor could the King bring it to an end with all his fo-  
 tions. The most part of men were of opinion, that this  
 esse was not effected, because Secretary *Villeroy*, now an  
 enemy to the Duke of Espernon, desired the Duke of  
 e's party should prevail, that he might thereby be abased ;  
 believing that ever the League would dare to passe on so  
 as to plot against the person of the King himself, but that  
 onely aimed at pulling down the *Minions*, and the de-  
 tion of the Hugonots ; and that therefore he did artifice-  
 interrupt the treaty of Orleans, and protract the resoluti-  
 of Monsieur *d'Entragues* with delays and difficulties ;  
 h was so much the rather believed, because the businesse  
 most easily effected afterwards in a time lesse opportune,  
 esse favourable. But Monsieur *de Villeroy* excused him-  
 or it with a long Apology, shewing that the protraction  
 e businesse was caused on the one side by the irresolute-  
 of Monsieur *d'Entragues*, and on the other, by that of  
 King himself ; who would neither consent to dismember  
 Government of the City of Orleans from that of the Pro-  
 as he required, lest he should discontent the High-Chan-  
 ur (who possessed it,) nor to make satisfaction be given  
 by the Duke of Espernon, by whom he thought himself  
 ed in the person of his Son ; howsoever it were, the bu-  
 se went on so slowly, that they came not to a conclusion  
 leans time enough to block up the City of Paris ; which  
 King prosecuting very carefully, caused the *Mareschal de*  
 to bring the Swisses to quarter at Lagny, a place neer  
 Citie seated upon the River Marne, disposing part of  
 them



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The Kings preparations to make himself sure of the Conspirators, to block up the passages about Paris, and keep victuals from thence.

The Councell of Sixteen by the Kings preparations, begin to suspect that their plot is discovered, and the Heads being dismayed, send for the Duke of Guise to Paris.

them into all the convenient neighbouring places. In the mean time the number of the French Guards was increased for Commissions had been given out to all the Captains ordinary, to summon all souldiers to their Colours, and not to give leave to any to depart. The Archers who were wont to wait by quarter, but three months in the year, had been warned to attend in an extraordinary manner; the Five and forty Gentlemen appointed by the King, stirred neither day nor night from his lodgings and Person; and many Gentlemen were invited under pretence of other businesses, to reside at Court: which things being particularly observed by the Councell of Sixteen (who kept Spies in every place) and seeing the King (contrary to his custome) live retired from those exercises of devotion and recreation wherein he was wont to delight, began to grow very suspicious that he had been advised by *Jehan Conty* and *Pierre Ugoly*, whereupon they began to fear, and to look to themselves; yet not desisting from the enterprise, but rather providing for all things with greater diligence. But when they knew the Swisses were quartered at Lagny, they were assured that their plot was discovered, and fell into wonderfull confusion, their hearts all failing at the custome is in popular designs, there being no man among them able for his authority and experience to manage so weighty an enterprise: wherefore finding they stood in need of a principall Head, whose wit, courage, and reputation might give life unto the businessse, they dispatched *Fransois Brigard* in very great haste to intreat the Duke of Guise not to deferr his coming any longer, to which they had often invited him; since by his presence the designe might be happily brought unto an issue; whereas if they were forsaken by him, they saw they should become a prey unto the King, out of whose hands (to the totall destruction of the City) they could not think of any possible way to save themselves. The Duke (who had some notice of the Kings intention, and also on the other side was not willing to see the foundation of the League to perish, nor to abandon those who had principally made their recourse to him, and thinking that his ruine would immediately follow that of the Parisians if time were given for those remedies to work which the King had begun to put in practice) took a resolution to go to Paris, either perfectly to finish the designe (as they

King's party said) or at least (as he and his Adherents said) to save the City, and the Councell of *Sixteen*, which he knew to be in manifest danger, and to free himself of the calumny which his enemies and the favourers of the Hugonots had raised against him. And that he might make no noise, but proceed with the same arts that were used by the King, he sent his Gentlemen by severall wayes, and a great band of old soldiers, who entred scatteringly upon severall dayes into the City, and lodg'd apart in severall quarters; and he himself with but seven horse in company took the way toward Soissons, where the Cardinall of Bourbon was, to conferr with him, and go from thence to Paris. Yet fame published his going, (which was also spread abroad by the *Sixteen* to stir up the sadnesse that had possessed all the people by reason of the preparations that were made) which being known to the King, was the cause that he sent Monsieur *de Bellièvre* as far as Soissons to dissuade him from coming, and to let him know, that in such a turbulent suspected time, he should be displeased and offended at it. The Duke, who was not deterred from his resolution by certain vain respects that use to unsettle minds, but desiring to come unexpectedly, that might neither be prevented nor way-laid, answered the Duke's message doubtfully, saying that his ambition was to serve his Majestie and Religion; that he knew he had been persecuted by his enemies, and therefore longed to vindicate himself; that his journey was exceeding private, and without train that could make him suspected; that he was very desirous to satisfie the King in all occasions; that he would disobey his Majesties commands; and added many others, but all generall and ambiguous; nor did he ever come to the point in substance, whether he would obey the Kings commands in that particular, or prosecute his intended journey to Paris; yet he seemed rather to infer, that he would stay at Soissons, and expect another resolution. But Monsieur *de Bellièvre* was no sooner departed with his doubtful answer, but took horse and followed him, making his journey out of the great high-ways, lest he should meet other messengers sent by the King; so that *Philibert* Sieur *de la Guiche*, and *Charles* of the King's Cabinet-Secretary, who were dispatched one after the other to advise him not to come to Paris, could not find him any where, till he was at the gate of *S' Denis*, a time when

The king commands the Duke of Guise not to come to Paris; but hee disobeyes.



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when it was too late to forbid his coming. The Duke Guise enters Paris upon Munday the ninth of May, when was almost noon, with no greater train then seven horses, with his Gentlemen and other servants together; but as a snow-ball rolling down a high hill grows so big, that at last becomes almost a mountain; so the people running out of their houses and shops, with applause and joy to follow him, he had not passed half thorow the City, but he had above ten thousand persons about him, and the crowd was so great, that he himself could hardly make his way. The shouts of the people sounded to the skies; nor did they ever cry *vive le Roi* with so great acclamation, as they now cried, *vive Guise*. Some saluted him, some gave him thanks, some bowed to him, some kissed the hem of his garment; those that could not come near, with actions of their hands and gestures of their words, body shewed infinite signes of rejoycing; and some were seen who adoring him as a Saint, touched him with their hands, and either kissed them presently, or else touched their eyes and foreheads with them; and even the very women, throwing leaves and flowers from their windows, honoured and blessed his coming. He on the other side, with a popular face, and smiling countenance, shewed himself affable to some in words, to some by courteously returning their salutations, others requited with kinde looks; and passing thorow that throng of people with his hat off, he omitted nothing that would have been so usefull to win absolutely the affections and applause of the people.

The Duke goes to wait upon the Queen-mother, who becomes pale and affrighted.

In this manner, without staying at his own house, he went straight forward to *S<sup>t</sup> Eustache*, and alighted at the Palace of the Queen-mother, who half astonished at his unexpected arrivall (for *Monsieur de Bellieure* being returned three days before, had made a doubt of his coming) received him with a pale countenance, and (contrary to the ordinary custom of her nature) trembling and almost dismayed. The Duke's carriage was full of respective humility and profound submission; the words of the Queen ambiguous, telling him that she was glad to see him, but would have been much more glad to have seen him at another time; to which he answered with a modest behaviour, but high words, that he was a faithful servant to the King, and that having understood the calumnies that were cast upon his innocence, and the things that were

agitation against Religion; and against the honest well-affected men of that City; he was come thither to divert that chief, and clear himself, or else to lay down his life at the price of the Church and the general safety.

Their discourse being interrupted, while he (as the custom is) saluted the other Ladies of the Court, the Queen called *Luigi Davila* her Gentleman-Usher, and commanded to let the King know the Duke of Guise was come, and within a little while she would bring him personally to the presence. The King (who was in his private closet with Monsieur *de Villequier*, *Bellieure*, and the Abbot *del Bene*) was so wonderfully moved, that he was fain to rest himself upon his table, hanging his head down almost to the table; and having inquired *Davila* of every particular, commanded him to desire the Queen secretly to defer his coming as long as possibly he could. The Abbot *del Bene*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, a most trusty servant of the King's, and one that had deserved wonderfully well of the Crown, coming at that instant into the closet, counselled him to receive the Duke of Guise in the closet; and cause him to be killed in that very place, without saying these words, \* *Percutiam pastorem, & dispergen-* \* I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered. *oves.* But *Villequier*, *Bellieure*, and the High-Chancellor (who came in) were of another opinion, alleading that the commotion of the people was so great, that in such a case, contemning the Royal Majesty, and breaking all bounds of Law and Duty, they would run to a precipitate revenge; and things not being yet ready to defend themselves, and braving the fury of the City, the Forces of the Parisians were too powerful to be provoked.

Whilst the King stood doubtful what to resolve, the Queen herself came and brought the Duke of Guise: she was brought herself in a Sedan, the Duke going by her all the way on foot, with so great a train, and such a confluence of people, that the whole City seemed to be crowded into the court of the presence and the streets thereabouts. They passed thorow a troop of Souldiers: Monsieur *de Grillon* Colonel of the Guards was there present, who being a free Souldierly man, and no good friend to the Duke of Guise, whilst he bowed respectfully to every private Souldier, made very small shew of respect unto the Duke, who observed it very well, with an alteration of countenance, which increased to a great pale-



1588

The King being  
visited by  
the Duke of  
Guise, shews  
himself angry  
both in words  
and looks, be-  
cause he was  
come to Paris  
contrary to his  
command.

The Queen  
disswades the  
King from his  
thoughts a-  
gainst the  
Duke of Guise;  
who perceiving  
in what danger  
he was, pre-  
sently takes his  
leave and de-  
parts.

palenesse when he saw the Swisses, who (standing to the Arms) made a lane at the bottom of the stairs, the Archers in the Hall, and in the rooms above, all the Gentlemen gathered together to expect him. They entered into the King's chamber; who (while the Duke of Guise bowed himself with lowe reverence) said to him with an angry look, *I sent you word that you should not come.* To these words the Duke with the same submission he had used to the Queen, but with more moderate words, answered, *That he was come to put himself into the arms of his Majesties justice, to clear himself of those calumnies that were cast upon him by his enemies; and that nevertheless he would not have come, if he had been plainly told that his Majesty had commanded him to stay.* The King turning to Bellieure, asked him angrily if it were not true that he had given him Commission to tell the Duke of Guise that he should not come, unlesse he would be accounted the author of the tumults and insurrections of the Parisians. Montmorency de Bellieure stepped forward, and would have given an account of his Message; but as he began to speak, the King interrupted him, saying that it was enough; and turning to the Duke of Guise, said, *That he knew not that he was calumniated by any body, but that his innocence would have clearly appeared, if his coming had produced no novelty, nor interrupted the quiet of the Government, as it was like to do.* The Queen well acquainted with the King's nature, and seeing in his countenance that he was inclined to some bold resolution, drew him aside, and told him in substance what she had seen of the conceits of the people, and that it was no time to think of any precipitate determination. The Dutchesse of Uzès, who was closeted with him, confirmed the same: and the Duke of Guise attentively observing every little particular, as soon as he saw they were in an uncertainty, that he might not give the King time to deliberate, feigned himself weary with his journey, and taking his leave, returned with the same confluence of people, but not accompanied with any of the Court, unto his own house in the Rue S<sup>t</sup> Anthonic. Many condemned the King, because he did not then resolve to cut him off at that opportunity; many knowing the strength and courage of the Parisians; and that he had many adherents even in the Court it self, thought it a prudent and moderate determination to let him go.

But the Duke of Guise having before his eyes the danger

had run, and condemning himself for his late venture, be-  
a presently to draw unto himself all his friends and depen-  
ents, which were spread in the several quarters of the City,  
that he who at noon entered but with seven horses, had in  
house at night above four hundred Gentlemen and Com-  
anders. At the same time he sent for the Council of Six-  
er, and all the *Eschevins*; and after a long consultation  
wherein he was fully informed of all particulars) gave order  
at Guards should be kept in every Ward; that all men should  
warned and prepared; and that upon any stir they should  
according to the order already given, and under the Officers al-  
ready appointed) all run to the principal places of the City,  
chiefly to his house. Many Arms, Muskets, Drums, and  
er instruments of War, were carried the same night into  
house, as well to arm great store of people, as to defend his  
n person, about which they kept Watches and Sentinels, no  
e then they use to do in Armies when they are neer an enemy.  
The same diligence was used at the *Louvre*, and at the  
eens Palace, whither she returned when it was very late at  
ht: her Gentlemen kept Guard very carefully; and the  
ble night was spent in great suspicions on every side: and  
v all things were become publike; nor was any body igno-  
t that the King meant to bridle the Parisians, and suppress  
Duke of Guise; and that he on the other side was come to  
ke himself master of the City, to drive his enemies from  
urt, and to finde means of transferring all the authority of  
Government upon himself. Among these reciprocal sus-  
ons and publike scattered reports, *Poulain* being admitted  
same night into the King's closet, told him that he had heard  
Duke of Guise had said publikely, He would clear him-  
of those calumnies that had been raised of him; and offer-  
himself again to be put in prison till he had made what he  
revealed appear to be true: for the Heads of the Conspi-  
y being taken, he doubted not but the King would have a  
assurance of all. Further, he said that before the Duke's  
ing, the King's preparations had made every one wary  
timorous; but that now he was present, their wonted spi-  
were revived: whereupon, that very night, in the most si-  
hours, the Council was to be held in the house of *La*  
pelle, where it would be very easie to take them all, and  
sifie themselves manifestly of the whole businesse. Upon

The King and  
Queen are  
strongly guard-  
ed for fear of  
the Duke of  
Guise; and he  
being fearful  
also, takes the  
same care.



1588

The Duke of  
Guise goes  
(with 400 gen-  
tlemen privat-  
ly wel armed)  
to the Louvre,  
to wait upon  
the King to  
Maff.

this proposition, they continued uncertain what to do, and consulting the whole night without one wink of sleep, in the mean time day appeared, it being Tuesday the tenth of May, a day full of terrour and distraction. The City was full of meetings and conventicles, the *Louvre* guarded with an wonted number of souldiers; the Duke of Guise's Palace kept locked and full of arms; the King in his Closet at secret counsell with the Queen his Mother, and his Counsellors; the Duke of Guise came in the morning to the *Louvre* (with a train of above four hundred Gentlemen and Commanders privately armed, with Pistols under their cloaks) and went to the lodgings of the young Queen to visit her, and from thence, having waited upon the King till he went to Masse, retired with the wonted concourse of people to his own house, where he spent the rest of the morning in consulting with the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, who above all others was his most interessed Confident, because he was a bitter enemy to the Duke of Espernon.

Discourses  
that passed be-  
tween the K.  
the Queen-  
mother, & the  
Duke of Guise.

After dinner he went to the Queen-mothers house, where the King came, and they discoursed together in the garden a long time. There the Duke of Guise taking heart being in a place out of danger, because it was in the middle of the City, wherein he was the strongest, discoursed a great while of the causes of his coming, of the satisfaction which the Confederate Princes desired, and of the War to be made against the King of Navar, accusing the Duke of Espernon, and Monsieur *de la Valette* his Brother, as authours of the contents and divisions, and imputed to their practices that the Hugonots were not rooted out, and France restored to its ancient splendor, and settled in a perfect peace; and finally, he shewed that the mindes of the sincere Catholicks could not be at quiet, while they saw the King encompassed with suspected persons, and such as were of doubtfull opinions in matters of Religion, while the ancient manner of Government used by former Kings was perverted, and while in stead of employing his Forces against the Hugonot Faction, they were turned against the faithful people of Paris, who desired nothing else but the safety of their souls and consciences; wherefore it was necessary for whosoever would live in peace and tranquillity to change the course of proceedings and form of Government to the end that the Catholick Faith, and the safety of good re-  
ben

g secured, every one might live quietly within their due  
 elience.

To these things the King answered with prolixity of words,  
 saying, that his minde was inclined to the extirpation of the  
 honours; but that it was needfull to stay for a fit oppor-  
 tunity, and wait his pleasure, not going about to constrain him  
 by force; that the plots and machinations of those of the League  
 interrupted all good; for they had passed on so far, that  
 they had disturbed the established order of Government; nor  
 was that satisfied, but slanderous tongues had too much offen-  
 ded his patience both against truth and reason; that notwith-  
 standing the clemency of his nature was ready to pardon all  
 that would see their faults, and serve him faithfully for  
 time to come; that no Prince in Christendome had more  
 persecuted, and trodden down Hereticks then he; that  
 never any King had more loved and favoured any Sub-  
 ject then he had done the House of Lorain, and the very per-  
 son of the Duke of Guise; that all Offices and Dignities could  
 be conferred upon one man; and that as God bestows his  
 gifts upon many according to the quality of their callings,  
 a Prince is bound to divide his gifts and favours among ma-  
 ny according to their deserts and his own inclination; that  
 he had raised the Lords of *la Valette*, Sons of a most Catholick  
 Father, valiant in War, and who had deserved very well of the  
 Crown, having borne arms more constantly then any other a-  
 gainst the Hugonots; that he found he was well served by  
 him as the diligence of Espernon had been seen in the defeat  
 of the Germans, and the prosperous successe of *la Valette* in  
 doing so great a slaughter of the Protestant Swisses that went  
 into Dauphiné: yet for all that he did not go about to equall  
 him to the House of Guise, being neither alike in birth nor  
 in place; but that places in Court are different, as there are dif-  
 ferent stations in Paradise; that it had ever been in the free  
 power of all Kings to use and favour whom they pleased, and  
 to take such companions for their hours of recreation to their own  
 ease and conveniency, for else that liberty would be debar-  
 red from a Prince which private men enjoy freely, there being no  
 man so mean but hath power to live & converse with whom he  
 pleaseth, and to dispose of his own estate according to his own  
 mind and *genius*; that he had never received any counsell from  
 the Lords of *la Valette*, nor any impediment that hindred him  
 from



1588

from making War with the Hugonots: yet if it could be proved, that they have not behaved themselves sincerely in any businesse, he was ready to punish them according to the quality of their fault; but that he would not banish them out of Court for meer dislike of others: that he would observe that he had so often sworn concerning the Edict of the *Union*, that his thoughts were more then ever bent upon the War against the King of Navar, nor did any other respect withhold him from it, then that of burthening his people, which must be forced to do to maintain Armies in so many several places; that it was onely that which troubled him; but that his subjects had no reason to complain, since they themselves had been the Incendiaries of the War, and above all the Parisians: that war could not be made without money, nor money could not be raised without oppressing the people by which means he was brought to bear the blame of a fault which was not his; for those that cryed out against impositions were the very same who seditiously had forced him to make war: that the City of Paris (to which he had done more good then ten of his Predecessours together, which had ever been his favourite, wherein he had made his constant habitation, which caused the riches and plenty of the Citizens) had now declared it self his Enemy, and having derided and defamed his name, had also gone on to conspire against his Person: that he knew very well that those plots were contrived by the wicked, and that the good people who were originally of the City consented not unto them, and that therefore he had resolved to turn all strangers out of the City, to take away the fuel from that pestilent fire which begun to spread; that he would not make use of forreign arms to purge the City, which he should be faithfully served by the Citizens themselves: that he required his assistance in that businesse, and that he would give him that proof of the fidelity and sincerity he professed; for when he should once be assured of the obedience of his subjects, he had nothing more to desire of him: when once the strangers were driven out, and the City settled without tumult, in the condition it ought to be, he would cast away all former suspicions, and willingly consent to the moderation of future businesses. After he had ended his discourse, he called the *Prevost des Merchants*, and the *Echevins* of the City, who were present, and commanded them to

faro

all houses diligently the day after, with such other per-  
as he should appoint for that purpose; and that they  
ld turn out all strangers who had settled themselves there  
out urgent necessity: That they should make no distin-  
of persons: for he was certified there were fifteen thou-  
who were set on to raise scandals, and come to stir up  
commotions, to the danger of the lives and goods of  
Citizens. With this Commission the Deputies departed,  
ising to serve him faithfully: and after many such dis-  
ses, the Duke of Guise departed also, having promised  
ame: For he had lull'd the King with his arts, and that his  
nce had so terrified him, that he should no longer need  
Force: Whereupon he said to some of his familiar  
ds that he hoped without noise or difficulty to obtain an  
nbly of the States General, wherein he doubted not but  
ers should go on according to his wish and designe.

The King appointed Monsieur *de Villquier* and Monsieur  
o make search for the strangers, which (the same Guards  
alousies continuing) was begun the next morning, but  
ostinate backwardness, and most apparent dissimulati-  
the Parisians, who knew that those that were lodged in  
City were all the Duke of Guise's dependents, and sent  
m; nor were they willing that by expelling them their  
Forces should be dissolved: Whereby the King's deputies  
ived that they laboured but in vain, and that the inten-  
of disarming and weakning the Duke of Guise could not  
ed by that means, nor produce any effect; and therefore  
et the King know so much; who angry and exaspera-  
resolved at last to tame the people by force, and endea-  
to suppress the Conspiratours without longer delay.  
at end he presently dispatched the Mareschal *de Biron* to  
the Swisses into Paris, and Monsieur *d'O* to fetch the  
panies of his Guards which were lodged out of the City  
neer adjacent places, and gave order that neither the  
lemen, Archers, nor Souldiers of the Guards, should stir  
more out of the Court, but that all should keep close at  
this person.

This was not unknown to the Duke of Guise, who, to  
the strength of the people against the King's Forces, caused  
prt to be presently spread about the City, that the King  
resolved to put to death Sixscore of the principal Catho-  
like

The King  
command: fif-  
teen thousand  
strangers to be  
driven out of  
Paris; but the  
execution is  
hindered: whereupon he  
resolves to  
suppress the  
Insurrection  
by force.

The Duke of  
Guise makes  
the Parisians  
believe that  
the King  
meant to put  
Sixscore of  
the chief Ca-  
tholikes to  
death.



1588 likes, and to put Garisons in the chief places to suppress the Citizens, and that therefore it was necessary for them to prepare for their defence. A counterfeit List was framed of Sixscore names, the copies whereof were dispersed about the Duke of Guise being set down first of all, and President Nully, President *Maistre*, the Sieurs *de Bussy* and *la Chaux*, *Hautman* the Receiver; and after them all the Curators, Preachers, Deputies, and *Eschevins*; and finally, all such were beloved of the people; the fear of whose danger stirred them up to take Arms; causing this forgery to be divulged with so much vehemence of words and actions, and in so much feigned terrour, by cunning active persons, who were acquainted with the peoples humours, that they began to talk of rising that very night; the Commanders being ordered and chosen in every quarter; and the Duke's Gentlemen appointed to rule and moderate the rashness of the armed people.

The King's souldiers come into Paris, and guard the *Louvre*, with the streets about it, as also the Bridges and Market-places of the City.

But things were not yet fully ripe; and the night of the eleventh day was spent in these practices on every side, till in the morning upon Thursday the twelfth of May, they heard the Swisses Fifes and Drums; which beating their march entered at the *Porte S' Honoré*, the *Mareschal de Byron* on horseback leading them; and then the French Companies followed under their several Captains, with all their matches lighted. The King being also got on horseback, went out to receive them, welcoming the Souldiers at the entry of the town and commanded with a loud voice, repeating it many times, that they should all forbear to commit the least insolence, do the least injury to the Citizens, upon pain of death without mercy: And having given order to Monsieur *d'O* and the *Mareschal de Byron* to possess and guard all the chief places of the Town, went back to the *Louvre*, where the Souldiers and the Guards were armed and in a readiness upon all occasions. The *Mareschal de Byron*, perhaps not acquainted with the King's designe, thought it expedient first to possess those places which were neere the *Louvre*, for the security and defence of the Court; and therefore first of all he possessed himself of *S' Innocents* Church-yard, being at the end of the *Rue S' Honoré*, and there he placed nine hundred Swisses leaving the rest, to the number of one thousand six hundred, about the *Boucherie*, the *Marché-neuf*, the *Chastelet*, and *Two*

use : Monsieur d'O took the *Pont au Change*, and the *Pont Michel*, placing Monsieur *du Gast* upon the one, and Monsieur *Marivaux* upon the other ; the Companies of *Beauvais*, *Angy* and Monsieur *de l'Archant*, being left to guard the gate the *Louvre* toward the *rue S<sup>t</sup> Thomas*. But the businesse was very ill ordered in that manner, and it had been much better to have taken *La Place Maubert*, *la Place S<sup>t</sup> Antoine*, and the streets neer the *Bastile*, which are all in the furthest parts of the City, and neer the Duke of Guise's Palace : for being begged, so that he could not stir, and the *rue S<sup>t</sup> Denis* and *Martin* being blocked up, to divide the people into two parts; that they might not easily draw together, the whole City could have been blocked up in the King's power, and the tumult of the people restrained. But the Souldiers thus disposed, were more fit to defend the *Louvre*, then to hinder the irruption of the Citizens, which took its birth and beginning where the person of the Duke of Guise was, and where spirit gave life to it.

At the entry of the King's Forces, which was known to the whole City by the noise of the Drums, the people full of fear and terour, and now assured that the report divulged of the King's intention was most certain, began to gather together, shutting up their doors and shops, which (according to the custom used in that City of going to work before day) were already begun to be opened, and every one began to take ready their Arms, expecting directions what they should

It was already broad day light, when the Queen-mother, desirous to know what the Duke of Guise did, sent *Luigi D'Albani* unto him, under colour of a ceremonial visit, (for she continued her wonted dissimulation) giving him charge to observe very carefully every little circumstance of whatsoever he should see or hear. He going to the *Hostel de Guise* (so they call the houses of the great Lords) contrary to the ordinary custom, found the gates shut ; and being let in thorow the backet, he saw two long rowes of Gentlemen armed in the court, and in the midst of them the Duke of Guise walking up and down alone, to whom he delivered the complement he was commanded : But the Duke finding the Queens intention, not desiring to shew that he was well prepared; took him kindly by the hand, and led him talking into the Garden, where a



great number of arms were laid together, and all the lower rooms full of souldiers and Reformadoes; of whom *Dar la* (as being acquainted with them) knew the greatest part. After two or three short turns in the garden, the Duke, who notwithstanding was in great suspence, and as one might easily perceive, full of weighty thoughts, returning a compleme dismissed him, and he coming back strait to the *Louvre*, whether the Queen was already gone, and being brought into the King's closet, related distinctly all that he had observed: and added further, that as he passed thorow the City, he had seen them shut up their shops and houses, make ready their arms, lay logs and set barrells before their doors, and many of the Duke's Gentlemen and Officers discoursing together, the chief Citizens very busie every-where, and that especially in the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rüe S<sup>t</sup> Anthoyne* the people gathered very fast together, and made greater preparations of arms then in any other place. The King having caused him to make his relation twice over, presently sent *Benoise* his Secretary to Monsieur *d'O*, commanding him to advance beyond the bridges, and cause the French Companies to possesse the *Place Maubert*, and the *Rüe S<sup>t</sup> Anthoyne*.

Monsieur *d'O* instantly sent Colonel *Grillon* to execute the King's command; but he came too late: for the *Sieur de Bois-dauphin* with the Scholers of the University, and the boat-men dwelling about *S<sup>t</sup> Jehan en Grève* had already taken that post, which had till then been imprudently neglected; and having locked up the streets with chains, and shut up all passages with barricadoes of logs and barrells filled with stones and earth, had made that their *Rendez-vous*; wherefore Monsieur *de Grillon* was faine to retire, and going about to return to the place from whence he came, his way was stopt by the Count of *Brissac*, who with the people of the Quarter of *S<sup>t</sup> Germain*, had shut him up so in the midst, that he was engaged between the bridges, nor could he stir any way at all, or make the least resistance on any side, though he had with him the greatest strength of the French Souldiers.

The Parisians raised at the ringing of the bells, make barricadoes crosse the streets; and blocking up all the King's *Corps de Garde*, come up to the *Louvre*, and begin to assault the *Regallists*.

All the rest of the City being already up, followed in beginning, crying furiously, *Arm, arm*, and ringing the *cloche saint* in every Quarter, made barricadoes in the same manner within thirty paces of one another, in so punctuall order and with so much readinesse, that the extent of so vast a

was all blocked up in a moment, and shut in every way, the King's souldiers beset on all sides with the barricadoes even to the very doors of all their *Corps de Garde*, and which was worst of all, Colonel *S' Paul* with the people of *S' Eustache* and *St. Martre* coming down with fury, and blocking up the streets from place to place, made their last barricadoes at the very gates of the *Louvre*, right over against, and in the very face of the King's *Corps de Garde*. After the streets were blocked up and fortified on all sides, the word going every-where about with fierce loud cries, that they should cut the forreign Souldiers in pieces, the Swisses were presently assaulted in *S' Innocent's* Church-yard, where shut up and (as one may say) imprisoned, they could make no defence in the world, but six or thirty of them being slain in the first onset, the rest yeelded themselves without resistance, and were pillaged by the people with very great violence and boasting. All the other quarters, of the *Chastelet*, the little Bridge, the Butchery, and the Town-house were assaulted at the same time, the Swisses being in the same manner disarmed, and made prisoners at the people's discretion. To the French Guards they had a little more respect; for having made them put out their matches, they lay down their arms, they kept them in that manner till they had further order.

In the mean time the King was perswaded by the Queen-mother and Monsieur *de Ville-quier* to go forth of the *Louvre*, and shew himself unto the Citizens, thinking that the people would certainly be daunted with the splendor of the Royall Majesty, that they would acknowledge and obey him, and in laying down their arms, and receiving security for their lives and houses, they would suffer the delinquents to be taken and punished: But the King thought it too dangerous an advice, and such a one as would expose all the remainder of his Dignity and Authority to the rashness of the people, without much assurance that the issue would be good; and which was worse, it seemed to him a counsell of a dangerous nature, as in case it should not succeed well, could not be remedied, but the event at the same time would be certain ruine, and the losse of his life: wherefore he resolved to send out the Marshalls of *Aumont* and *Byron* to talk with the people, and endeavour safely to appease them by fair means. But this determination was as vain as the other; for



1588 the Marefchals words were answered with Musket-bullets, and stones, and they were fain to retire without doing any thing. There was now no other hope left, but of defending the *Louvre*, wherein (besides the wonted guards, most forward to do their duty) there were above five hundred Gentlemen, who before all others had undertaken to defend the passage to the gate.

But the Duke of Guise, either struck with the temerity of so high an enterprize, or not having prepared his design from the beginning to go so far, or astonished in the execution by the greatnesse of the attempt, or thinking the business was brought to a head as soon as he saw the City in his power, the King's guards disarmed and taken, and the King with all his friends shut up, and as it were imprisoned in the *Louvre*, and that he should attain to the rest of his desires, by way of composition, resolved to appease the tumult without using any more force; and going out of his house on horseback, unarmed, with onely a truncheon in his hand, to shew the greater contempt, rode thorow all the Quarters, and speaking to the people every-where, exhorted them to stand up to their guard, since God had been so mercifull to them and secure their lives, families, liberties, religion, and the honour of the holy Church, but that they should depend upon him and not doubt, for all things were very safe: and coming to the place where the French souldiers were beset and taken, he gave order to Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* to conduct them to the *Louvre*, and let them go. Thence he passed by *S<sup>t</sup> Innocent*, and made the Swisses arms be restored to them; and in the same manner caused the Count of *Brissac* to bring them to the entry of the *Louvre* and let them go. All the souldiers without drums, or being ranked in order went bare-headed, tyeing their arms as prisoners, and being conducted to the gate of the *Louvre*, were there received by the Marechal de *By*, who caused them to be lodged thereabout: nor could the Duke of Guise's Victory have a prouder triumph, or a more remarkable spectacle.

The Duke of Guise seeing the City in his power, and the King as it were a prisoner, ceaseth to prosecute the forcing of the *Louvre*, and appeaseth the people.

*Alessandro Farnese* Duke of Parma his saying of the Duke of Guise.

Many thought, and particularly *Alessandro Farnese* Duke of Parma (a Prince of incomparable valour and deep understanding) said, that the Duke of Guise had attempted too much, and done too little, not remembring the Proverb, *Whosoever draws his sword against his Prince, ought presently to*

away the scabbard : for so bold an enterprize should either not have been undertaken, or being begun, should have been executed, whatsoever had come on it : But the Duke of Guise, either overcome by a sense of justice, whereof he was upon him to be the Protector, ; or desiring still to use the cloak of piety and religion to cover his designs ; or else never having had any further aim then his own security, and reformation of Government, and now promising himself that by his arts, and by a treaty he should bring the sum of things into his own power, without taking it openly by force, he thought he had reduced the King to such extremity, that he must of necessity have been forced to yeeld to his will, and to grant those conditions he desired, which he doubted afterwards to have confirmed by the universall consent of the people. There wanted not of those who suspected that the Duke of Guise's main end was to shut up the King in a monastery, under pretence of disability and evill Government, and to assume unto himself the possession of the Crown : but certainly men generally believed, that as he intended (after the King's death) to exclude the House of Bourbon from the Crown, and to transferr it upon himself ; so he intended to deprive the King of it while he lived, and therefore believed it was sufficient, if aiming at the height of authority and Government, he could make way for the extending of his adversaries, and by degrees advance his own designs to such a point, as he might execute them boldly upon the occasion should serve ; and this as the more gentle, was the more probable opinion. However it were, the Duke of Guise, supposing he had made himself Master of Paris, and encompassed the *Louvre* in such manner, that (as he writ the same day to the Duke of Lorain) he should be able to give account of what was in it ; he quieted the violence and uproar of the people, would not suffer them to proceed further towards the pulling down of the *Louvre*, made the guards that had been taken pillaged to be let go, but gave order that the barricadoes should be continued, that the people every-where should be in readiness with their arms, that the guards should be kept with infinite care, expecting some body to come from the King, besieged and brought into a hard condition, to make an overture of some agreement.

Neither did his expectation fail him in that beginning : for after  
ter

The opinion  
that the Duke  
of Guise made  
way for his de-  
signes to seise  
upon the  
Crown of  
France, and  
possesse it after  
the death of  
Hen. the Third.



The Queen-mother goes to the Duke of Guise in her Sedan, being denied passage in her Coach, confers with him; but brings back nothing but complaints and exorbitant demands.

ter many consultations in the King's closet, the Queen-mother resolved to go unto him, and sent to demand passage of the Citizens, who (with intolerable insolence, but born to her with admirable dissimulation) denied to let her pass in her Coach, for fear of spoiling the Barricadoes, but answered they would give her leave to go on foot. Whereupon she took her Sedan, and being attended by Secretary Puyssier, Monsieur de Bellieure, and a few of her Gentlemen, she went with infinite trouble to the *Hostel de Guise*, and being fast stay every minute till the Barricadoes were opened, which were still shut again as soon as she was past, she was above two hours ere she got thither, by reason of the length of the way, and being stopt at so many several passages. At her first arrival the Duke met her with exceeding great lamentations, complaining openly that the King, by going about to put a Frenchman unseasonably into the City of Paris, that had never before any in times past, had made the people jealous that he wanted to take away the lives of the good Catholikes, which had been the cause of that tumult, which all the wit of man could not remedy: That the King did very much injure him (who by many proofs was his most faithful servant) and his good faithful City of Paris, by using them in that manner: but nevertheless he bearing the affront patiently, had done his best to lay in him to take away the peoples fears, and to appease the tumult. To which arts the Queen answering with the like dissimulation, said, That the King intended nothing but to drive out strangers, for the security and quiet of the Citizens, and having been very ill served by some employed in that business, he had caused his Guards to enter for the safety and defence of the City, that afterward he himself in person might make the search, and by his labour and authority prevent the mischief that was ready to fall upon the inhabitants. That the suspicious people had taken Arms too suddenly but that she hoped when the truth was once known, every thing would be settled in quietnesse. After this discourse in the like manner, they went together into the Garden, where the Duke of Guise (making his pretence that he knew the King's designs and intentions were to destroy the great ones, and suppress those that opposed his favourites, and that therefore it was necessary for him to look well to himself, to secure both his own and the common safety) began to make infinite

exorbitant demands, and such as were truly proper for an  
 able Conquerour : That the King should declare him his  
 Lieutenant-General in all Provinces and places under his Do-  
 minions, with the same authority his father had in the time of  
 his the Second : That the States General should be called  
 in, in which Assembly that power granted to him should  
 be confirmed : That to secure the people from their fears of  
 a tyrannical Prince ; the King of Navar and the other Princes  
 of the Bourbon his adherents ; should be declared to have forfeit-  
 ed their Inheritance to the Crown : That the Taxes and Im-  
 positions upon the people might be limited : That, to take  
 away all hated and suspected novelties, all Forms of Govern-  
 ment should be reduced to a certain Rule, which it should not  
 be lawful for the King to alter : That the Duke of Espernon,  
 Monsieur de la Valette his brother, the Mareschals of Retz and  
 Montmorency, Monsieur d'O, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso* (suspected  
 to hold intelligence with the Hereticks, and every day to  
 invent new inventions of new grievances) should be deprived  
 of their Offices and Governments, and banished for ever  
 from the Court : That, to take away all suspicion which every  
 man had with reason, that the Hereticks were not proceeded  
 against really and in good earnest, the absolute charge of the  
 war should be given to him; which should be prosecuted with  
 two Armies, one in Poitou, the other in Dauphiné : That,  
 to remove jealousies and fears of tyrannical proceedings, the  
 King should dismiss his Guard of the Five and forty Gen-  
 tlemen, and forbid them to return to Court, reserving onely  
 the Guards which his Predecessours were wont to have : That  
 he should take away the Regiment of Guards from Monsieur  
 de Montmorency, and give it to such a person as the Catholike Prin-  
 ce might confide in : That all the Fortresses of Picardy might  
 be delivered up to the Duke of Aumale, as Governour of that  
 Province : That the Duke of Nemours might have the Gov-  
 ernment of Lyons, and the Duke of Elbeuf that of Nor-  
 mandy : That the King should put into the hands of the  
 Lords of the League six such Towns as they should name, in  
 which they might keep Garisons, under such Governours as  
 they should like : That a convenient assignment might be gi-  
 ven to the Parisians for the payment of the rents of the Town-  
 house : And that the Government of the City might be gi-  
 ven to the Count *de Brissac*, upon whom also should be con-  
 ferred



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ferred the Office of Colonel General of the French Infan-  
try held at that time by the Duke of Espernon : That the  
Office of Admiral should be restored to the Duke of Mayen-  
ne, and Monsieur *de la Chastre* made Marechal in the place  
of Monsieur *de Byron*.

Which Demands being carefully examined by the Queen  
one by one, and the injustice and exorbitancy of them be-  
ing shewn, she at last asked the Duke of Guise what he believ-  
ed the people of France would say, and what the Princes of  
Europe would think, if with the King's consent a Subject should  
accept, much lesse demand such Conditions, and whether  
it meant not to put shackles upon the King, and take the Crown  
from his head ? To which words the Duke answered first  
That he demanded no place nor Office for any that was not  
very worthy of it ; and that to drive away Incendiaries, enemies  
of the publike good, favourers of Hereticks, and persecutors  
of the Catholike Religion, was to purge the body of the  
State of a most dangerous poison, to the end that the King  
might afterwards enjoy that tranquillity and obedience which  
belonged to him ; and that the medicine indeed was bitter at  
first, but would be fruitful and healthful in the end. In  
the end after many debates, and prolix contentious arguments,  
this was the Duke of Guise's conclusion, That since the King  
himself had at last laid open his secret intentions, and brought  
all matters to that passe, he was resolved either to lose his  
life, or to secure Religion and the estate of his own Family.

The Queen returned at night with this Answer to the  
Council, where they continued still in Arms ; private persons  
were courting and consulting no lesse then the King's Council  
in his closet ; among whom the variety of opinions was  
great ; private passions, and particular interests, contend-  
ing lesse then respect of the publike and the universal good.  
For the High-Chancellour, Secretary *Villeroy*, and Monsieur  
*de Villequier*, who desired the abasement of the Duke of  
Espernon, and the ruine of the Hugonots, and hoping that  
they should not fall from their credit and authority, though the  
League should prevail, consented to the greatest part of the  
Duke of Guise's demands, to the secret dislike of the King  
who could by no means endure them. On the other side  
Monsieur *d'O*, Monsieur *de Rambouillet*, the Abbot *de Bel-  
leu*

Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, argued that the greatest adversities the world were to be suffered, rather than to yeeld unto him; Monsieur *d'O* neverthelesse offering to lay down his offices, and the Colonel his charge of Lieutenant in Dauphinie, if that were the onely means to appease the tumults. The Queen and Secretary *Pinart* kept the middle way, and hoped that the Duke of Guise would fall from a great part of his commands. The siege pressed very much on the one side, there being no provision of Victuals in the *Louvre*; and it was feared that the people going out of the City, would likewise besiege it on the other side, and shutting up the passages towards the fields, reduce the King and the whole Court presently into their power; but then again the Propositions were such as the King could in no wise hearken unto.

The night was spent in this manner, full of terrour and uncertainty, the Duke of Guise being diligent in visiting the wards of the City every hour, lest their carelesnesse and negligence should give the King's Souldiers opportunity to recover those places they had lost before, and lest the darknesse should give occasion to some disorder, or stir up some tumult.

In the morning, after Masse, the King and Queen-mother being shut up privately together, resolved that she should return to the Duke of Guise, and making some shew of concurring to the Agreement, should draw the Treaty out in length, whilst the King should secretly get out of the new gate on the backside of the gardens of the *Louvre*, which was in his power, and escaping from Paris before the enemies had time to block it up, should go to the City of Chartres, the Governour and people whereof were at his devotion. The Queen with the same difficulties, went again to the *Hostel de Guise*; and by the way one of the City coming close up to her, gave her notice that fifteen thousand men were prepared to enclose the *Louvre* on the other side: Wherefore having begun the Treaty with the Duke, though she found him very obstinate then at first, yet she continued with infinite patience treating about matters of Agreement: in the meantime the King feigning to go out to walk in the garden of the *Valeryes* (as he was wont to do) went forth with a very few, and walked on softly talking, till he came into the gardens

While the Queen returns to the Duke of Guise, and treats with him, the King with sixteen Gentlemen leaves Paris, and retires to Chartres.

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which were very neer his stables, where (having caused the doors to be shut, and put on a riding sute) he presently took horse with sixteen Gentlemen, being followed onely by twelve Foot-men, and going out of the New gate, rode with all possible speed to Chastres; where the people received him with as much affection as the Parisians had done the Duke of Guise.

Two long hours after the King's departure, the *Sieur de Meneville* came close to the Duke of Guise's ear, who was then treating with the Queen, and told him that the King was gone suddenly from Paris by the New gate; at which news the Duke being unexpectedly surpris'd, turned toward the Queen, and cryed out with a loud voice, Ah Madam, I am quite undone, and while your Majestie holds me here in delays, the King is gone away to ruine me. The Queen feeling ignorant of that resolution, answered, she believed it not; and that the King had not told her of any such intent, but might be some determination of his Councill; and taking her chair, she made her self be carried back to the Louvre, where she found that the Companies of the guards led by *Goulon*, together with the Swisses led by the *Sieurs de Dampierre* and *Tinteville*, were already marched away, to whom she presently dispatched a Gentleman, with command not to lose any time, but march continually day and night; which being obeyed by them, they came to the same place not many hours after the King's arrivall. The next day all the Court came scattering, and amongst the rest *Nicholas Poulain*, *Jehan Condé*, and *Pierre Ugo* fled from Paris, every one rejoycing that they had miraculously escaped the fury and insurrection of the Parisians; to whom the King's departure was so unexpected, that they neither knew what to do, nor had any preparation to follow him; which is not much to be wondered at in common people; but that the Duke of Guise should not have foreseen that blow, gave great occasion of talk to many at that time; and considering his vivacity and warinesse, may be a wonder in whosoever shall apply his minde solidly to think upon it; this most important oversight being to be attributed to one of those marvellous works of Providence where with God uses often to mock the craft and subtilty of worldly policy.

The King being departed, the Duke of Guise's design

obtaining from him (as a prisoner) those conditions he intended) vanished of it self; and therefore it was necessary think upon some other course: Wherefore after he had in a good while vexed and angry with himself, knowing he let slip so great an occasion, he turned his thoughts to see his absolute power in the City of Paris; for seeing a war ready to break forth between him and the King, he saw he could have no surer foundation then the forces and assistance of the Parisians. His first thought was to make himself Master of the *Bastille*, which was kept by *Lorenzo Tello Chevalier du Guet*, who commanded there in the King's name; nor was the attaining of it very difficult; for though he might have made an honourable defence, yet as soon as he knew the Artillery was taken out of the *Arsenal* to batter it, he gave it up into the people's hand, and they presently delivered it to the Duke of Guise, who not losing any longer time, having called the people together, upon Sunday the tenth, caused *Hector Perose Prevost des Marchands* to be put out, as one depending upon the King, and clapt him up prisoner in the *Bastille*, making *la Chappelle Martell* (the principal instrument of the League, and first *Boutefeu* of the people) to be elected in his place: *Conty* and *Ugoly* were also put out of their Offices as fugitives, and in their places were put *Com-pans* and *Rolland*, both of the Councell of *Sixteen*, the chief among the Conspirators. Upon Monday the streets were cleared, the barricadoes taken away, and the shops and houses opened; but the guards were continued with extraordinary care day and night, many rumours of danger being spread abroad, which served to keep the people in fear and jealousies, and not to let their first motions

The City being secured, the next business was to open passages of the River in respect of victuall; the Duke of Guise being assured, that hunger would quickly cause repentance among the people: Wherefore Forces being already sent out of Picardy, and two Regiments of Foot listed in the City, siege was laid to the *Bois de Vincennes*, which yielded without resistance; and the same did *S<sup>t</sup> Cloud*, *Lagny*, *Chantilly*, with all the other neighbouring Towns; and *Pontoise*, though it failed to continue under the King's obedience, yet hindered it not the passage of the River *Seine*, for



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the bringing up of such provisions as were wont to come from those parts; Corbeil remained to be taken, into which *Jehan de Villiers* was entred with good hope to defend it, by reason of the peoples being well-affected, and of the King's being neerer at hand, who might easily relieve it from Chartres; did he so much value the tumultuous Forces of the Parisians, but thought though he had no souldiers in pay, he should be able to hold out of himself for many dayes, which begun to succeed prosperously, he having at their first arrivall supplied with advantage, and in great part repressed the boldnesse of the Parisians. But the King, who had laid his designe another way, and who (all other passages being already opened) would not in a matter of no great consequence give beginning to a tedious War, wrote to *Villiers*, that leaving the people at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased, he should return to Court; whereupon, as soon as he was gone, the people opened their gates, and willingly gave themselves up to the Parisians.

All these things were done in the very face of the Queen, who very much afflicted inwardly, did yet strive to dissimulate so great injuries, and not stirring from Paris (under pretence that she doubted not of their obedience, but indeed that she might be present and see how all businesses were managed) expected to receive directions from the King what she should doe.

He being come to Chartres, was not onely uncertain of himself, but found also the same variety of opinions among his Councillors; for *Villeroy* and his adherents, still contrary to their first advice, argued that a Warr with the Duke of Guise was by no means to be undertaken, lest it should separate and divide the Catholick party into open dissention, and give the Hugonots an evident occasion to overthrow Religion; that many things ought to be dissembled and borne with all to obtain a greater good; and that reason counselleth to make an agreement with the Duke of Guise upon honourable conditions, since the foundation of the King's authority consisted in the Catholicks, and therefore it was not good to destroy, or at least weaken it by division. But *Monsieur de Ramboillet*, *Alfonso Corso*, and the rest, urged the contrary, that to assent to the Duke of Guise's demands was to lay down the Crown, and give it to the House of Lo-

ich having rooted out the House of Bourbon & the Hugonots  
ty, born up by the favour of the people, & the greatnes of its  
ces, would presently think of deposing the King, and shutting  
up in a Monastery, as the report was generally divulged al-  
dy : that whatsoever should be done against the Hugonots  
uld be attributed to the Duke of Guise's industry, and that  
onsent unto it, was but to authorise and confirm his ambi-  
so much the more, and even to increase the peoples affe-  
n towards him ; for it would be manifest that the King  
descended to his demands out of pure fear, and as being  
strained by his force and power ; and that therefore it  
better to venture upon any thing how difficult and dan-  
ous soever, rather then do such an unworthy thing as to  
rive the lawful Successors of the Crown, and put himself  
slavery and subjection. They on the other side replied  
n, that the King by doing well would recover the love of  
people which he had lost, and that his giving satisfaction  
he Heads of the League, by putting away his *Minions*,  
making them partakers in the honours of the Government,  
ould quiet all busineses, and dissolve the *Union* with very  
at facility, nor would any body dare to turn against the sa-  
e Majesty of the King when that so specious pretence  
ould be taken away. That if this were really a matter of  
igion, spurred on by conscience, as soon as the cause should  
e by proceeding against the Hugonots, the effect without  
ot would do the like ; and if it were a spirit of ambition,  
e King by giving a little convenient satisfaction to the Great  
e, might also settle all commotions : and finally, that he  
ud not confound his enemies by any more sure, nor more  
ay way, then by doing that of himself, which the League  
ontly endeavoured to make him do by force ; for to try  
ehazard of War was too disadvantageous, too precipitate  
olution, having neither Forces, Adherents, nor money to  
himself into so weighty, so dangerous a businesse, being  
pived of the strength of the Catholicks, who for the most  
ollowed the fortune of the Duke of Guise, and being  
iled from the Hugonots by ancient hatred, and most open  
tust : That it was a thing commended by all wise men, to  
for the opportunity of times, and to bend rather then be  
ld up by the roots. The King's minde was in very great  
ut and suspense between these opinions ; not onely by  
reason



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reason of the variety and weight of their reasons, but because he began to suspect that they who counselled him were moved rather by interests and particular respects, than the regard of his service, and care of the general good.

The enmity between Monsieur *de Villeroy* and the Duke of *Espernon*, was already commonly known: for the year before, when the King went forth with his Army against the *Catholicks*, being lodged in a Town called *S<sup>t</sup> Aignan*, and by means of finding money to make the *Grand Prevost* march with his Archers (who for want of pay had left following his Court, and were very needful in the Camp) being spoken of in the King's Cabinet, Monsieur *de Villeroy* told him, and the Councel thinking how to remedy that want, had given an order to put his Majestie in minde, that some certain Treasurers who were imprisoned, having been fined about the sum of twenty thousand Crowns, they all or part of them, might serve for the *Grand Prevost* and his Archers. To which words the Duke of *Espernon* answered angrily, that that money had been promised to Monsieur *de la Valette* to pay his Souldiers that were with him in *Dauphiné*; and that it could not be disposed to another use, without doing him injury as he saw many took pleasure to do, to offend him; but that he was resolved one day to resent it in such manner, that those malicious men should be glad to let him alone. To which *Villeroy* going about to reply, saying that it was onely a Memorandum of the Councel's, and not any intention of his, the Duke of *Espernon* gave him the lye in the King's presence, adding many very injurious words, as knave, rascal, and malicious fellow. To which *Villeroy* beginning to answer, the King rising up commanded him to hold his peace: whereupon he went out of the room without any satisfaction, and the next morning asked the King's leave to lay down his Office, not willing to serve any longer, if he must suffer such unworthy wrong: which the King refused to grant, and yet on the other side did not much care to make the Duke of *Espernon* give him any satisfaction, till time of it self afforded him an occasion to use some courteous words by way of complement, in excuse of the passage at *S<sup>t</sup> Aignan*; which though it shew it appeased the outward difference between them, yet were their mindes never after settled in sincere friendship. Wherefore the King desired, and not without great reason, that Monsieur *de Villeroy* should

The cause of  
distaste be-  
tween the  
Duke of *Espernon*  
and *Villeroy*.

ed the Duke of Guise's designs, and fomented his pretensions, in hope to see the Duke of Espernon excluded from Court, deprived of his greatnesse; and utterly ruined: though he dissembled it, yet seeing that Pontoyse, which was governed by the *Sieur d'Alincourt*, hindered not provision from being carried to Paris, had secretly displeased him, made him very suspicious of his counsels. Likewise *Montde Bellieure*, having been deceived by the Duke of Guise's designs, when the King sent him thither to forbid his coming to Paris, was not onely lessened in his opinion, but had almost some doubt that he had not proceeded sincerely in the business; the oversight of so wise and so experienced a man being interpreted infidelity. Nor was the High-Chancellor better thought of then these: for it being already known that the King treated about the dismembring of the Dutchy of Orleans from his Government, to give satisfaction to *England*, he was suspected to desire peace, to the end that the King might have no more need of working the revolt of that Dutchy, which was still in agitation by the means of *Monsieur de Berault*.

On the other side, *Monsieur d'O* and Colonel *Alfonso Corso* were suspected by the King in this business, as enemies to the Duke of Guise; who signified plainly that he would not hear of peace, if they were not put out of their places, and banished from the Court: Whereupon he was jealous that they, to get out of that rock, endeavoured to perswade the War. And he was apt to these suspicions (as is the custom of men in such a fortune) that not onely others, but even the Queen Mother seemed to him too much inclined to the passions and pretensions of the League, which thing was far from truth; for the Queen had always loved him most tenderly, above all her other sons, and in the troubles of many yeers had always laboured constantly for the conservation of his Crown; yet it had been obliquely imprinted in her mind by the Duke of Espernon, insinuating by little and little that the Queen (seeing he had no son) desired the House of Bourbon should be excluded from the succession, and particularly the King of Navar, who in respect of Queen *Margaret* was very much hated by her, and that on the other side she desired (without sticking at the Salique Law) to have the Crown passe to the Duke of Lorain her son-in-law, and the

Mar-



Marquesse *du Pont* her grand-childe, both extremely beloved of her; and that for that purpose she had from the beginning secretly fomented the League; and at that present favoured all those things that tended to the destruction of the Blois Royall, and to the establishment and greatnesse of the Family of Lorain, wherein her Son-in-law and Grand-child held the chiefest place. And it was true, that the Queen had always loved her Grand-children of Lorain, who observed her with all kind of reverence; wherefore she had taken the Prince *Chrestienne* to be bred up with her, and never ceased to flatter the King to call to Court either the Marquesse *Du Pont* or the Count *de Vandemont*, or some one of the other Brothers, and make use of them in his greatest affairs. It was also true that she was not well pleased with the greatnesse of the Duke of *d'Espernon*, esteemed by her as a stone of scandal, an enemy to her power, which she doubted would with the weight of old age decline in time, as the custome is. And there was a great deal of difference between a desire that the King should advance her Grand-children, and an endeavour to promote the greatnesse of the Duke of Guise, who did eclipse and depreesse that of the Duke of Lorain and his Successors; for though he ever seemed to observe and reverence the head of the Family, yet he did worke and labour for himself; nor would he ever have suffered the fruits of his arts, pains, and dangers to redound wholly to the exaltation and benefit of the Duke of Lorain: and likewise to strive to make the King weary of favouring *Espernon*, and to put him from Court, thereby to remove the seeds of discord, was a very different thing from consenting that the King should be despised, and constrained by force to receive the Law from the Duke of Guise his will. And yet the force of jealousy was so great in the King's melancholy distrustfull nature, that after so many proofs, though he still observed his Mother very much, and never resolved any thing without her knowledge and advice, yet he was fallen into a doubt, that she was driven by interests to favour the Catholick party, and that she had fired in great part the very same things the League demanded.

Being with these thoughts become more sad and anxious, then he was wont to be (as those about him easily observed) his sleeps were broken, and he spent the nights either sitting

ing and contriving by himself, or else hearkening to the courses and consultations of others, balancing and pondering them warily; wherein he began to trust *François* Sieur *Ramboillet*, a gown-man by profession, indued with much cunning, wisdom, and singular vivacity, and *Jehan* Mareschal of Aumont, a man of an open nature, but a generous spirit and exceeding great valour in the profession of arms; yet having altogether left the Mareschal *de Retz*, and the Abbe *del Bene*, though he esteemed the first to depend too much on the Queen-Mother, and the other to be too intimate with *Esperson*. With this diffidence and anxiety having put the whole sum of businesses upon dissimulation, he fained outwardly to consent to the opinion of those that perswaded to unite himself to the Duke of Guise, and commended the most pious advice, and most agreeing with a specious variance; but inwardly he utterly abhorred it, not being able to bend his mind to yeeld to the Guises greatness, nor to lay aside the sense of that affront he had received, which lay continually before his eyes, and concluding within himself that he could never be secure of his life, nor absolute Master of his Crown, while the Head of that faction was alive, while the *Union* of the League maintained, at last he resolved to use all possible wayes to ruine him; but because he thought of War too difficult and dangerous, nor would his conscience suffer him to joyn with the Hugonots, he thought to supply all wants by cunning; and consenting to the Dukes propositions, to draw him at last into some place where he might make an end of him by the same means which he remembered had been used in the reign of his Brother *Charles* the ninth, against the Admiral *de Coligny* and his Adherents.

With this intention he writ very moderate Letters to the Governours of Provinces, excusing himself dexterously about the insurrection of the Parisians, yet neither laying much fault on the People, nor upon the Duke of Guise, but onely endeavouring to keep the Towns and Provinces firm under his obedience. After the dispatch of which Letters, which by every body were thought necessary, he first sent *Myron* the Physicist to the Queen-Mother, and a few dayes after *Gasspar* Count *Scombergh*, giving her directions to strive by all means to make a composition and agreement with the Duke of Guise, and resolved not to make War with his Catholick subjects;

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but to turn his arms resolutely to the utter extirpation of Hugonots ; and because he saw the great inclination of *Vil* to that advice, and knew that he would labour effectually to conclude a peace, he sent him also at last to Paris, giving most ample commissions to satisfie the Duke of Guise his fires, so that he might but thereby pacifie discords, and reunite the Catholick party into one indissoluble body, as *Villeroy* himself counselled and advised.

The Duke of Guise having in this time made himself Master of Paris, and opened all the passages that served to furnish the City with provisions, was diligently busie in getting possession of many other convenient places, and therefore caused siege to be laid unto Melun, a Town neer Paris; having left the Cardinall of Bourbon to govern the City, as gone to Meaux and Chasteau-Thierry to make himself Master of those places.

His Brother the Cardinal of Guise at the same time, whether wanting wit nor courage, but boldly following his passions and counsels, had stirred up the people, and made him the strongest in the City of Troye, which from the beginning had declared that it would continue under the King's obedience; and the Duke of Aumale with the forces of Picardy had laid siege to Boulogne by the Sea side, a very principal Fortresse of that Province, and the Adherents of the League laboured on every side to surprize Towns and Castles, to gather Horse and Foot, and to draw the greatest number of followers they possibly could unto their party; yet the Duke of Guise, after he saw the King had escaped the net, and that he could not so easily bring his first designe to perfection, desired to make that seem to have been done purposely, which in truth was onely oversight, with writings cunningly framed, and reasons eloquently set forth, directed to the King and the whole people of France, he endeavoured to perswade that his actions onely tended to the benefit of the Kingdom, to the obedience of the King, and to the generall service and benefit: that the Insurrection of Paris had (without his consent) been stirred up by the peoples fear; and that his intention was ever to yeeld such obedience as he ought to do, desired onely that evill Counsellors might be put away, and that sincere thought might be taken to secure Religion: though his deeds were for the most part very contrary to

ards; yet the colour of Religion was so powerful and plausible, and he knew so well how to behave himself, that the multitude thought him a faithful servant to the King, and believed he was onely moved by zeal to Religion, and most ardent character toward the good of the whole Kingdom.

While they proceeded in this manner on both sides, the Duke of Espernon, who was in Normandy, having heard the effect of the Sedition at Paris, went with a good number of gentlemen to the King, who being already resolved to disagree with all, and to trust none but himself, received him rather with his accustomed intimacy, nor his wonted demonstrations of favour, but made small shew of valuing him, and being desirous of his departure from Court, to put an end to those scandals which were said to arise from his extraordinary greatness. And indeed, having determined to give out no satisfaction to the Duke of Guise and the League, and knowing that Peace would never be concluded unless he consented to remove him from the Court, his intention was to appear before the Agreement, that it might seem a voluntary act, and not constrained by force: wherefore he began by the means of Monsieur de Bellieure and of the Abbot del Bene, to persuade him (in respect of the distractions of affairs, and to remove the occasions of them) that he would lay down his Government of Normandy, give up the Fortresses of Metz, Verdun, Angoulesme, Xaintes, and Boulogne, and onely retain the Government of Provence; wherein, for his greater security, his brother *la Valette* should continue his Lieutenant: and that he should retire thither far from the clamour that was raised about his person, and wait for a more quiet and fitting season to return to Court. The Duke of Espernon (a man of exceeding great understanding; and bred up by the King himself among the stratagems of State) perchance guessing the King's secret intentions, by having been so conversant with him, was contented without contradiction to quit his Government of Normandy; wherein he saw himself not well liked, by reason of the resistance many Governours made against him: But for the rest, though in words he promised to obey the King in all his demands, yet was he resolved not to part with any of the strong Holds, wherein he hoped to defend himself from the storm of fortune which he saw coming upon him: Whereupon, while he treats about the manner of

The Duke of Espernon coming to Court, is not received by the King with his wonted favour, by his order quits his Government of Normandy, and retires to Angoulesme.



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delivering them into the King's hands, and to whom a which way they should be resigned ( shewing still more c. of his Masters security then of his own good ) ; and while King cannot so readily resolve in whose power it was fit trust them , he departs suddenly from Court, feigning that would give way to Fortune ; and being accompanied with Abbot *del Bene* , who was no lesse persecuted by the League then he , went with all speed to Angoulesme, where, by reason of the strength of the Castle, and the neernesse of the Hugonots, he thought he might stay more securely , and from whence , thorow the Towns of Languedoc held by the Marquis *chal d'Anville*, it was easie for him upon any occasion to retire into Provence.

This retreat clipt the wings of the pretensions of the League , and removed all impediments that might have hindered peace ; and it was likewise a prudent determination on his side : for already the Duke of Guise and the people of Paris turning all their Forces against him , had divulged many Writings, wherein he was accused to be a sower of discord, and a principal cause of so great mischiefs : which though he caused to be answered with many reasons, shewing that the chief proceeded from the ambition of the House of Lorraine, and not from the modesty and obedience of him and his brother , who receiving the King's favours with a thankful and loyal minde, did use their uttermost endeavours to serve him as might be for his advantage and their reputation ; yet he saw that the cloud would undoubtedly break upon him ; whereupon he chose rather by retiring to keep his most important governments , then by staying he forced by one means or other to give them up. Many doubted that the King was privy to his departure, and so much the rather, because the Abbot *del Bene*'s going with him made it to be suspected : nor was the suspicion without ground ; for the Duke of Guise demanding that he should resigne those four principal Fortresses, and the King not willing to deprive himself and the Duke of the person of them at the same time, to give them into the hands of such persons as he could not confidently trust , it was necessary the Duke should feign to go away discontented without the King's knowledge, and that he should shew that he would not quit them but by force ; to the end that the King might be excused afterward, if he did not presently demand them.

and that the Duke of Guise might not constrain him to take them from him, since he shewed they were withheld against his will. But whether they understood one another by signs, or whether the King imparted his designe unto him by means of the Abbot *del Bene*, or whether the Duke took resolution of himself, it was unknown to every one at that time, and the King's most intimate Counsellours knew nothing of it: Yet this I can affirm, that the Duke, after his return from Normandy, was no more so freely admitted to the King's consultations as he was wont to be; but the night before he went away, the Abbot *del Bene* was a great while in conference with the King in the most silent hours of the night, which was not known to any but those that lay in the King's Ante-chamber.

The King seemed wonderfully angry and troubled at his return, and at his going toward Angoulesme; and caused Secretary *Villeroy* to write presently to the *Sieur de Tagens* who commanded the Forces in those parts, and to the Citizens and Magistrates of the Town, that they should neither receive nor assist him: but the dispatch went so slowly, that the Duke made himself master of it before the King's Letters were received: for he being with very great speed got thither before he was suspected, presently sent *Tagens* with his Forces to the Town, under colour of defending them from the frequent incursions of the Hugonots; and putting out the old Governor of the Castle, placed a person there whom he trusted; taking up his lodging in the strongest part, had made himself absolute master of it before his possession could be disturbed, or taken from him by new orders.

After the Duke of Espernon was gone from the Court, the King gave the Government of Normandy, one of the greatest and most important Provinces in all France, unto *Francis* of Bourbon Duke of Montpensier, lest it should be demanded of the Duke of Guise for any of his dependents; being obliged to grant all appearances, but not the substance and effect of those things that were required by the Heads of the League. The Duke of Espernon being removed, the conclusion of the peace was easie: For on the one side the King granted all that the League asked for, or pretended to; and the Duke of Guise, the authority of the *Minions* being taken away, which had been a sharp spur to stir him up, and the King shewing



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shewing himself ready to make War against the Hugonots which was the foundation of all his pretences, he could no more lay hold of any excuse, and had no occasion at all to continue the War; wherefore Secretary *Villeroy* and *Myron* a Physician having gone often from Paris to the King, and from the King to the Queen-mother, the Treaty of Agreement began to go forward, being managed by the King himself also, since neither the *Mareschal d'Aumont* nor the *Sieur de Rambouillet* were perfectly acquainted with his most hidden and admirably dissembled intentions.

In the mean time the King believing his stay at Chartres was neither safe nor honourable, thought of going to Rouen. But because he was not very well assured how that Parliament stood affected, nor which way *Monsieur de Carronges* Governor of the City was inclined, he sent *Jaques Auguste de Thou* President of the Parliament of Paris, to certify himself of the mindes of the Citizens, and to reduce them wholly to his devotion. President *de Thou* performed the King's command, yet rather with outward flourishes than substantial foundation, having spoken in publike to the people and those that governed, with great shews of eloquence, but neither touching the secret interests of the first President, who was a creature of the Duke of Joyeuse's, nor of the Governour and the Count *Tillieres* his son, who had some dependance upon the Duke of Guise and the League: whereupon the King presently dispatched *Jehan d'Emery* Seigneur de *Villiers* with more absolute orders, he not onely being a Gentleman of the same Province of Normandy, but, which imported more, a particular friend of the Governour's. He having shewed the removal of the Duke *d'Espernon*, who was not very acceptable to that City, from the Government of the Province, and the election of the Duke of Montpensier a Prince of the blood Royal, did very much trouble the humours of men in the general: and having afterwards conferred in private with the Governour, to whom he promised that his son should have the reversion of his Government, and with the first President, into whom he infused great hopes of the King's favour, and of the principal Offices of the Crown, he brought matters so to passe, that the Parliament and people sent a very respectful Message to invite the King unto the City; and the Governour sent his son to Court, as it were a hostage. After which demonstrations, the King resolved

without delay to Rouen; the report whereof being come  
Paris, the Parliament there being troubled, that the other  
parts should prevent them in readinesse and devotion, being  
solicited by the Queen-Mother, sent a dutifull message to  
him of their fidelity; and a while after by the Duke  
of Guise's advice, the Parisians also sent unto him, to excuse  
late passages, with many reasons; but this was when the Peace  
in a manner already concluded; which while it was in agi-  
tion, the Count of Schombergh finished the Agreement with  
Monsieur d'Entraques, which had so long been treated of in  
Paris; for he being satisfied with the Duke of Espernon's remo-  
val, returned to the King's party with the City of Orleans, upon  
promise that the Government thereof should remain to his  
Majesty; and that the Government of Chartres and Beaufort then  
by the High-Chancellor Chabot, should be added to it.  
This treaty could not passe so secretly, but the Duke of  
Guise was advertised of it; who to delude that Agreement,  
sought to an end after so many endeavours, began in the treat-  
y of Peace to demand the City of Orleans for one of the pla-  
ces of security, which he required in hostage of the King's pro-  
cesses. This demand put a rub in the conclusion of the Peace;  
it was presently removed by Secretary Villeroy's earnest  
solicitation of it, who either having received power from the King  
to conclude the business, or pricked with envie that others  
had brought the treaty of Orleans to perfection, or because he  
thought fit, would not discompose the whole matter by  
insisting that particular, but when he saw the Duke of Guise  
firmly resolved that he would have it, at last he granted  
him without the King's knowledge; who afterwards al-  
leged that the Town of Dourlans in Picardy had been de-  
manded of him, and not that of Orleans in Beaufort, made great  
difficulties and long delays about the assigning of it.

The Conditions of Peace were almost the same that were  
continued in the Writing framed at Nancy with the privy  
of the Duke of Lorain, which had been presented to the King  
at the beginning of the year. That the King should again  
declare himself Head of the Catholick League, and would  
never to take up arms, and never to lay them down till the  
Protestant Religion were quite destroyed and totally rooted  
out: that by a publick Edi& he should oblige all Princes,  
Peers of France, Lords and Officers of the Crown, Towns,  
Colledges,

The Condi-  
tions of peace  
between the  
King and the  
League.



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Colledges, Corporations, and the whole people to swear same, and bind themselves with a solemn oath never to suffer any one to reign that was not of the Catholick Religion, as far from all suspicion of Heresie: that for the time to come none should be admitted to Offices, Places and Dignities in any part of the Kingdom, but such as were Catholicks, and made profession of their faith according to the Doctrine of *Sorbon*, and the belief of the Roman Catholick Church: that all past things, revolts of Cities, insurrections of the people, taking of Fortresses, levying of souldiers, withholding of the King's Revenue, and whatsoever else had been done upon occasion of the late commotion, should be pardoned and remitted, and that the King should command a totall oblivion of them, as things done for the service of Religion, and the generall good: that two Armies should be raised against the Hugonots; one in Poictou under the command of the King himself, or whomsoever he should best like; the other in Dauphiné, under the command of *Charles* of Lorain Duke of Mayenne; which should never be recalled, but still paid and recruited, till the work were perfectly finished: that the Council of Trent should be received and observed throughout the whole Kingdom, being onely dispensed with in those points which are contrary to the priviledges of the *Gallique Church*, which within three months were to be declared by a Congregation of Prelats, and the King's Counsell: that the King should permit the Lords of the League to retain yet for the space of six yeeres the Cities and Fortresses formerly granted for their security in the year 1585, and that Dourlans, Celles, Bourges, and Montereau should be added unto them: that the King should give the Duke of Guise a Patent to command the Forces of the whole Kingdom being to be superior unto all in arms, and all men subject to his obedience: that the King should take a course to remove the *Sieur de Brissac* (enemy to the Duke of Aumale) from the Government of Languedoc, which should be put into the hands of some such gentleman of the Province as was mistrusted by neither party: that Valence in Dauphiné, and the Castle thereof, which had been seized upon by *Monfieur de Valette* upon occasion of the late commotions, should be restored to the *Sieur de Jussy* the former Governour: that the Deputies chosen by the Hugonots after the tumult, should be approved and confirmed by the King.

g: and finally, that in October next ensuing, the States-  
herall should be assembled at Blois, to cause the Edi& of  
Catholick Union to be sworn unto, to receive the Coun-  
of Trent, and confirm the authority granted to the Duke  
Guise. Concerning Monsieur d'O, Colonel *Alfonso Corso*,  
*Mareschal de Byron*, and the rest, there was no mention  
made; for the Duke of Espernon and his Brother *la Va-*  
being removed, these seemed not to have either strength  
authority sufficient to oppose the so formidable power of  
Duke of Guise, who thought already that he ruled and go-  
ed all things, nor did he designe any longer to reflect upon  
that were not his equals.

The Articles concluded and confirmed, the King impati-  
of any delay that might retard the effects of his secret coun-  
s presently sent forth his Letters Patents into all Provin-  
and severall Bailiages to appoint the Assembly of the  
es in October following at Blois, which place he thought  
e fit for his purpose then any other, as well because it was  
rom Paris, and neer those Towns which were held by  
e Hugonots, as for the conveniency and greatnesse of the  
le, but most of all because the people were at his devoti-  
far from any commerce or intelligence with the League:  
that his example might invite the Deputies which were  
elected not to delay time, he departed from Roüen a  
few dayes after, and went toward Chartres, that from  
ice he might go afterward to the place appointed. Being  
re to Mante, a Town upon the Road from Roüen to Char-  
s the Queen-Mother and the Queen his Wife met him,  
l whom having stayed there the space of two dayes, the  
en-Mother returned toward Paris, to bring the Duke of  
ie to Court, and the King continued his journey to-  
r Chartres, to stay there till the rest of the Court came up  
him.

Not many dayes after the Queen-Mother came thither  
the Duke of Guise, attended by a more sumptuous then  
mrous Train, with shew of great humility towards the  
n's Person, but with a presumptuous heart and counte-  
e puffed up with spirits of a most assured power; and  
ia imported most, by those things he had atchieved and  
tained, become not onely glorious among his own friends,  
t also admired and terrible to those that held and followed

The Duke of  
Guise goes  
with the Qu.  
Mother to  
Chartres to the  
King, and is  
received by  
him with great  
demonstrati-  
ons of honour  
in appearance



the King's party : which, as it was not unknown to the King by reason of his quick-sightednesse, and the suspition of his nature, so did it with wonderfull impatience increase his desire to see him ruined : but covering his thoughts with quite different words and gestures, he seemed both in small and great matters to be sincerely reconciled to him, and that for the time to come he would proceed according to his counsels, and lay the whole foundation of his Government upon his valour and prudence ; to which end he presently caused the Edict of the *Union* to be published in his Councell, and sworn to by every one, and the War against the Hugonots to be openly proclaimed : for the prosecution whereof according to the Articles of Peace, two severall Armies were appointed ; one in Dauphiné, under the Duke of Mayenne ; the other in Poictou, whereof the King declared *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of Nevers his Generall ; and for both, the necessary Commissions were instantly dispatched, to raise Regiments of Horse, and to draw Foot-forces together. After this first point, followed the other of greater consequence ; for without delay the new power of the Duke of Guise was established in the Councell, published in the Parliament of Paris, and summed up in his former title of *Grand Maistre*, which (except the expresse name of Lieutenant Generall) contained all that power which is wont to be attributed to that dignity, the command of all Armies wheresoever he should be in person, the authority of High-Constable in mustering and paying the *Militia*, the power of limiting and putting the price upon provisions, the protection of the common people, the punishment of outrages committed by souldiers, and other circumstances of this nature ; which, after the King's own Persuasion, placed the Duke in the highest authority of command, and settled him in that power which the Masters of the Palace were wont anciently to have in the times of those Kings that were of the Stock of *Merovée*. Nor did the King fail to shew the same inclination to the Cardinal of Bourbon ; for by the consent, and with the authority of his counsell he declared him First Prince of the Blood, granted him the priviledge of creating Masters in all Arts, and that his servants should enjoy the same exemptions as the King's, which things did in this manner as it were declare him the lawfull Successor to the Crown.

To these great and important matters, others of lesse consequence were added also ; the King's familiarity with the Duke of Guise, his veneration of the Cardinal of Bourbon, the favours which by their means he daily granted to divers persons ; the alienating of his old favourites, his secret and confident discourses with the Archbishop of Lyons, the Sieur de Chastre, Bassompierre, and other intimate friends of the Duke of Guise, and principal followers of the League, and any other such-like things, which as evident signes of the King's good inclination, served in the mean time to cover the hidden web of his more real designs ; to the continuance whereof he was much excited by the Pope's demonstrations, so moved with the Duke of Guise's successe in driving the Hugonots out of the Kingdom, and dissipating their Army with so much facility, had written Letters to him full of infinite praises, comparing him to those holy *Marchabees*, the wonders of the people of Israel, so highly extolled in the sacred Scripture, and exhorting him to continue successfully and gloriously to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the Hugonots. Which Letters, to increase the Duke's fame and reputation, were by his dependents caused to be printed and divulged in Paris, with as much applause of the people, as anger and trouble in the King, so could no way be pleased that another should have more credit and authority in his Kingdom then he himself ; and therefore the expressions of the Pope, and opinion of the Court of Rome, kept his minde beyond measure in perplexity, as well in regard of his conscience, as for other important respects and consequences. From the displeasure received by those Letters, he began to proceed to a remedy, not only to divert the Pope's deliberations, but also to bring to pass, that in the belief of the world he might not be esteemed to have so little correspondence with the Apostolike See, as to be in so little awe of the holy Catholike Church.

The Pope desired to have to do in these businesses that depended in France, and as much as possibly he could, to promote the enterprise of the Catholikes against the Hugonots : for which purpose he was minded to chuse a Legat who might be present at that famous Convention of the States, and (understanding what concerned the interest of the Apostolike See, in the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Bourbon) might

Pope Sixtus 5.  
writes congratulatory Letters to the Duke of Guise full of high praises.

The Pope thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of the League,



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The Pope chuseth *Giovan Francesco Morefini* Bishop of Bergamo Legat to the Congregation of the States, he being much desired by the King, to whom he was Nuncio. At the same time he is made Cardinal.

sollicite the King about the assembling of them, about declaring of the War against the King of Navar, but most of that he and all those of his Family, as being manifestly guilty of Heresie, might be judged incapable of ever coming to the Crown: yet because he thought he saw not clearly into the affairs of that Kingdom, and was not very sure what the end of the League might be, he was doubtful unto what person he should commit the charge of that business, desiring neither utterly to alienate the King's minde, nor to displease the Duke of Guise, and thinking it a matter of so great importance required a man of singular prudence and ability to manage it. But he was not resolved of his choice till the King being advertised beforehand by the Ambassadour *Pisani*, founded the bottom of his designe: whereupon, desiring to have such a one as he might trust, and not one wholly devoted to the pleasure of the League, he used all possible endeavours, trying the most powerful means of that Court, to procure that *Giovanni Francesco Morefini*, a Senatour of Venice, Bishop of Brescia, who then resided in the Kingdom as the Pope's Nuncio, might be chosen Legat; a man truly of so much worth, as being well informed of the present affairs, was not a little acceptable to the King, and yet not altogether distrusted by the Duke of Guise, in regard of the dexterity wherewith he knew how to behave himself with every body. The Pope disliked not the Nuncio, because he knew him, and esteemed him a man of singular wisdom, and because having been employed in the Government of his Republike, he believed him no lesse experienced in State-affairs; and besides, that being a *Noble Venetian*, and by consequence well-affected to the Crown of France, he thought he would not cast himself inconsiderately as a prey unto the League, the Pope desiring he should hold the Balance even, and not favour the Duke of Guise's designes more then the service of the Catholike Religion and of the Roman Church required. But though the King was much pleased with the person of the Legat, who at that time was created Cardinal; yet was he beyond measure displeased that the Pope gave account of his election to the Leaders of the League, exhorting them to communicate and confer of their counsels with him; and that the Letters concerning it were printed and published by the League with their unflinching pride: and yet this consideration had not so much power over him.

minde, but that, dissembling his disgust, he sought by all possible ways to gain the Legat, to the end that by his means might be the better able to justifie his own actions to the King, and by degrees to take off the favour and assistance which he seemed to lend unto the enterprize of the Duke.

These things busied the Court, when news was brought of a Conspiracy against the Duke of Espernon at Angoulême, whereby he was very like to have been suddenly ruined. For the King's Letters being come (though late) wherein was commanded that he should not be received nor admitted into the possession of that Government, some of the City, who had different affections were not much pleased to see him there, and who were easily perswaded they should do the King acceptable service, if they could drive him from that possession, dispatched one of their Confidants straight to the Duke, unto Secretary *Villeroy*, to know the King's intention particularly, and to give notice that they would venture to drive him out of the City, or take him prisoner, though he stayed continually in the Castle, a place very secure, and well fortified. This man's Proposition was not unpleasant unto *Villeroy*, who by reason of his enmity with the Duke, and because he had received Commission to write the said Letters, thought that the occasion complied exceedingly with the King's desire, and therefore spake of it to himself; who beginning to distrust *Villeroy*, of whom he was very jealous, would not declare his pleasure openly in business; but to the end he might not sound into his most secret thoughts, wherein he still loved and trusted the Duke of Espernon as much as he was wont, said that he should not cry to see him driven out of Angoulême, or brought prisoner into his power, so that his life might not be in danger: with words being spoken coldly by him, were hotly urged to the Secretary to the Messenger of the Conspirators, who a while after admitted into the King's closet, and known by him, had Commission to be referred to such Orders as he should receive from the Secretary; who though he would not deliver him any thing in writing, yet he commanded that they should endeavour without fail to get the Duke of Espernon into their hands, or drive him from the City, affirming that it was his Majesties effectual desire, and that by so doing they

The Duke of Espernon is conspired against at Angoulême, Secretary *Villeroy* fomenting the business upon a secret order from the King.



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they might very much oblige him. The Conspiratours quicklyned, both by the relation of *Villeroy*, different enough from the King's coldnesse, and by the addition which (as custom is) the messenger made both of words and actions to shew themselves able executers of their promise, talked not onely of taking the Duke alive, but of killing him if they could not get him otherwise; and having conferred of the business with the Sieurs *de Meré*, *de la Messeliere*, the Viscount of *la Bierre*, and some other Gentlemen of the Country, upon the tenth day of August, being the Feast of *S<sup>t</sup> Laurence*, they came suddenly to the Castle, and having taken possession of the gate, the Guards not having the least suspicion, they went on to the Duke's most private lodgings, and there fell upon his servants that were in the ante-chamber, while he in his room within was talking with the Sieur *de Marivaut* and the Abbot *del Bene*. Here the resistance of a few, stopt the violence of many: for *Raphaello Gieronimi* a Florentine, defended the entry of the door a great while, with the death of one of the Conspiratours, till he lost his life, being shot with a Pistol: when he was dead, *Sorlin* the Duke's Chirurgion opposing the enemies most stoutly though he were grievously wounded, and with a loud voice calling up the Family (which was in the lower room) to joyn in the defence, stayed the fury of the assailants, while the Duke and they that were with him, having shut the door of the chamber, and made up with Trunks and Chests which they found there, had time to defend their lives against so sudden a violence. In the meantime, while these fought at the chamber-door, the Duke's gentlemen (among which *Lancillotty di Nores* a Ciprian, first of all) having heard the noise, and taken Arms, recovered the gate of the Castle; where the Sieurs *d'Ambleville* and *Urbain* staying to defend it, the rest ran armed upon the stairs and having found the Conspiratours, who strove as much as possibly they could to get into the chamber, cut them in pieces, except one of the Consuls of the City, whom they laid hands on and took alive. The Duke having put on his Arms, came forth of the chamber, and with his servants stood undauntedly upon his defence; and being come into the Court, where the clamour increased, he with his own hand slew the Consul's brother, who was got thither, having called to the Castle-walls, with some others that had armed themselves.

believe their friends. There they took five more of the Citizens prisoners, who were got in by the same means; in that manner the furious assault of the Conspirators was lifted. In the meantime at the ringing of the *Toquesaint* the people of the City were raised, the chief whereof ran upon the Duke's Lady, who not suspecting any thing, was gone to Masse in the great Church. The Conspirators received new supplies every minute by the Gentry, who seeing the business, came in to them; wherefore being increased in strength and courage, they presently set things on order to assault the Castle. But the Duke and they that were with him defended it valiantly, and by threatening to the prisoners that were in their hands, who were persons of note, and principall men among the Citizens, they kept the people in awe till the *Sieur de Tagens* came up with his *d'Armes*, who being quartered hard by, made haste to the noise which was heard a great way off in the City: at his arrivall the people were affrighted, and the leaders of the Conspiracy being dismayed, at last by means of the Bishop of the City, and of the Abbot *del Bene*, they agreed that the prisoners should be set at liberty, the Dutch likewise restored, the Gentlemen that were of the Conspiracy put out of the City, and the Duke as before acknowledged Governour for the King, who shewing much courage in sending himself, and much moderation after the Agreement, did quickly extinguish that fire which had like suddenly to have consumed him.

The news of this business put Secretary *Villeroy* absolutely out of the King's favour, who could not believe, if the answer from the Citizens of Angoulesm had been answered so doubtfully and coldly in that matter as he intended, that ever they would have dared to go so far as to attempt even to risk the Duke's life, he having expressly forbidden them to do any such thing, but thought for certain that Secretary *Villeroy* laying hold of that occasion, had made use of it to increase the open enmity and bitter hatred which he bore the Duke of Espernon; wherefore fretting within himself, believing that he was surrounded on every side by ministers who were sway'd with Passion and interests, and condemning him for so much wisdom, whereby they searched even into the narrow of his thoughts, he remembered the example of his  
Grand-



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The King according to the example of his Grand-father, dismissed many old servants for their too much wisdom.

In the place of the High-Chancellour *Chiverny*, *François* *Sieur de Monthelon* is chosen *Garde de Seaux*.

\* Lord Keeper.

Grand-father, who in the later times of his reign had put away from him all those old Ministers of State which were come suspected for their too much wisdom, and had imployed men of great integrity, but such as were not of too high understanding, from whom he had received better and more fruitfull service, then from those that were grown old in prudence and experience of affairs. With this thought as soon as he was gone from Chartres to continue his journey towards Blois, where he had determined to accomplish the end of his designs, he dismissed from Court the *Sieurs de Pinart*, and *Brulart* his old Secretaries of State, and sent *Benois* his *trésorier* Cabinet-Secretary, to tell the High-Chancellor *Chiverny* Monsieur *Bellieure*, and the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who were gone to their houses to order their affairs, and return, that the King satisfied with the pains they had already taken, commanded them to return no more to Court; which order was received and executed by *Bellieure* with great moderation; the High-Chancellor laboured in vain to justifie himself, and to get leave to return; and the *Sieur de Villeroy*, though he obeyed, shewed neverthelesse a great sense of grief, thinking that his long toils and services happily performed, were unjustly despised, and too ungratefully requited. In the place of the High-Chancellor the King (as the custome is) chose *François de Monthelon*, his Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, to be \* *Garde des Seaux*, a man of great integrity, and honest intentions; but not much accustomed to matters of Government, wherein till that time he had had very little or nothing to do: *Martin Ruzay* *Sieur de Beaulieu*, and *Louis de Hol* were made Secretaries of State, both men of unblemished reputation, faithfull, dis-interested, and bred up in his service from their youth, but not esteemed to have too great a skill in affairs of Government and matters of State. On this manner he thought he had taken away from about him (as he said) the prying Foxes eyes, and that he had assured himself he should receive faithfull and sufficient service, so that his Ministers should not search deeper into his designs, the hope of his own voluntary accord was pleased to impart to them.

By this novelty the whole Court was transformed not only in shew, but also in the form and manner of Government; for the Duke of Guise, who formerly was wont

but small share in the Council, seemed now to moderate all the resolutions of it ; and together with him the bishop of Lyons, and the *Sieur de la Chastre* his neer dependents were held in very great esteem : and in the *Court-Councell* where the *Queen-Mother* was wont to bear the sway, now by reason of the King's suspicions, her part not very much ; and all the old Confidants being exclusively the *Mareschal d' Aumont*, Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, the *Sieur de Ramboillet* had the King's ear, and were the partakers of his most intimate determinations. The Duke of Nevers also, who in former times had been suspected and hated by him, had now great power with the King, and was now become different from himself. Nor was he so moved to it by the fame of his wisdom, and experience which was generally known, as because he was an emulator, and secret enemy of the Duke of Guise's greatness ; in so much, that though they were Brothers-in-law, their Wives and Sisters, yet could not the one brook the others advancement ; and now the Duke of Nevers his inward animosity was much the more increased, by seeing that the Duke of Guise having obtained the power of Lieutenant-General, ruled all, and commanded every one : which being known unto the Duke of Nevers, and he desiring reciprocally to blow the fire of their quarrel, had declared the Duke of Nevers General of the Army that was to go into Poictou and Guienne, to set them so much the more against one another, and to the end that their contention might grow from thoughts to deeds ; because on one side, he knew Nevers would never endure to obey Guise ; and on the other, that Guise (to tread down Nevers and because he was jealous of him) would not fail to follow unto the Army : Whereupon their secret heart-burnings did break forth into open discord and dissention. To avoid which, though the Duke of Nevers foreseeing the Duke's untried by all excuses, of his age, indisposition, and on many occasions to decline that charge, yet the King would not consent to conferr it upon any other ; thinking also that so convenient time to trust the command of an Army in the hands of a person whom he suspected. By these arts the hatred of both parties being more kindled against each other, the King was still secretly informed by the Duke of Nevers concerning all particulars that might make to the Duke



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of Guise's disadvantage, whereby it came to passe, that he who before was suspected, became now his absolute Confident.

With these practices the Court arrived at Blois the second and twentieth day of September, where the Deputies of the Provinces were already met together; in whose election though both parties had taken much pains, yet the dependents of the League did much exceed; for the Order of the Clergy drawn by the interests of Religion, did in a manner wholly incline to that side, and the Order of Commons oppressed by the heaviness of impositions, and whose end was to cause them to be removed, did willingly joyn with the King's enemies, who promised, nay professed they would ease the people of the excessive weight of contributions, and among the Nobility were many neerly interested with the House of Lorain and the League; whereby the King perceived plainly at the very first, that in this Congregation on the Duke of Guise would captivate all mens opinions, and obtain all his own desires. But being disposed to go another way, and desiring to satisfy all humours, having received the Deputies indifferently, with great signes of apparent good will to all, he composed his minde to shew, that he had settled all the hope of his own quiet, and of the safety of the Kingdom in those remedies which were to be applyed by the States. Wherefore intending to bring a businesse, which he fained to esteem of so great consequence, with wonderfull great state and preparation, upon Sunday the second of October he caused a solemn procession to be made, in which he himself being present, with all the Princes, all the Court, and all the Deputies of every Order in their places, the Sacrament was carried with exceeding pomp through the streets, which for that purpose were all hung with tapistrie; high-Masse was sung with words of profound and sincere devotion in every one; and the next day after being the ninth day of the month, the King himself and the Duke of Guise, with all the Deputies received the Communion publickly in the Church of *S<sup>t</sup> Francis*, confirming by that holy pious action, the correspondence and reciprocal intelligence which they shewed to perfect the happiness of the Kingdom, for which end they professed that the States-General were come together.

The Assembly began upon the third Sunday, being the sixth day of the month ; when presently after dinner, all being met in the great Hall of the Castle who ought to be present at so solemn a Convention, the King sate down in the Throne raised by many steps from the earth, and covered with a very rich Cloth of State ; the Queens, Princes, Cardinals, Peers, and Officers of the Crown, sate upon seats fitted for that purpose, in two long rowes, on the right hand, and on the left ; and between them, in the inner part of the Theater, sate the Deputies, according to the ancient preeminence of their degrees ; and the Duke of Guise, as *Grand Maître*, with the Staff of Office in his hand, sate down upon a stool at the right of the State on the right hand ; and on the left sate the Duke of Montpelon, who represented the person of the High-Chancellor of the Kingdom.

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The Assembly of States General called at Blois, upon the agreement between the King and the League begins with extraordinary preparations.

When every one was settled in his place and order, the King, accompanied with a Royal Majesty and singular eloquence, gave beginning to the Assembly of the States with a most elegant Oration ; wherein, attesting his most earnest desires of the good and welfare of his people, and shewing the dangerous troublesome condition wherein intestine Divisions and private interests had involved the Crown, he exhorted every one of them effectually to lay aside their passions, to forget their enmities, to avoid the animosity of factions ; to provide by convenient remedies for the publike need, to preserve the quiet of all men in particular, to reunite themselves wholly and principally under his obedience ; forsaking all partialities, condemning all Leagues, Practices, Intelligences, and distressed communications, which both within and without the Kingdom had disturbed both him their lawful and natural Sovereign, and the minde and tranquillity of all good men : so he pardoned and would forget all that was past ; so for the time to come he would not endure it, but account it as an act of absolute Treason : And insisting upon that proposition, he enlarged himself a long time ; concluding with grave and effectual words, That as he sincerely laboured for the good of his Subjects, and resolved to persecute and tread down Heresies, to favour those that were good, to restore the splendour and force of Justice, to advance Religion, to uphold the Nobility, and to disburden the common people : so he earnestly prayed and conjured every one of them to assist him with their

The King begins the Assembly with a fine Speech, which stings the Duke of Guise and his adherents.



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good counsels and sincere intentions, in that so necessary regulation of all things: for if they should do otherwise, mixing intelligences and particular practices, and consenting to the interests of factious men, they would stain themselves with perfidiousnesse and treachery, and would be brought to give an account of it before God's Tribunal, making themselves guilty and blame-worthy to humane justice, with the perpetual infamy of their names unto posterity.

This Speech of the King's stung the Duke of Guise to the quick, and all those of his party; and so much the more, when they saw him resolved to have it printed: wherefore the Archbishop of Lyons endeavoured to dissuade him from it, saying that it was better to lose a few words, though never so elegantly composed, then to lose the hearts of many of his Subjects, who felt themselves injured, thinking that he had not forgotten what was past, but would tax them in the presence of all France, and condemn them of perfidiousnesse and rebellion. Yet notwithstanding that, the King would have it known of all men, what he had said to the Congregation of the States; and caused his Speech to be printed, which served wonderfully afterward to excuse those things that followed. Some have written, that the King, perswaded by the Archbishop of Lyons, had cut off many things from the Presse, and taken away many words which he had spoken in his Oration: But I myself, who was present, and heard every word very neer, can certainly affirm that as much was printed as was spoken; but the expressions being quickened by the efficacy of his action and tone of his voice, were much more sharp and moving than when they came forth in Print, wanting that life and spirit which they were delivered.

*Monthelon the  
Garde des  
Seaux pro-  
cutes and am-  
plifies the  
King's Speech.*

*\* Renaud de  
Beaune.*

*\* Michel Mar-  
seau.*

After the King's Speech followed the Oration of Monsieur de Monthelon, *Garde des Seaux*, who according to the ordinary custom praising the King's intention, repeated at large the same things which he had spoken: To which, with demonstrations of great humility and obedience, the \* Archbishop of Bourges answered for the Order of the Clergie; the Baron de Senefçay for the Nobility; and the \* *Prevost des Marchands* of Paris for the third Order of Commons: After which supplies, the Assembly was dismissed, and the second Session adjourned till the Tuesday following.

That day was famous for the Oath which the States took

ceive for a Fundamental Law of the Kingdom that Edict  
the Union which the King had published in the month of  
before, whereby reuniting to himself all his Catholike  
jects of the Kingdom, he swore to persevere till death in  
Romane Catholike Religion, to promote the increase and  
ervation of it, to employ all his Forces for the rooting out  
heresie, never to permit that any Heretick or favourer of  
sie should raige; not to elect into Places and Dignities  
out such persons as made constant profession of the Ro-  
Catholike Religion, and would have all his Subjects to  
er and promise the same; who being so reunited unto him,  
rbade to joyn themselves in league or company with any  
ers, under pain of Treason, and being held violaters of the  
they had taken; with other particulars, wherein abolish-  
he memory of all things past, he made himself Head of  
Catholike League and Union, and incorporated all the  
ers in their proper natural obedience. The circumstan-  
f this Oath were remarkable; for the King himself spoke  
erning it with grave and fitting speeches, and the Arch-  
bp of Bourges made an Exhortation to the States, shew-  
the greatnesse and obligation of the Oath which they  
to take; *Beaulieu* the new Secretary of State inrolled an  
of that Oath, in memory of so solemn an action: after  
as done, they gave thanks to God publikely in the Church  
of *Sanveur*: All which demonstrations, which many thought  
used to extinguish the memory of things which were past,  
ed after to excuse and authorize those things that were to  
e: for notwithstanding all these obligations whereby the  
erents to the League bound themselves to forsake all for-  
attempts and machinations, and to tie themselves sincere-  
obedience to the King, and notwithstanding all his Pro-  
ations in the publike Assembly of the States, to forget  
t was past, but severely to revenge the future, they did not  
ll slacken their pretensions and contrivances, but pursued  
a with effectual practices; and the Duke of Guise aspired  
ne expresse name of Lieutenant-General, which he had not  
able to obtain from the King, though he had gotten al-  
t the same power to be joyned to his former title of *Grand*  
*Mestre*; and the rest ceased not to treat with the States, that  
Government might be reformed in such manner, as leaving  
to the King onely the name and outside of a Prince, the  
sum

The King and  
the States  
swear in so-  
lemn manner  
to perform the  
Edict made be-  
fore of perse-  
vering in the  
Catholike Re-  
ligion.



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sum of busineses might be managed by the Duke and his dependents of the League : and even the Deputies of the States mingling themselves in the interests of the factions, plotting and laboured for the same things, without any regard to scorn and so solemn Oathes, and with manifest scorn and contempt to the King's Name, Person and Majesty : Wherein the event plainly shewed the art the King had used in the Assembly of the States : for knowing the obstinacy of the Confederates, he by the bonds of publike Oathes, Acts and Ceremonies ( which in appearance redounded all in favour of the League, but secretly contained a most sharp sting against it ) cunningly spread the net to catch them in those faults and crimes wherewith they had protested not to stain themselves for the time to come, and which he had declared that he would severely punish and chastise.

There wanted not many who believed that if the Duke and the Deputies, with the other Heads of the League, had after these Oathes given over the enterprize they had begun, and having laid aside their private interests and old passions, and proceeded sincerely for the future, the King always of a good intention and milde nature, would yet at that time have forgotten all that was passed, and have let alone the House of Guise : But the Duke, either not discovering, or despising that policy, being transported with the prosperity of his affairs, and seeing the greater part of the Deputies were inclined and ready to favour his greatnesse, strove with all his utmost forces to bring matters to that point which from the beginning he had propounded to himself. The constant report was, that he inwardly aspired to that power which the \* *Masters of the Palace* in old times were wont to have ; while the Kings standing but for shadows or cyphers, and leading a soft idle course of life, left the authority of the Government wholly upon them : whereby it came to passe in proceesse of time, that King *Chilperic*, a man of an effeminate nature, being deprived of his Crown, and put into a Monastery to lead a private life, *Charles Martell*, and afterwards his son *Pepin*, *Masters of the Palace*, ( in whose hands the Government and the Forces resided ) at last assumed the name and majestie of King, bringing those of it to whom of right it did belong. Those who were interestted, openly said that the example of things past was very apposite for the present affairs ; for the King seeing

The common opinion that the Duke of Guise aspired to the authority which the Masters of the Palace were wont to have.  
\* *Les Maires du Palais.*

*Chilperic* King of France, of an effeminate nature, put into a Monastery by *Charles Martell* and *Pepin* Masters of the Palace.

have shewed no lesse tokens of an effeminate minde, and of  
 idle nature, then *Chilperic*; and the Duke of Guise, by  
 his Victories and the height of his understanding, was e-  
 stemed not inferiour in worth and valour, to what *Pepin* or  
*Charles Martell* were in those times: and though he was not  
 of the blood Royal, (as the *Masters* of the *Palace* formerly  
 would have it to be) yet the interests of Religion, to which his  
 inclinations were nearly united, gave him a marvellous opportu-  
 nity to deprive the House of Bourbon of the succession of the  
 Crown, and to transfer it upon himself or his posterity, under  
 the necessity so required, lest the most Christian  
 Kingdom should fall into the hands of Hereticks and excommu-  
 nicated persons. To this end it was whispered that he aimed  
 to be declared Lieutenant-General, not by the King, but by  
 the States, with supreme authority, that he might make use of  
 this power to bridle the power of the King himself, who he  
 expected would return unto his custom of Governing, then  
 to oppress the House of Bourbon: for causing the King of  
 France to be declared incapable of the Crown by the States  
 themselves, and by consequence the Cardinal of Bourbon to  
 be his lawful Successour, it came joyntly to passe, that he who was  
 wasted with old age, dying within a while, the Royal line  
 should thereby be extinct, and the rest of that House excluded  
 suspected of Heresie and incapable; and then that the Duke,  
 supported by the applause of the people, and strengthened with  
 Forces which would be in his power, could have no ob-  
 stacle in obtaining the election of his own person and his po-  
 steriority to the Crown, either during the life of the King him-  
 self or at least after his death, if to shew the greater modesty  
 he would defer it so long: howsoever, the King being a man  
 of dissolute life, a profuse nature, a suspicious humour, and  
 beloved of the people, they talked among themselves, that  
 he might be, as another *Chilperic*, might be shut up for ever  
 in the walls of a Monastery.

These things were spoken in a manner publikely. But  
 the King's nature and inclination were so different from that of  
*Chilperic*, that the Duke of Guise was deceived by them,  
 either he really had such thoughts, or that his aim was onely  
 to preserve himself and Religion, which he could not do, if  
 he did not settle himself in a certain permanent greatnesse:  
 therefore having directed all his counsels to that end, that he  
 might



might perfectly win the love and affections of the people, laboured before all other things to set the businesse on foot lessening the Taxes and Impositions, making himself the thour of that most important motion. The King opposed it, as did also not a few of the wisest among the Deputies ledging that they were contrary things, To settle so frequent resolutions of making an obstinate War, of raising so many Armies, of daily entering new Souldiers into pay, with perpetual protestations never to lay down Arms without an absolute Victory; and on the other side, by weakning and destroying the King's revenues, to cut the sinews of the War, and after many brags, to reduce themselves to a necessity of condescending, for want of money, to a disadvantageous dishonour of peace. But the interests of the Order of Commons were great, their inclination so precipitate, and the Duke of Guise's authority so powerful, that notwithstanding that so evident reason, it was at last resolved that they should demand of the King a moderation of the Taxes, an abatement of the Imposts, which amounted to the sum of two millions of *per annum*, the reformation of many Offices erected to burden in money, and the total taking away of many other exevances.

The Proposition of receiving the Council of Trent made in the Assembly of the States General, is rejected with great contradiction.

But the Duke of Guise having tried his own strength, he found his power with the Deputies, being much augmented in courage, and grown in favour, by that resolution which he had luckily carried against the King's will, propounded to himself for a second attempt, to make the States receive the *Council of Trent*, as a most powerful engine not onely to destroy and exclude the Hugonots for ever, but also to cause the King of Navar & the rest of the House of Bourbon to be declared incapable of the Succession: but this was no such plain matter as the other was, but suspected, not onely to the Nobility by reason of the liberty of their lives, but also to a great many of the Clergie, who feared to lose the immunities and privileges of the *Gallique Church*. Wherefore though the King by nature an enemy to Heresie, consented willingly unto it, hoping also thereby to gain the Pope's good will, which he was suspected by reason of those things he intended to put in execution; and though the Cardinals who were there present stickled much in the businesse, and that the Duke of Guise applied all his endeavours to it, yet the contradiction of the

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ties and of many of the Clergy was so great, that it became impossible to be carried, the resolution was referred till another time.

But the Duke of Guise, not at all discouraged, considering the reason why that Proposition had not taken effect because every one feared to be constrained in their consciences, would needs (without that previous preparation) go boldly upon one step higher, and caused to be proposed in the States, that the King of Navar and the rest of his Family being guilty or suspected of Heresie, should by a Declaration be made incapable of ever coming to the Succession of the Crown. And indeed, contrary to the opinion of many, who esteemed it an impossible business, by reason of the veneration which was wont to be shewed to the *Salique Law*, and to the line of the Blood-Royal, this determination was found very easie; for though the Arch-bishop of Bourges, and the Presidents of the Ecclesiastical Order, did obliquely oppose it, as an unseasonable proposition, while the King was in the flower of his age might yet possibly have a Son; yet they were concluded, that the King of Navar by name, and all his Family suspected of heresie, should be declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and that this was conformable to the Law and doctrine of the holy Canons, and expedient for the safety of mens souls, and for the preservation of the Church: this being so resolved, the other two Orders of the Nobility and Commons (the followers of the League using their utmost power) determined likewise that in this matter it was good to refer themselves to the Clergy, and that therefore they should consent to their decision, which as soon as it was concluded, *Guilliaume d'Anançon* Arch-bishop of Ambrun, and his Deputies of every Order, presented this Vote of the Nobility unto the King, insisting that his Majesty would make a publick Decree, causing it to be read and confirmed in the Assembly, which should receive it, and swear to it as a fundamental Law: But the King utterly averse from that inclination, knowing that this was the last stroke of the Duke of Guise and the League to establish their designs absolutely; and to praise the zeal of the Clergy, and the piety and modesty of the other Orders in things that concerned Religion; instead of an Answer, gave unto the Deputies a Protection which had been presented to him from the King of

The King is requested to declare the King of Navar incapable of the Crown, and all others suspected of heresie; after much opposition hee consents coldly unto it.



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Navar: Who having called a Congregation of those of his party at Rochel, had caused a writing to be printed, wherein he demanded the execution of those Edicts and Grants which had been so often made to those of his party; the convocation of a Nationall or Universall Councell, wherein he might lawfully be instructed in those things that were controverted in matter of Faith; and finally he protested to count *nullum* invalid whatsoever should be determined against him in his Assembly at Blois; he not having been called to clear himself of those things whereof he was accused, and that Assembly not being composed of all the Orders and sorts of persons in the Kingdom, since those of his party were not called or admitted to it: nay, he argued that he could never be condemned for an Heretick, as he was openly declared by his enemies, whilst he offered to submit himself voluntarily to the determination of a free and lawfull Councell, either Nationall or Universall. To which Propositions of the King of Navar, the most Christian King added, that if justice requires no man should ever be sentenced nor condemned without being summon'd, or without hearing his defence, which (by consent of all learned men) is according to the law of God, it was not good to decree so heavie a sentence, without giving him warning to answer for himself, and without hearing his reasons whatsoever they were; for if the sentence of an hundred Crowns would be censurable, nay void and of no effect, where the party had not been cited and warned to answer; much more would a Decree be invalid which concerned such so weighty, and so important a matter as the Succession of a Kingdom. That many of the King of Navar's reasons, though they were not altogether true, were at least apparent and specious, which ought not to be pretermitted in a matter of such great consequence, without being particularly discussed and pondered: That he alledged he had ever offered to submit himself to the determination of a Councell, and to the instruction of grave and learned men: That he claimed the privilege of liberty of conscience granted to all Frenchmen from which he ought not to be excluded more then others. That he excused the imputation of being relapsed, by the overfull fear, or rather by the violence of the Massacre of Amboise wherein to save his life he had condescended to go to Mass. And that he urged many other things, which were not sensible

being slighted, if for no other reason, at least that the Decree of the States might not appear to have been precipitate, and pressed, confused, disordered, and void of those respects which the ordinary course of justice requires even in the smallest things, much more in the condemning of a person of so great quality, and in the inheritance of a whole Kingdom: that there was time enough to warn him, and appoint him a dwelling, and conveniency sufficient to proceed legally, since (by the mercy of God) he found himself in such a condition of age and health, that the dangers were not urgent, the business should be so suddenly determined: Wherefore it became so grave an Assembly, composed of the most eminent men of the Kingdom, to proceed warily, and go forward in such a manner as might not appear to be an indiscreet, disorderly, but piety accompanied with judgement and constant patience.

The Deputies returned the King's Answer to their several Orders but in vain; for the Clergy answered, that the King of Navar had many times been admonished, called, and summoned by the Queen-Mother, and by messengers from other States: that new Councils were not necessary, where the universal one of Trent had condemned the Doctrine which he followed for hereticall: that he had been instructed by the Cardinall of Bourbon his Uncle, so grave a personage, so near him in blood, and yet had returned to his first opinions in Religion; that finally the Pope had declared him relapsed Hereticke; wherefore it was needlesse to give him further warning, or to make new discussions and examinations; and that the determination in hand was not much a determination as an execution; and that therefore neither doubt nor delay was to be interposed. To this declaration of the Clergy the other Orders consented; and therefore the Arch-bishop of Ambrun with the same Deputies presented to the King, that his Answer having been debated by the States, they persisted in the same opinion, and therefore besought his Majestie to enact it presently.

The King seeing the obstinacy of the States, and being moved to another conclusion than what everyone believed, offered, that he agreed to the generall Vote, and that he would think of causing the Decree to be framed: and in the mean time, to weaken in some part the hopes of that attempt,



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The King seeing the resolution of the States against the King of Navar, procures an absolution at Rome for the Prince of Conty and Count Soissons of the House of Bourbon, which much troubles the Duke of Guise.

he wrought with Cardinal *Morefini* the Pope's Legat to obtain from Rome the absolution of the Prince of Conty and Count of Soissons, brothers to the Prince of Condé deceased; who having lived in the Catholike Religion ever since the Massacre, had yet gone over to the King of Navar, and had borne Arms for him, one in the Battell of Coutras, the other in the Condué of the German Army; but having since repented their following of that party, by reason of its weaknesse, and for other respects, were returned unto the King's obedience, by whose persuasions they very submissively asked pardon of the Apostolike See; which humiliation being forwarded by the good assistance of Cardinal *Morefini*, who to please the King and favour the Blood Royal took great pains in the business, and being helped by the earnest solicitations of the *Marquess de Pisani* the King's Ambassadour at Rome, it was hearkened unto by the Pope, and those Princes received absolution; which cast some scruples and difficulties in the Duke of Guise's hopes, and did partly weaken the specious reasons of the League.

*Charles Emmanuel* Duke of Savoy possessed himself of the Marquessate of Saluzzo.

But while these things were in agitation, the minds of the King, of the Duke of Guise, and of the States, were all much troubled at the news which was brought unto them, that *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of Savoy, having entered in an hostile manner with an Army into the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, had made himself master of it, driving out the King's garrisons and Officers. The Duke of Savoy, a youth of a most high spirit, and much raised in his thoughts by his new union with the Catholike King, having married the Infanta *Catherine* his daughter, had taken a resolution to possess himself of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo*, to which his ancestors by ancient succession pretended to have much right; wherefore seeing the troubles of France, and particularly the last attempt of the League in the Insurrection of Paris, wherein the Royal Authority seemed trodden under foot, and the power of that name quite overthrown, would not neglect such an opportunity. He partly by intelligence, partly by open force, had gotten into his hands *Carmagnola* and the other strong-holds of that State together with great provisions of Artillery and Ammunition which as in a Magazine had been left in many of those places since the late Wars of Italy. But having boldly executed his designe, and doubting on the one side that the French would resent it, and on the other, that the Princes of Italy would

be well pleased, he presently dispatched a Messenger to  
 art, to let the King know he had been constrained to take  
 resolution, not with a thought to offend the Crown of  
 France, but to provide against the imminent ruine of his own  
 e, in case the Hugonots should get footing in the Marque-  
 sate, as *Les-digueres* earnestly endeavoured; who having made  
 himself Master of *Castel Delfino* in the Alps, had a strong in-  
 clination to seize upon the Marquesate, from whence would  
 be ensued the infesting of Piedmont, and those calamities  
 which he saw France involved by the poison of  
 civil war; and therefore he would keep the Marquesate until  
 such time as that danger were past; and that Justice had weigh-  
 ed his reasons, being ready to restore it when the Hugonots  
 of *Dauphiné* being rooted out, he should be free from those  
 fears into which that imminent danger had drawn him,  
 in case his reasons should be found to be unjust. He cau-  
 tioned the same things to be presented to the Venetian Senate, to  
 whom as Moderatour of the Peace, he knew any such no-  
 tion in Italy would be infinitely displeasing: and the same at-  
 tention were alledged by the Pope; adding, to appease him the  
 King, that this was the prologue of a War against the City  
 of Geneva, as he desired; and to work upon him, urged the  
 Moderacy and intelligence which the King of France held  
 in that Common-wealth.

Causes alledge-  
 ed by the Duke  
 of Savoy in  
 excuse for his  
 surprisal of the  
 Marquesate of  
 Saluzzo.

But it was a wonderful thing how much mens mindes were  
 moved; and the affairs of the States of Blois altered by it:  
 the King and his adherents said publikely that the Duke of  
 Savoy had been encouraged to that boldnesse by secret intel-  
 ligence with the Duke of Guise, who thought by this means to  
 bring Monsieur *de la Valette* of the Marquesate, who was  
 the honour of it: That by that price he had bought the  
 friendship of the Duke of Savoy, and satisfied the Spaniards,  
 desired to have that gate shut, thereby to cut off the  
 passage of the French Forces into Italy: and many among  
 the Nobility believed it constantly; so that men began to  
 think that it was too unjust and too unworthy a thing to  
 be so obstinately wallowing in the blood of Civil Wars, and  
 to mean time to suffer the honour of the Nation to be  
 under foot, and the possessions of the Crown to be  
 continually taken away by forraign enemies: That already too  
 much had been done to satisfy the ambition of the great ones,  
 and



and to glut the greedinesse of the factions : That it was now high time to reunite their mindes, and joyn their Forces together, to defend themselves against the insultings of forraignes ; and that this injury was so great, that they ought by no means to defer the taking of a speedy and exemplary revenge : From which popular plausible reasons, carried by the favour of the Nobility, who were moved with exceeding great anger, and other Orders also resented it very much : so that they seemed inclined to lay aside the thoughts of Civil War, to turn their Forces against the Duke of Savoy. Many of the most understanding men thought the Duke of Guise was not prior to that intent of seizing upon the Marquesate, in that conjuncture of affairs ; for the time was not seasonable ; and this accident alone disturbed his designs, which were already prosperously on their way to the desired end : yet some reported him the authour of that enterprise, and the States were resolved to decree a forraign War, and to slacken or defer their home-bred quarrel with the Hugonots.

This did much afflict the Duke of Guise, whether he were partaker or no in the surprisal of the Marquesate : for he perceived that the diverting of those humours, and employing them in a forraign War, would settle the intestine passion of the Kingdom, and that by consequence liberty of conscience, peace, and the establishment of the Hugonots would ensue ; whereby so many designs would be frustrated, and so many Plots so long beforehand contrived to suppress the Calvinists, and to establish his greatnesse upon the ruines of the House of Bourbon, would come to nothing ; but the War being turned against his own Confederates, which were Spain and Savoy, he saw he should by little and little fall from his authority, and that the name and credit of the Princes of the Blood would rise again, since the flourishing age of the King might give time to infinite (not yet thought of) changes. But if on the one side this thought tormented him, on the other, the reports spread abroad that the King struck him very deeply ; the universal inclination of the States troubled him ; and as the Head of a popular faction, he could not oppose nor contradict so just reasons, and so popular a Cause ; thinking that the very foundation of his affairs would fall, if he, having always professed to protect the general good and rep

ion, should now be seen either to assent unto or make small reckoning of so great an injury done to Crown. Wherefore being by the affliction of his minde brought into a deep meditation he resolved (making use of same arts the King did) to gain a consent to the inclination of the States, to shew himself an eager revenger of the offence committed against the Crown, and by other means tostrate the effect of the forreign Warr, which he thought very difficult by his arts to bring to passe: with this designe he began to raise a rumour, that the taking of the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* had been procured and plotted by the King himself, to crosse the good resolutions of the States, and under the Decrees against the King of Navar and the Hugonots; and that none could more deeply resent the boldness of the Duke of Savoy, nor was more ardent against him than he and his Family. And in effect, seeming wonderfully zealous for the losse of the Marquessate, he caused some of his Dependents to propose unto the States, that they should resolve to make a War with Savoy, and that not being able to go in person upon that enterprize, because he could not go so farr from Court, he desired the Duke of Mayenne his kinsman, who being appointed to follow the War in the Languedoc, was already come as far as Lyons. This proposition gave great satisfaction, and did very much settle the minds of such as were troubled, so that without much delay was by generall consent resolved, that they should turn their forces against the Duke of Savoy, for the recovery of the Marquessate, and that the Duke of Mayenne should go thither in person.

In the mean time, observing those ceremonies with strangeness which they observed not with the King of Navar, they determined to send *Jehan* Sieur de Poigny to the Duke of Savoy to demand the restitution of those places he had taken, if he restored them not, to denounce Warr against him: which absolute orders were given, both to the Marquess of *Isani* the King's Ambassadour to the Pope, to Monsieur *de* *Mont* Ambassadour at Venice, and to the other Ambassadours every-where, to make grievous complaints against the Duke. The ardour of mens spirits being by degrees qualified with these determinations, this so important affair was managed in such a way, as was not likely to do much harm to the princip-

They send to the Duke of Savoy to demand the restitution of *Saluzzo*, and upon his refusal to denounce Warre.



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principal intentions of those of the League. At that time many doubted how the businesse of *Saluzzo* had really come to passe; for though the most common report was, that all had been done with the secret intelligence of the League, because every one knew the correspondence that was between the Duke of Guise, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Savoy; and though they of the League on the other side laboured to make it be believed that it had been the King's invention; yet the wisest opinion held for certain, that it was meerly a motion of the Duke of Savoy himself, who of a ready courage and high thoughts, would not omit that desirable occasion which offered it self: which he himself made more credible; and after the taking of the Marquesate, he caused a coyn to be stamped, in which a Centaur trampled a Crown under foot, which lay overturned upon the ground, with this word, *Importunè*; which was interpreted, that he would not passe the opportunity of that conjuncture, while the Crown of France was overturned and weakened by inward division. True it is, that men generally believed the Duke of Savoy's forwardnesse had been excited by the King of Spain's exhortations, desiring by the possession of the Alpes to cut off the passage into Italy from the French Army.

At this very time the Duke of Nevers, Generall of the King's Army in Guienne, having begun the Warr with the King of Navar, had taken Mauleon, and Montaut, and though retarded by the rains of Autumn, and many other impediments, had laid siege to Ganache, a very strong place upon the Confines of Poictou and Bretagne, defended by a strong and valiant Garison put into it by the Hugonots; the favourers of the League raised a report that he had cunningly besieged Ganache (a very strong place, but of no advantage to the main businesse of the Warr) onely to protract time; whereas with those Forces fresh and entire he might presently have destroyed the King of Navar; who ill provided of money, and utterly unfurnished of money, had not force enough to make long resistance: nor was this report altogether true, or at least improbable. Whereupon the Duke of Guise intended when the States were broken up, and his power of Lieutenant Generall confirm'd, to go in person to the Army, and forward the businesse of the War. But the determination of the States proved more long and difficult then at first it was thought.

ight they would have been ; for the affairs of Savoy, h in great part settled again, had yet left mens mindes uiet, and had put many designs out of frame ; and which orted most, the King intent upon the ripening of his se- thoughts, did in all matters interpose long artificiall de-

It is a strange thing how chance alone was accidental- most like to have produced that bloody issue of the States, ch the King was secretly contriving in himself : for the es and Lackyes of the Princes and Lords no lesse divided their Masters into two different factions, and quarrel- openly every day, with the plain names of *Royallists* and

*Guards*, it happened upon the thirtieth of November at t, while about nine of the clock they were waiting for Lords, being all together in the low open Galleries and rts of the Castle, that the Pages of the Cardinal of Ven- e and of the Duke of Montpensier killed one of the Pa- f the Duke of Guise ; at the noise whereof all the rest ing arms, every one for his party, the King's, the Cardi- f Vendosm's, the Duke of Montpensiers, the Prince of ty's, the Count of Soisson's, the Marechal *de Retz's*, and es standing on the one side ; and on the other, the Duke of ie's, the Prince of Jainville's, the Duke of Nemours, the e of Elbeuf's, the Count of Brissac's, and many others, began a most cruell bloody fray, wherein the other ser- mingling themselves by little and little, and at last the liers, and some Gentlemen, the businesse proceeded so that the party of the *Guifards* prevailing, the fight was ed into the great hall joyning to the King's lodgings, and d above those of the Queen-Mother, where all the Lords he Court were together. The noise was wonderful great, he intraged voyces sounded so loud, that they were heard he Town, and wakening those that were asleep, the ge- al opinion was, that the Princes themselves were fighting, hat they should all be cut in pieces in the Castle, the e whereof were already locked ; wherefore the Cardinal Gise, who lodged in the Town, having put off his Cardi- s abut, and drawn all his dependents together, was gone ed up thither ; and on the other side, the Marechal *d'An-* and the Duke of Longueville, having assembled the ns adherents, went the same way, and were not far from eng one another, all the Deputies being also in arms,

A fray happens among the Lords Pages ; one of the D. of Guises is slain : the uproar riseth to that height, that the whole Factions are divided under the names of *Royallists* and *Guifards* ; the King himself being armed, goes to the quarrell.



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some for one side, some for the other; and so great was the terror and the assurance that there was a bloody conflict in the stile, that many who fled away for fear carryed the news abroad, and the report came to Paris, that all the Court were cutting one another in pieces among themselves, the event not being yet known. The King having put on his armour, went out of his private lodgings (doubtfull that the Duke of Guise endeavoured by that means to prevent him,) and his followers that had wherewithall did the same, and so being armed, they expected with more assurance to turn their assistance whither most need required. On the other side the Duke of Guise, who sate talking with the Queen-Mother, neither moved his place nor countenance, but thinking it to be what indeed it was, said so often to the Queen; and perceiving that some of his Gentlemen seeing the advantage of their party, expected some token from him to proceed rather, he kept his look still firm upon the ground, turning toward the fire, and gave no signe at all of his intentions, neither not assenting to the businesse, or desiring they should go on, but without his fault or order. In the mean time the *Sieur de Grillon* having commanded the souldiers of the guard to stand to their arms, made the quarrell be parted; the rage being easily extinguished, because there was no fuell added to it by the Heads of the two parties, and so in the space of little more then an hour the whole uproar was appeased, and returned in the former quietnesse; an accident that had a terrible beginning, and a ridiculous end; but shewed evident marks of the most ardent hatred, kindled more then ever between the Factions.

But things were now brought to their full maturity: for the Duke of Guise having sufficiently tryed the Deputies in generall and particular, and being grown more secure and bold by these late tryals, began to get the businesse introduced of his being made Lieutenant General, at the request, and with the authority of the States, which was the last of his present hopes; and the King losing his power and reputation every day more and more, and seeing that blow which he had so often avoyded now coming to break upon him, his long patience was at length turned into rage, so that the course of so many contrivances could no longer be withheld from breaking forth to their appointed end. The

ing had from the beginning intended to put the Duke of  
uise to death, with all his chief adherents and dependents;  
ing thereunto incited by the sense of past injuries, and the  
pprehension of future dangers: he was onely withheld by  
e respect he bore to the Catholike Religion, and his fear lest  
e Pope (who besides his being of a fierce resolute nature, he  
v was infinitely inclined to favour the League) should make  
e of Spiritual weapons against him, and stir up all the Prin-  
s of Christendom to do him mischief, whom (by reason  
the divisions of his Kingdom) they knew to be in a weak  
ngerous condition. But because he was assured that the  
tholike King and the Duke of Savoy would most certainly  
against him, and that the Queen of England, the Swisses and  
testants of Germany would be for him; and that the other  
nces were so far off that they could do him but little harm,  
turned his minde wholly toward the Princes of Italy, a-  
ng which the Pope was chief, by reason of the authority of  
Apostolike Sea, and of the Spiritual Arms that were in  
power; and then the Venetian Senate, as well for the e-  
nent opinion of their wisdom, as for the supplies of mo-  
e which he might hope for from them in time of need: and  
lly, the Grand Duke of Thuscany, from whom he re-  
mbred King *Charles* the ninth had in the heat of War re-  
ved considerable assistance both of men and money.

To win the Pope, and make him his friend, besides a most  
pense inclination which he had shewed to cause the Coun-  
of Trent to be received by the States, and the great re-  
ct which upon all occasions he had shewn to the Ecclesia-  
al Order, he had also sent *Jehan* Marquesse of Pisani his  
bassadour to Rome; a man of long experience, and of a  
xerous mature wit, who (his wife being a Roman of the  
nly of *Savella*) was wonderfully versed in that Court,  
acceptable to the Pope himself, and to the whole Consi-  
y of Cardinals; by whose means he laboured not onely to  
e *Sixtus* favourable unto him, by all the demonstrations  
uty and confidence, but also to dive into the affections  
his nephews and favourites, by all those ways which his fa-  
cy could invent. And because he conjectured that the  
ons of the Cardinal Legat (as one who was upon the  
e, and was both by the Pope and the whole world esteem-  
anan of singular wisdom) would have great power which



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way soever they should incline : he used all his endeavours to make him his friend and confident, which was not very hard to do, as well because the Cardinal being a Venetian by birth, was naturally inclined to the good and greatnesse of the Crown, and because his particular *genius* abhorred the turbulent Counsels of the League. Wherefore the King trusting him with many secrets, and seeming to depend much upon his advice and authority, he had by his means not only obtained absolution for the Prince of Conty and Count of Soissons to the prejudice of the League, but also having made him acquainted with many hidden things, which were managed under the name of Religion, had perswaded him to withdraw his hand from favouring the Duke of Guise : for the presence of the Cardinal, being there present, had sounded the bottom of those things which always came to Rome covered with the specious title of Religion; whereupon, by his relations opportunely introduced, the Pope's minde was brought into so much doubt and suspence, that he often told the Spanish Ambassadors, and the Agents of the League, he could not see clearly into the affairs of France.

It was more easie to gain the Venetian Senate : for besides the many acts of friendship shewed by that Republicke to *Charles* the ninth in the greatest exigencies of his Kingdom, and besides the real welcoms wherewith the present King had been received in the City of Venice, which had produced a reciprocal and confident friendship between them : the proceedings also of the Senate were very much averse from the disturbers of quietnesse, and from conspirers of new designs; and their own interests made them to desire the peace and union of the Kingdom of France under the obedience of the natural King, to the end that being so united in strength it

The King admits *Gio. Mocenigo* Ambassador from Venice, though he were not one of the *Savii di Terra Firma*. \* Magistrates so called at Venice, because they have the principal administration of affairs by land, and the care of matters belonging to Peace and War.

might counterpoise the excessive greatnesse of other Christian Potentates: Wherefore, though the King at first had made some difficulty of admitting *Giovanni Mocenigo* (chosen Ambassador to him from the Senate in the place of *Giovanni Delfino*) because he was not of the Colledge of the \* *Savii di Terra Firma* (out of which number the Ambassadors to Kings are wont to be elected) yet having in the end admitted him, he was so pleased with his discreet silence and prudent behaviour, that he contracted a great intimacy with him, and with him the Senate passed busineses of very great trust and confidence.

ut with *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of Tuscany proceeded further : for he having newly succeeded his brother *Francesco* in that State, and having renounced the title of King to take a wife, it was at that time concluded to give *Chrestienne* the Duke of Lorain's daughter, and niece to the King, who had been bred up with the Queen-mother ; and during the Ceremonies of the Marriage, *Charles* the last Grand Prior of France contracted her in the name of *Ferdinando*, and the Bride made her self ready to take her journey.

*Chrestienne de Lorain*, which should have been given to the King of Navar, is married to *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Things being ordered in this manner, the next business the King had to think on, was to contrive which way to catch the Duke of Guise, surrounded with so many Guards, and so great a number of adherents : for though he had cunningly drawn the States to Blois, a City depending upon him, and from the assistance of the Parisians, yet was the Duke still so strong, and so many of the Deputies depended upon his will, that it was no easie matter to set upon him. The Queen-mother was so ill of the Gout, that she kept her bed, and the King troubled with his wonted suspicions, had not intended to impart that designe to her ; and before having taken occasion upon Sunday the eighteenth of September, while they were feasting in her lodgings for the marriage of the Great Dutchesse, and the whole Court busied there, he called into his own closet the *Mareschal d'Anmont* and *Nicholas d'Angenay* *Sieur de Ramboüillet*, whom he counted most trusty, one for the profession of Arms, the other for the Gown ; and discovering his whole designe, he desired their counsel in that particular. Their opinions were very different ; and all agreed that things were brought to a pass, that now necessity forced a resolution to bridle the motions of the Duke of Guise : but about the means which were to be used, they were not so well resolved : for the *Mareschal d'Anmont* consented to have him resolutely killed ; and *Ramboüillet* alleading the breach of Faith, and the law of Nations, counselled to take him prisoner, and then to proceed against him in a legal way : Whereupon, not knowing how to resolve among themselves, they called the same night unto them *Alfonso Corso*, and *Lewis* the brother of *Ramboüillet* ; and after their opinions, they all thinking it a very hard matter to be effected. After many hours consultation, it was at last deter-

The King desiring to free himself of the Duke of Guise, proposes his designe to four of his most trusty Confidants, who after long consultation resolve to have him killed,

deter-



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determined that he should be slain, and that the businesse should be ordered in this manner following. Upon the top of the stairs in the King's Palace, there was a great Hall in which commonly the Councel was wont to be held, and which (except upon such occasions) stood open and free for the ordinary passage of the Courtiers: at the upper end of the hall was the door of the King's ante-chamber; upon the right whercof was his bed-chamber; and on the left, the Wardrobe and just over against the door of the ante-chamber, was the door of the closet; from whence there was a way out into a fair room; and thence a back-stairs that went down into the Queen-mother's lodgings. When the Councel was held, the Gentlemen and Courtiers were wont to accompany the Lord that went in, to the Hall-door at the top of the stairs, and there they stayed, because the door was locked and guarded by the Keepers of the Councel-chamber: then they used to return back into the Court, which being spacious, was commonly called \* *The Bretons Porche*, because they coming continually to Court about their frequent Law-suits, were wont for the most part to walk and entertain themselves in that place. The King and his counsellors resolved that the deed should be done upon a Councel-day: for the Duke being then left alone without his train, with the other Lords and Councillors in the Hall, he might be called by the King into his lodgings, which at such times were wont to be shut, and without company; and being there apart, and deprived of any help, might be dispatched out of the world: for he being once dead, they feared not those dangers and tumults at Blois, which they should have done if they had been at Paris. Then treating of the persons that should execute the businesse, the King chose to trust *Grillon* the Colonel of his Guards; a fierce bold man for many occasions an enemy to the Duke of Guise. Having therefore sent for him, he unfolded his designe unto him in fitting words, and gave him to understand that he had appointed him to be the man that should perform the enterprise wherein consisted all his safety. *Grillon* answered with open and significant words, "Sir, I am really your Majesties most faithful and devoted servant; but I make profession to be a Souldier and a Cavalier: if you please to command me to challenge the Duke of Guise, and fight with him hand to hand, I am ready at this instant to lay down my life for

\* *Le porche aux Bretons.*

The answer of  
*Grillon* Captain  
of the Guards.

service; but that I should serve for an Executioner, while our Majesties justice condemns him to die, is a thing not with one of my condition, nor will I ever do it while I live. The King did not much wonder at the liberty of *Grillon*, whom he and the whole Court knew to be a plain honest man, and one that spoke his thoughts freely without fear of any body; and therefore replied, that it was enough, provided he kept the matter secret, for he had not communicated it to any body else, and if it should be divulged, he would accuse him for the revealing it. To this *Grillon* answered, that he was a servant of honour and fidelity, one that would never discover the secret interests of his Master, and so going away, left the King very doubtfull what he should do; in which perplexity he continued till the one and twentieth day, when having trusted the businesse to *Lognac*, one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber, who had been brought first into the Court by the Duke of Joyeuse, by his gracefull fashion, discreet carriage, and gentle behaviour began to rise into the place of the *Minions*; he with much difficulty promised with some of the Five and forty who depended neerly upon him, to do the deed most ready.

*Lognac* promi-  
seth the King  
that the Duke  
of Guise  
should be slain.

The King having settled his minde, resolved to put it in execution upon the morning of the three and twentieth being Christmas Eve's Eve; and being come personally to the Councel the two and twentieth day, he told them he desired some businesse that concerned him might be dispatched the next morning, that with a quiet minde he might devote himself to perform his exercises of devotion for the holy time that was at hand; and therefore he intreated all of them to come early to the Councell.

In the mean time the suspicion of this businesse, no body knew which way, was crept so far, that a confused knowledge of it came unto the ear of the Duke of Guise himself; and being in private with the Cardinal his Brother, and the Archbishop of Lyons, consulted whether he should give credit to that report, and whether believing it, he should go to the States to avoid that danger. The Cardinal said, it was better to fail in believing too much, then in being too credulous, and that it was good to lean to the securer side, and so he persuaded his departure so earnestly, that the Duke set his journey in order to go away the next morning; but the Arch-

The King's  
resolution a-  
gainst the D. of  
Guise comes  
to the ear of  
the D. of Guise  
himself.

Bishop



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A consultation  
between the  
Duke of Guise,  
the Cardinall  
his Brother, the  
Arch-Bishop  
of Lyons, and  
the Duke d'El-  
beuf.

Bishop of Lyons opposed that resolution so stiffly, that it caused it almost at the same time to be altered. He shewed what a lightnesse it was to believe a rumour of fame not grounded upon any certain proof; that it might be a plot of the King's to make him go away and leave the States, to the end that all hopes, designs and practices falling at once, he might be left free from that yoke which he saw preparing for himself by the consent of the States; and he being gone that should order and moderate the affections and promises of the Deputies, who should withstand the King's authority and cunning? Who should hinder the States from coming to a contrary end from what they had designed? For he being absent, the Deputies seeing themselves forsaken and left alone, would fall under the King's authority, and in reverence to the Royall Name, would make their determinations according to his pleasure, and revoke those already past, disturb matters already established, and reduce the Government to the former, or perhaps to a worse condition, to the totall ruine and utter destruction of the League; that all those of his party would with reason complain that they had been betray'd, and merely forsaken by him, and every one by his example would think of their own interests, and to make their peace with the King, so that in the end he alone would be left forsaken and abandoned; in conclusion, that it was better (though the danger were certain) to hazard onely his life by staying, than certainly to lose both life and honour at once by going away. His departure being deferred, the Duke of Elbeuf came, who being made privie to the businesse in debate, confirmed the opinion of the Arch-Bishop of Lyons, adding many things to prove that the Duke of Guise was so well accompanied with faithfull friends all fast united, that the King would not dare to think of so rash an enterprise; and that he wondered they should now be in so much fear of those forces, which till then they had ever undervalued and despised. Whereupon the Duke of Guise taking courage, resolved not onely to stay till the end of the Assembly, but shewed also evident signes of slighting those rumours that ran about the Court.

The evening of the twenty second being come, the King commanded Monsieur *de Larchant* one of the Captains of the Guard to double them the next morning, and to keepe them

all-door after the Lords of the Councell were gone in; but  
 at he should do it in such a manner as the Duke of Guise  
 might not suspect any thing: wherefore having stayed with a  
 great number of his Souldiers the same night, till the Duke  
 came from his own lodgings to the King's, he went to him in  
 the middle of the way, and beseeched him that he would be  
 pleased to speak a good word for those poor souldiers, who  
 had wanted their pay a great many months, that they made  
 their addresse to him as the Head and Protector of all souldi-  
 ers, and that the next day he would wait upon him with the  
 whole Company in the morning, to put him in minde to speak  
 for their behalf to the Councell: The Duke answered courte-  
 ously, and promised the Captain and the souldiers to take  
 care for their satisfaction. The same night the King  
 gave order to his Nephew the Grand Prior of France, to make  
 watch at Tennis the next morning with the Prince of Jain-  
 e Son to the Duke of Guise, and to keep him in play till  
 received further order from him. In the morning the King  
 made himself ready before day, under colour of going perso-  
 nally to the Councel, and pretending he should stay there ma-  
 ny hours, dismissed all his servants, and in his Closet there re-  
 mained onely *Revol* the Secretary of State, Colonel *Alfonso*  
*de la Bastide* a Gascon Gentleman of very  
 great courage, who were all commanded by him to stay there:  
 in his Chamber was *S' Pris*, one of his old Gentlemen waiters,  
 the Wardrobe the Count *de Termes* \* Great Chamberlain,  
 who was a kinsman of the Duke d'Espernon's, and in the  
 Chamber two Pages, an Usher that waited at the Coun-  
 Chamber-door, and *Lognac* with eight of the Five and  
 twenty, to whom the King had with very great promises signi-  
 fied his pleasure, and found them most ready to obey his com-  
 mand. It was about break of day when the Counsellors met,  
 and there went into the great Hall Cardinal *Gondy*, the Car-  
 dinal of Vendosme, the Mareschals of Aumont, and Retz,  
*Belon* the *Garde des Seaux*, *François* Sieur d'O, *Nicholas*  
*de Ramboüillet*, the Cardinall of Guise, the Arch-Bishop  
 of Lyons, and at last appeared the Duke of Guise, to whom  
 Captain *Larchant*, stepping forward with a greater number of  
 souldiers then the night before, presented him a Petition for  
 their pay, and with that excuse accompanied him, and brought  
 him to the Hall-door, where being entered, and the door shut,

The order ta-  
ken by the king  
for the killing  
of the Duke of  
Guise.

The Captains  
invention to  
double the  
Guards, and  
not be suspect-  
ed by the Duke  
of Guise.

\* The French  
translation  
says, *Grand*  
*Maistre de la*  
*Garde-robbe.*



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*Pelican* the Duke's Secretary sends him a Note in a handkerchief to bid him save himself: but it comes not to his hands.

The Duke of Guise swoons in the Council-chamber: an ill omen of his approaching death.

The Duke of Guise is slain as he lifts up the hanging of the Closet-door.

the souldiers made a long lane to the bottom of the stair seeming to stay there to wait for an answer of their Petition and at the same time Monsieur *Grillon* caused the gates of the Castle to be locked, whereupon many suspected what would be the event, and *Pelican* the Duke's Secretary wrote a little note in these words, *My Lord, save your self, or you are dead*: and having put it up into a handkerchief, gave it to one of the Duke's Pages to carry it to the keeper of the Council-Chamber-door, pretending that the Duke had forgot to take it when he went forth of his Chamber; but the souldiers would not suffer the Page to passe. In the mean time the Duke being come into the Councell, and set neer the fire, fell into a little swoon, whether it were that he remembered himself of the danger in which he was, being separated from all his dependants; or that nature (as it often happens) presaging his future misfortune, did of her self give that shew of resentment; or whether (as his ill-willers said) it was because he had weakened himself too much that night with *Madam de Marmontier*, whom he extremely loved; but being quickly recovered, Secretary *Revol* came into the Councell out of the ante-Chamber, and told him that the King asked for him, and would have him come to him into the Closet: the Duke arose, and having with his accustomed courtesie saluted all the Counsellors, entered into the ante-Chamber, which presently being locked after him, he saw not that store of company which was wont to be there, but onely those eight Gentlemen of the King's guard which were well known to him; and as he went from thence into the Closet, the hanging at the door not being held up for him as it was wont to be, he stretched forth his hand to lift it up, and at that instant *S' Malin* one of the eight stabbed him into the neck with a dagger, and the rest presently all upon him on every side; he striving to lay hold of his sword, was never able to draw it above half way out, and after many wounds given him in the head, and all the other parts of his body, being at last struck by *Lognac* (upon whom he had most violently thrown himself) he fell down at the door of the Wardrobe, and there he breathed forth the last groans of his life without being able to speak one word. The Cardinall of Guise, as soon as he heard the noise in the ante-Chamber, was certain that they were about his person.

; and rising up suddenly with the Archbishop of Lyons, ran both to the Hall-door to call for the help of their servants; but having found the door shut, they were stayed by Mareschals of Aumont and Retz; who giving them notice that they were the King's prisoners, led them up a little pair of stairs into an upper room, where they were shut up and diligently guarded. At the same time the Cardinal of Bour-  
by reason of his age and weaknesse being yet in bed, was ed on in the Castle; as also *Charles* Prince of Jainville, *Charles* of Lorain Duke of Elbeuf, *Charles* of Savoy Duke of Nemours, and *Anne d'Estre* Dutchesse of Nemours; and more to the Guises. Then having opened the Castle-gates, redoubled their Guards very strongly, Monsieur de Riche-  
\* *Grand Prevost de l'Hôtel*, went into the Town, where he took President Nully, *La Chapelle Martel* the Provost of the Chancery of Paris, *Compan* and *Cotteblanche* Deputies for that year, the Lieutenant of the City of Amiens, the Count de *Mac*, the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*; and at last *Pelicart* the Secretary of Guise's Secretary was likewise taken, with all the things which belonged to his Lord; among which they found many Letters containing divers practices within and without the Kingdom, the accounts of moneys which he had received from Spain, which were reported to amount to the sum of two millions of Ducats. The rest, which the King desired to get into his hands, were either favourably hid by their lords in whose houses they lay, or by their friends in the country, or saved themselves by several ways and means; so that they escaped the fury of that present revenge. The body of the dead Duke being laid up in a green cloth, was carried by the door-keepers into the great room beyond the King's closet; and there it was laid till further orders. These businesses were performed without much noise or tumult, every one being amazed and astonished at what was done; and the most valiant and daring among those of the League, with down-cast eyes and dejected countenances, professed most perfect obedience and profound submission.

1588  
The Cardinal of Guise and Archbishop of Lyons are made prisoners, as also all the Lords & other chief adherents of the Duke of Guise.

\* The ordinary Judge of the King's household: his command extends to all places within six leagues of the Court.

It was reported that the Duke of Guise had received from Spain the sum of two millions of crowns.

The first thing the King did, was to send *Revol* the Secretary of State to the Cardinal-Legat, to give him notice of all that had passed, and to intreat him to meet him at Masse: and at the same time he sent also to give account of it to the Venetian Ambassadour, shewing how great a desire he had to be



1588

The King admitting every one into his presence, speaks very resentingly.

excused to the Pope, and how much he esteemed the opinion of the Venerian Senate; and then having walked a turn two in the closet, he thought it time to lay off the Foxes of side which for so many yeers he had worn with infinite patience contrary to his own *Genius*, and to take up again the generosity of the Lion, which in his younger yeers he had shed in so many famous actions: and having caused the door to be opened, and every one to be admitted into his chamber he said with a loud voice, That from thence forward he would have his Subjects learn to know and to obey him: for since he had known how to resolve to punish the Heads of Insurrections, much more resolutely would he proceed against Members: That every one therefore should from that time forget stubbornness and rebellion: for he would be a King not only in words, but in deeds also; and it would be neither a new nor difficult matter to handle his sword again. So with an angry look and a fowre countenance, he went down the stairs into his Mother's lodgings.

The King says to his Mother, Now I am King of France; for I have put to death the King of Paris.

The Queen lying in her bed, and very much troubled with her pain, had heard the bustle that was above in the King's lodgings, and had often asked what noise it was; nor had any body courage enough to tell her the news. Now the King appearing, he first asked her how she did: to which she having answered that she felt her self something better, he replied, And I also now finde my self much better; for this morning I have made my self King of *France*, having put to death the King of *Paris*. To which words the Queen replied, You have made the Duke of Guise be slain; but God grant you be not now made King of nothing: you have cut out work enough, I know not whether or no you will be able to make it up as well: Have you foreseen the mischiefs that are like to follow? look carefully to that: two things are necessary, Speed and Resolution. After which words, being exceedingly tormented with the Gout, and much afflicted in minde, she held her peace; and the King went to meet the Legat, that they might go to Masse together.

They met before Masse, and walking up and down, conferred a great while together; in which discourse the King laboured to perswade him that he had been forced by necessity to take that resolution. He told him that the ends, practices, designs, leagues and negotiations of the Duke of Guise, were

bitten

The King discoursed a long while with the Cardinal of Morefni about the Duke of Guile's death.

ter known to his wisdom then to others : That by them he  
been brought to such extremities ; that he could not save  
own life and Crown, without his death ; which as by God's  
tance it had been happily enough effected, amongst a thou-  
l unconquerable difficulties ; so was it conformable to the  
ice of all the Laws in the world : That the hainous offen-  
vere notorious, and manifest to every one, which had  
n committed by him a natural Subject, against the majesty  
he Royal Name, and against his lawful Prince, without  
reasonable occasion ; which he had long born withal and  
bled, out of his desire of the general quiet, and out of  
gentlenesse of his own disposition : but that after the last  
fication, in which he had profusely granted more to the  
gue then they knew how either to demand or desire, not-  
standing the Act of oblivion of all things past, and the  
hibition of all such-like practices for the time to come, the  
e of Guise, persisting obstinately in his first designs, vio-  
g so many Oathes, so many Promises, and so many Sacra-  
nts reiterated among the holy Ceremonies, and in the  
ence of the Assembly of the States, which represented the  
stick face of the whole French Nation, had both begun  
n, and continued the same things, leagues, and intelligen-  
with forraign Princes, receiving of moneys and pensions  
t Spain, agreements with the Duke of Savoy to the pre-  
ce of the Crown, factions, and practices with the States to  
p the liberty of his Prince, to exclude the rightful Succes-  
s of the Crown, and by seditious wicked acts to transfer  
e whole Government upon himself ; by which things he made  
self guilty of High-Treason, and had often manifestly in-  
red the crime of Rebellion ; insomuch as Justice neither  
d nor ought to forbear to punish him, thereby once to  
ove the perpetual danger and unquietnesse in which he  
p the whole Kingdom and all good men : That the ordi-  
forms of judging and sentencing could not possibly be ob-  
vd : for no prisons were secure, nor bonds sufficient to re-  
an his power ; that no Officers would have dared to examine  
n, no Judge to sentence him, nor no power would have  
e able to execute the sentence : That the King himself was  
fice, and that he had so many proofs as did more then abun-  
ny condemn and convince him to be guilty : That he was  
ued he had satisfied God's Justice, his own conscience, and  
the



1588

the good and quietnesse of his Kingdom ; and therefore he treated the Legat to represent the truth as it was unto the Pope to the end that the arts of his enemies might not by their relations, transform the face of so necessary , so just an action. These things were no news unto the Legat, being fully informed of the reports already divulged ; and the King's reason contained peradventure what he thought himself : and because he firmly believed, that the shepherd being struck , his flock would easily be scattered ; the greater part of the Hugonots being taken , and the rest much unprovided of strength and force to resist the King's power in so sudden an accident, so much valuing the popular commotion which he foresaw might ensue , because he thought the seditions of the people were like a fire of straw , which riseth with great violence , but presently ceaseth and is extinguished ; he judged it not fit to separate the King's minde from the Apostolike See , but to confirm and establish it to the protection of Religion, and with a gentle rein and moderate respect to withhold him from acting precipitately with the Hugonots : wherefore, seeming to believe that the Pope, as disinterested and as a common father would kindly give ear unto his reasons ; he onely exhorted him to shew that his words & excuses were true, by a firm and principal argument , which was, To persevere in the resolution of protecting the Catholike Religion, and extinguishing Heresie : that by that means he might perswade the Pope, and the whole world , that he had been constrained by necessity , and not drawn by hatred to the Catholike party : whereas, not persisting in that safe, Christian determination, he should authorize the false reports of the League , and give occasion to have thought that his inclination to favour the King of Navarre to uphold the Hugonots , had moved him to put to death the Head, and imprison the principal Members of the Catholike party. This point seemed so important to the Legat, that he enlarged himself long upon it, till the King gave assurance by Oath, that if the Pope would unite himself with him in men and Forces, he would endeavour the extirpation of Heresie with more fervour then ever , and that he was firmly resolved to suffer onely the Catholike Religion in his Kingdom : At which asseveration, accompanied with effectual words and gestures , the Legat made no scruple of treating with him in the same intimacy and confidence as before, thinking he had obtained

ined that point which would serve to satisfy the Pope, the King, though exasperated with the injuries of the League, did yet confirm himself in his wonted obedience and veneration of Religion; and that though the Duke of Guise removed, he yet continued the Catholike Union, and the determination of making War against the Hugonots: where he gave the King no doubtful hope that the Pope would be satisfied with his reasons: Nor did he think fit to passe any other at that meeting, but believing he should have time enough afterwards to speak about the enlargement of the Cardinals, he would not (in a time of so great distraction, and in a juncture wherein the King's minde might waver) anticipate business unseasonably, but proceed with well-pondered counsels, first settling the publike, and then private interest.

But the King having entertained great hopes by the League words, and seeing that he seemed not much troubled at the imprisonment of the Cardinals and other Prelates, resolved to go forward, and to free himself from the Cardinal of Guise, a no lesse fierce and terrible Head of the League than another had been: to which end, having found the Five Hundred unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of the Cardinal, he commanded *du Gast*, one of the Captains of the Guard, that he should cause him to be put to death the next morning by his Souldiers. So upon the four and twentieth being Christmas-eve in the morning, Captain *Gast* being come into the chamber where he was with the Archbishop of Paris, and where they had been all night in most terrible fear, pressing one another, and watching in continual prayer, he desired the Archbishop come along with him, for the King called for him: at which words the Cardinal believing that he was to die, said to him, My Lord, think upon God: but the Archbishop ghesing better then he, and not willing to fail in the same Office, replied, Nay, rather do you think of him, my Lord: and going away, he was brought into another room. While after, *du Gast* returned, and told the Cardinal that he had received Commission to put him to death: to which he onely answered, that he desired time to recommend his soul to God: then having kneeled down, he made a short prayer; and covering his head with the lower part of his Robe, he undauntedly desired him execute his Commission; when presently four Souldiers armed with Partezans slew him with many wounds; and

The King seeing that the Legat shewed no trouble at the imprisonment of the Cardinals, commands that *Lewis* of Lorain Cardinal of Guise be also put to death.

*Du Gast*, a Captain of the King's Guard causes the Cardinal of Guise to be slain by four Souldiers.



1588

The bodies of  
the two bro-  
thers were bur-  
ied in quick  
Lyme, & their  
bones buried  
in an unknown  
place.

The Duke of  
Guise's ver-  
tues and en-  
dowments  
both in body  
and minde.

his body was carried to the same place where the Duke's brother lay. The King doubted that if the bodies were there they might occasion some tumult; and therefore having by the counsel of his Physician caused them to be buried in quicklime, within a few hours all their flesh was consumed, and afterward the bones were secretly interred in an unknown place, removing in that manner those tragical objects, which would have wrought strange and sudden motions in the common people; neither had he himself the heart to look upon them; nor did any at the Court see them after their death, except those few who by necessity were present; the King not desiring that so sad a spectacle should argue him guilty either of cruelty, or ambition, or pomp of ostentation.

In this manner died *Henry* of Lorain Duke of Guise, a Prince very remarkable for the height of his extraction, and for the merit and greatnesse of his Ancestours; but much more conspicuous for the great eminencie of his own worth: for he abounded with many excellent endowments; vivacity in apprehending, wisdom in resolving, boldnesse in executing, courage in fight, magnanimity in prosperity, constancy in adversity, popular in behaviour, affable in conversation, infinitely industrious in gaining the mindes and affections of every man, liberality worthy the most plentiful fortune, secrecy and privacy equal to the greatnesse of his designs, a spritely turning, and readily stored with determinations and resolves according to the occasion required, and just proper for the times in which he lived. To these qualities of the minde were joyned ornaments of the body no lesse commendable; patient sufferance of labour, singular sobriety, a venerable yet gracious aspect, a strong souldierly constitution, agility of members so well disposed, that he was often seen to swim in all his Arms against the stream of a swift river; and wonderful activity, which both in Wrestling, Tennis, and Military exercises, he did far exceed the ability of all other men: and finally, such a combining union in the vigour of his minde and body, that he gained not onely an universal admiration, but extorted praise from the mouthes of his very enemies. Yet were not these vertues without the defects of humane frailty: for dissimulation and dissimulation were in him turned into nature: and vain-glory and ambition were so powerful over the temper of his disposition, that from the very beginning

him embrace the command of the Catholike Faction, and  
 process of time, from the necessity of defending himself  
 the King's subtil policies, put him easily upon the precise  
 designe of attaining by most difficult hidden ways to  
 succession of the Crown: and finally, the boldnesse of his  
 nature, and his usual contempt of all others, brought him  
 inevitably to utter ruine.

*Lewis* the Cardinal, though he came far short, imitated yet  
 courage and vertue of his brother: for he always shewed a  
 wit, a lively spirit, a constant minde, and magnanimity  
 to his birth: but the turbulency of his thoughts, and pre-  
 ate boldnesse of his nature, took off very much from the  
 ion which at first was conceived of him: for his too much  
 ur, his desire of new things, his despising of dangers, and  
 inquietnesse of minde (which have some kinde of lustre in  
 military profession) seemed not to have the same decency in  
 ritual life, and an Ecclesiastical habit.

The execution of the two brothers being past, the others  
 had been imprisoned were diversly kept and guarded.  
 Duke of Nemours either having corrupted his keepers  
 money, or taking opportunity by their negligence, or by  
 King's assent and connivence, (as many thought) because  
 owing his nature, he believed him rather more apt to hinder  
 and disturb, then to favour and compose the affairs of the  
 (the) escaped the fourth day from the place, where he was  
 very strictly looked to, and by unknown ways, with onely  
 servant went secretly towards Paris. *Anne d'Esté*, mother  
 him and to the dead Princes of Lorain, was also voluntarily  
 by the King, having shewed her many demonstrations of  
 passion; whether he was moved with the pity of her age, or  
 the splendour of her blood, or her being born of one of the  
 daughters of King *Lewis*, made him give her the more respect:  
*Chapelle, Compan, Cotteblanche*, the Lieutenant of Amiens,  
 Count de *Erillac*, and the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin*, because  
 were in the number of the Deputies (the Assembly of  
 states having made an appeal, complaining that the Law  
 nations was violated, forasmuch as the Deputies were Am-  
 bassadors and Messengers from their severall Provinces) were  
 at liberty. But the same happened not to the Archbishop  
 Lyons, though he was one of the Deputies, nay President  
 of the Clergie: for the King often desired to have him exa-

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mined



1588. The Archb-  
shop of Lyons  
being often  
examined,  
would never  
answer; alledg-  
ing that as Pri-  
mate of all  
France he had  
no other Superi-  
our but the  
Catholike  
Church.

The Cardinal  
of Bourbon, the  
Prince of Jain-  
ville, now cal-  
led Duke of  
Guise, the  
Archbishop of  
Lyons, and the  
Duke d'Elbeuf,  
are all put into  
the Castle of  
Amboyse.

Charles Duke  
of Mayenne,  
third brother  
to the Guises,  
being adverti-  
sed of his bro-  
ther's death,  
flees from  
Lyons.

mined by the Archbishop of Beauvois, as a Peer of France sometimes by the Cardinal of Gondy, sometimes by the Judges of the Great Council, he had always refused to answer, he should prejudice the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, where as Primate of all France, he said he had no other Superior but the Apostolike See; though the King and his ministers alledged that they impeached him not as Archbishop of Lyons (though so in cases of Rebellion and Treason the King pretended to have Jurisdiction over him) but as a Counsellor of State: for which cause the King being exasperated, thinking that his refusal to answer proceeded from a foul, guilty conscience, would not consent to his enlargement, though his Nephew the Baron *de Lux* took much pains about it, though the Deputies were much troubled at the King's denial. *Pelicart* the Secretary of the dead Duke, and some other of his neereſt ſervants, were often examined; and having drawn as much from them as they could, by the King's command (who scorned to deſile himſelf with mean blood) were ſet at liberty. But the Cardinal of Bourbon, who wept like a childe for the death of the Lords of Guise, and was much afflicted for his own miſfortune; the Duke d'Elbeuf, who by eſſpair was fallen into an exceſſe of melancholy, ſo that he would neither endure to change his clothes, cut his hair, or ſeek wonted decency about his perſon; the Prince of Jαινville, who by the death of his father began to be called Duke of Guise; together with the Archbishop of Lyons, were (after not many days) brought by the King himſelf to the Castle of Amboyſe, and there under the command of Captain *de Gaſt*, were left in ſeveral lodgings, but with a good Garriſon and ſtriſt order to keep them faſt.

At the very inſtant of the Cardinal's death, Colonel *Alfonſo Corſo* went away poſt to Lyons, where *Charles Duke of Mayenne* the third brother of the Guises ſtayed, being appointed for the War in Dauphiné, with order to take him there upon the ſudden, and make him priſoner: but he was prevented by *Camillo Tolomei* and the *Sieur de Chaſeron*, who being gone ſecretly from Blois the ſame day the Duke was killed, and got unknown to Orleans, took the way toward Lyons with infinite ſpeed; ſo that upon Chriſtmas-day in the evening, about Sun-ſet, the Duke left the City to retire to Dijon a place under his Government, at the ſame time

Colonel entered the City by another gate, to execute the Commission he had received; and so of the three Brothers he escaped free from danger, into whose valour and wisdom all foundations and hopes of the League were now reduced.

The death of the Queen-Mother shut up the last act of the Tragedy of Blois, who in the 70<sup>th</sup> year of her age having been long afflicted with the Gout, and at last oppressed with a slow fever, and extreme abundance of Catharrs, departed this life on the fifth day of January 1589, being the Eve of the *Epi-*

*phany* of our Lord, a day which was wont to be celebrated with great joy by the Court, and the whole Kingdom of France.

The qualities of this Lady conspicuous for the spacious course of thirty years, and famous thorow all Europe, may better be comprehended by the context of things that have been related, then described by any pen, or represented in a few words.

For her prudence always abounding with fitting determinations to remedy the sudden chances of Fortune, and to oppose the machinations of humane wickedness, (wherewith the minority of her Sons she managed the weight of so many civil Warrs, contending at once with the effects of Religion,

in the contumacy of her Subjects, with the necessities of the Treasury, with the dissimulations of the great Ones, and with the dreadful engines raised by Ambition;) is rather to be admired distinctly in every particular action, then confusedly mixed-coloured in a generall draught of all her vertues. The constancy and greatnesse of courage wherewith she, a Woman; in a Stranger, durst against so potent Competitors, aspire to the whole weight of Government; having aspired, compassed it; having compassed, maintain it against the blows of art & fortune, was much more like the generosity and courage of a man tested & hardened in the affairs of the world, then of a woman accustomed to the delicacies of the Court, and kept so low during the life of her Husband. But the patience, dexterity, suffrance and moderation, with which arts in the suspicion which her Son (after so many proofs) had conceived of her, she knew how to maintain the authority of Government in her self; so much, as without her counsell and consent he durst not do any of those very things wherein he was jealous of her) as it were the highest pitch and most eminent proof of her merit worth. To these vertues, which appear plainly in the course of her actions here related, were added many other en-

1589

*Katherine de Medicis Wife to Hen. the Second dyed on Twelfth eve, in the 70 year of her age, thirty whereof shee spent in the Regency, and in the management of the greatest affairs and troubles of the Kingdome of France.*



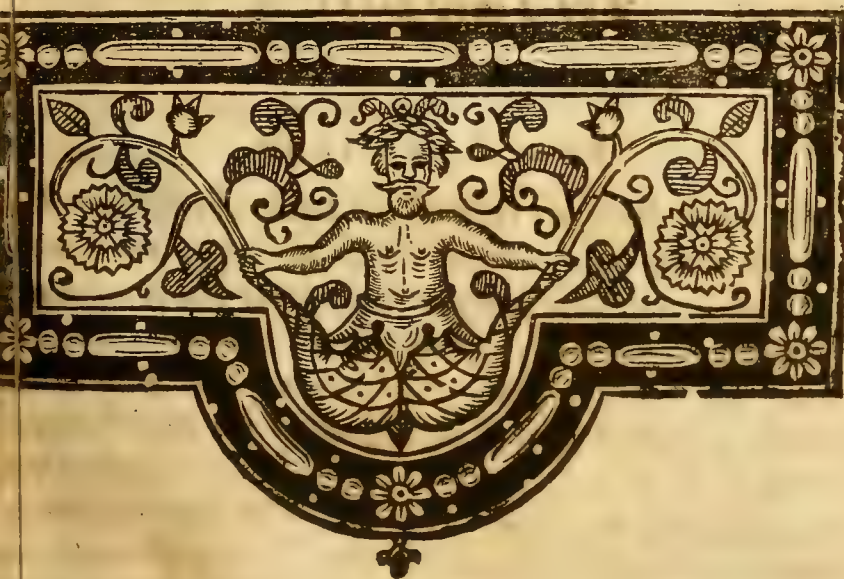
1589

dowments, wherewith banishing the frailties and imperfections of the female sex, she became always mistresse of those passions which use to make the brightest lights of humane providence wander from the right path of life; for in her were a most elegant wit, royall magnificence, popular courtesie, a powerful manner of speaking, an effectuall inclination, liberal and favourable to the good, a most bitter hatred and perpetual ill-will to the bad, and a temperature never excessively interested in favouring and advancing her dependents. Yet could she never do so much, but that being an Italian, her vertue was despised by the French pride, and those that had a desire to disturb the Kingdom hated her mortally, as contrary to their designes; wherefore the Hugonots in particular, both in her life time, and after her death, blasted and tore her name with poysonous libels, and with malicious narrations and execrations: and a certain Writer (who deserves rather the name of a Satyrist then a Historian) hath laboured to make her actions appear very different from the truth; attributing often either ignorantly or maliciously the causes of her determinations to a perversity of nature, and an excessive appetite to govern; abasing and diminishing the glory of those effects which in the midst of so certain dangers did more then once securely produce the safety, and divert the overthrow of the Kingdom. Not but among so many excellent vertues, some weeds of worldly imperfections did also spring up: for she was esteemed of a most deceitful faith, a condition common enough in all times, but very peculiar to that age; greedy, or rather prodigall of humane blood, much more then became the tenderesse of the female sex; and it appeared in many occasions, that to attain her own ends (though good) she thought no means unworthy which seemed conducing to her designes, though of themselves they were unjust and perfidious. But the eminence of so many other vertues may certainly, to reasonable Judges, counterpoise many of those defects which were produced by the urgency and necessity of affairs.

The King was present with demonstrations of extreme grief, at the last gasps of her life, which ended very Christianly, and her death was honoured with his tears, and with exceeding great lamentations by the whole Court, though the present distractions did in the hasty funeral

Mother very much hinder the wonted magnificence of Son. Her Heirs were *Chrestienne de Lorain*, Wife to *Linando* Grand Duke of *Thuscany*, and *Charles Grand* of France, bastard-Son to *Charles* the Ninth, who was before called the Count of *Auvergne*; and to her servants left many Legacies, but the unquietnesse of the times followed, and some debts contracted by her liberality did divers wayes swallow up in great part both the Inheritance he Legacies.

*The end of the Ninth Book.*







THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,  
By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.  
*The Tenth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**I**N the tenth Book are related the Insurrections caused by the death of the Cardinall and Duke of Guise; the Union renewed in Paris, and many other Cities of the Kingdom the Authority of command, and title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown given to the Duke of Mayenne. The King commands a processe to be made against the actions of the dead Princes he continues the States, but breaks them up at last, the Deputies being variously inclined. The King strives to appease the Pope, who is highly offended at the Cardinal of Guise's death. He dispatcheth the Bishop of Mans to Rome for that purpose but the Pope persists, and makes grievous complaints to the Consistory: The King endeavours to make peace with the Duke of Mayenne; but neither doth that designe take effect. The Duke goes to Paris, and begins severall wayes to take up the warre he establishes the general Council of the League, and the particular one of the Sixteen at Paris: He dispatches Ministers to Rome to confirm the Popes inclination; who afterwards

isbeth a Monitory against the King of France, and foments the League exceedingly. The King being necessitated to make Varre, agrees with the King of Navar, and concludes a Truce with him: The Spanish Ambassadour leaves the Court, and goes to reside in Paris with the Heads of the League; the Pope's Legat departs also, and not having been able to persuade the Duke of Mayenne to consent to peace, goes out of the Kingdom. The Warr is begun furiously in every place. The Duke of Montpensier defeats the Gautiers in Normandy. The Kings of France and Navar meet in the City of Tours. The Duke of Mayenne takes Vendosme, and the Count de Brienne prisoner; he assaults the King's Infantry in the Fauxbourgs of Tours, and takes and possesseth himself of many Posts. The King of Navar comes up with his Army, and the Duke going away, takes many places in his march toward Normandy. The Duke of Aumale besieges Senlis, fights with the Duke of Longueville and Sieur de la Noüe, and loses the day. The Duke of Mayenne to recover this losse marches towards Paris. The King with his Army follows the same way, takes Gergeau, Liviers, Chartres, Estampes, Montereau, Poissy, and other places: he joyns with the Duke of Montpensier. The Swisses and Germans raised for his assistance arrive; hee takes the adjacent Towns, and layes siege to Paris; where the Duke of Mayenne and the people (having but small hopes to defend themselves) resolve to stand it out to the utmost. Frier Jacques Clement a Dominican goes out of the Citie, is brought into the King's chamber, and stabs him into the belly with a knife; the King dying declares the King of Navar his lawfull Successor, and perswades him to turn Catholick. The Army, and particularly the Nobility, waver in their resolutions, at last they resolve to acknowledge the King of Navar, provided Religion might be secured. He makes them a promise in writing to imbrace the Roman-Catholick-Faith. Hee rises from Paris by reason of the wasting of his Army, makes shew as if hee would besiege Rouen, and goes to Diepe. The Duke of Mayenne much encreased in strength follows him; they fight at Pollet, at Arques, and under the walls of Diepe. Supplies come to the King from many parts. The Duke of Mayenne marches off and goes into Picardy; the King enlarges himself towards the Isle of France: Hee takes and sacks the Suburbs of Paris, goes directly to Tours, and by the way seizeth



*The Historie of the Civill Warres*

*seizeth upon many places : He enters into that City ; is received with great pomp ; sits in the Parliament ; excuses to the Nobility his delay of changing his Religion ; marches into lower Normandy, and reduces all that Province into his power.*



After the bloody Tragedy which ended the year 1588, followed a dreadful terrible alteration of the *Scene* : for the news of the death of the Lords of Guise being come the same day to Orleans, the next to Paris, and from thence to hand into all parts of the Kingdom, it is not possible to believe how much it troubled and disturbed the mindes, not onely of the common people (inclined by nature and custom to embrace all emergent occasions of change) but of all degrees, and all qualities of persons ; and, which seemed very strange, of many also who in times past had been esteemed prudent moderate men. This so great perturbation of mens mindes, produced in their first fury rash precipitate effects : for the City of Orleans, which for a long time before had held the party of the League, and moreover had been wont in all the course of the Civil Wars to be first in Arms, having heard of the Duke of Guise's death, and the imprisonment of all the rest, by them who fleeing hally from Blois, were gotten thither at the first stage, and particularly by the *Sieur de Rossieux* one of the Counsellours of the League ; without any determinate resolution, and without staying for a Head to order them, they took Arms open the very same night ; and having driven away or suppressed the King's Magistrates, who endeavoured to hinder the Insurrection, they went all confusedly to assault the Fortresse in which *Monsieur d'Entraques* his Lieutenant was for the time. With a very few Souldiers, and (as in a sudden accident) want of all those things which are necessary to make good a place. The Citizens of Chartres did the same, though though late Commotions it had been of the King's party ; and having taken Arms, thrust out all that favoured the King's name, that would have opposed the Insurrection, and began to govern it self without the consent of the Magistrates. It the news being come to Paris upon Christmas-eve, at the beginning of the day, brought first by a Post dispatched from *De Be*

*Alino Mendoza*, and afterward by Captain *Hippolito Zano* of Ferrara, one of the Captains entertained by the Duke of Guise, the shops were hastily shut up, and the multitude their wonted tumult ran some to the *Hostel de Guise*, where were the Dutcheesses of Guise and Montpensier the Duke's wife and sister, and some to the City-gates to look for more certain news, and more distinct particulars of the businesse; which when they had learned by the arrival of those, who, having fled from Blois, came all running without stay to Paris; the people sometimes with howlings, sometimes with lamentations, sometimes with exceeding fierce cries, wavered in their resolutions, there not being yet any one ready to govern the multitude, and direct the determinations of the confused giddy multitude: for the Dutcheesse of Guise with a womanish softness was all in tears; and the Dutcheesse of Montpensier, a Lady of haughty minde, and full of bold manly spirits (who had by the King's name and credit more with her tongue, than her brothers had done with their swords and all their practice) being from her birth lame of one foot, and subject to violent infirmities, was then lying in her bed, and had already been indisposed for many days: Wherefore the Council of the League being come together in the midst of the tumultuous people, resolved to send for *Charles* of Loraine Duke of Aumale, who fleeing from the States at Blois, out of certain presaging fear, had stayed in Paris, and that very day retired to his devotions to the Covent of Carthusians near by the City; at whose arrival, though late at night, all the multitude ran to his house, but onely spent the time in bewailings and lamentations.

The Insurrection of the Parisians at the news of the Duke of Guise's death.

The next day, the whole City being in grief, they discontinued Divine Service quickly, without their wonted musick singing, and from the Churches being come to the Town-hall, the same Council met again there, at which were present the most noted Citizens, and also many of the Magistrates; some drawn by an anxious curiosity, some driven by fear of being torn in pieces by the fury of the multitude, some came with a desire to finde remedy against the unbridled rashnesse of the common people. But it was all in vain: for in stead of counsels, there being nothing heard but their invectives and injurious threats against the King's name, they resolved in the first place, that till a further determina-

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Charles of Lorraine Duke of Aumale being made Governour of Paris by the City, arms the people, and orders them regularly under Commanders.

The Preachers detraacting from the King, celebrate the Duke of Guise his Martyrdom with exceeding high praises.

tion, the Duke of Aumale should be declared Governour of the City, and that under his obedience they should from advertisements, expect new occasion of taking another resolution: yet he not having power to do or determine any thing without the Councel of *Sixteen*, and because every one came out tumultuously that the City ought to be kept from the combinations and violences of the *Hugonots* and *Politicks*, upon occasion of the slaughter of Blois might plot against the general peace and safety; the Duke having taken the name and authority of Governour, put the people in Arms, and under their Commanders distributed them to the keeping of the principal places, taking care that the goods and houses of the Citizens might not be pillaged by the seditious multitude.

The same evening, and the next day, the Preachers considered from their Pulpits the praises of the Duke of Guise's Martyrdom, and detestations of that slaughter most cruelly committed by the King; in such manner, that not onely the mindes of the baser people, but also of the most noted Citizens were won by their perswasions, and kindled with an insatiable desire to take revenge: which boldnesse both in the Preachers and people was doubled, when they heard the news of the Cardinal's death also, which brought them to the highest pitch of rage and madnesse; so that upon the eight and twentieth of December, being Innocents-day, the Councel of *Sixteen* caused a Writing to be presented to the Colledge of Divines called the *Sorbonne*, in the name of the *Prevost* and *Eschewins* of the City, wherein relating how much the Duke of Guise deserved of the Catholike Church, and their being murdered by the King as Protectours of the Faith, they demanded whether he might not lawfully be said to have forfeited his Crown, and whether it were not lawful for his Subjects (notwithstanding their Oath of Allegiance) to withdraw their obedience from him, as an hypocrite Prince, an enemy and favourer of Heresie, and a persecutour of the holy Church who had bloodied his hands in the sacred Order and eminent Person of a Cardinal. The Colledge of *Sorbonne* being assembled, there was no great debate about the matter: for though *Jehan Fabry* Dean of the Colledge, a man of renowned learning, followed by *Robert Vanvarrin* and *Denis Robin*, two of the senior Doctours, argued that though it

e, that the businesse had passed as the Writing related  
 (which was doubtfull) yet neither for all that could the King  
 said to have forfeited the Kingdom, nor was it lawfull for  
 people to withdraw their obedience from him; so great  
 verthelesse was the ardour of the younger men, excited by  
 preachings of *Guilliaume Roze* Bishop of Senlis, of the Cu-  
 s of *S' Paul*, and *S' Eustache*, of *Jehan Vincestre*, *John Hamil-*  
 , Father *Jaques Commolet* a Jesuit, Father *Bernard a Fueillant*,  
 of Father *François de Feu-ardant* a Franciscan; that they unä-  
 nously concurred to determine both the points, & with con-  
 rring votes declared, That the King had forfeited his right  
 he Crown, and that his subjects not onely might, but  
 ight to cast off their obedience; and that providing for the  
 vernment, they justly had power to make confederacies, to  
 pose Subsidies, raise souldiers, dispose of the Revenues of  
 Crown, and to do all other things which were opportune  
 onvenient for the defence of Religion; and their own se-  
 ty. They added with the same universall consent, that  
 Decree of this Declaration should be sent to the Pope, that  
 might confirm it, and make it so authentick, that the va-  
 ry of it might not at all be called in question for the time  
 come; after which Declaration, the people at it were loo-  
 ed from the bonds of obedience, and having broken the  
 of modesty, ran violently to the breaking down of the  
 g's Arms and Statues wheresoever they found them, and  
 an furiously to seek out all those which could be account-  
 dependents of his party, by them called *Navarrists* and  
 ticks; which insolent tumultuous search forced many  
 et men, and such as were averse from those turbulent  
 aies, to leave their houses to save their lives; many others  
 ee fain to compound with money; and some (notwithstan-  
 g the Duke of Aumale took great pains to prevent it) lost  
 er lives unfortunately in the businesse: while which things  
 ee done with infinite disorder, all the streets were full of  
 ns, noyses, and confusions; and the meanest people ran  
 against the marks of Royalty, committed scandalous  
 intolerable insolencies: all Churches eccho'd with voy-  
 s of the Preachers, who aggravated the parricide com-  
 ited by *Henry* of Valois, no longer called King of France;  
 ut the Heretick, Tyrant, and persecutor of the holy Church;  
 and all places were full of Libels both in verse and prose;

The Colledge  
 of Sorbonne  
 declares *Henry*  
 the Third to  
 have forfeited  
 his right to the  
 Crown, and his  
 subjects free  
 from their oath  
 of Allegiance.

The King's  
 Arms and Sta-  
 tues are thrown  
 down, the *Na-*  
*varrists* and *Pe-*  
*lincks* persecu-  
 ted and slain.



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which contained and amplified the same things severall wayes.

But the Council of *Sixteen* desiring to reduce the City totally into their power, and seeing the Parliament divided, part being inclined to follow the popular commotion, and part disposed to persevere in their obedience to the King, determined that the Presidents and Counsellours which held the Kings party, should as enemies to the publick good, and adherents to the Tyrant, be not onely removed from their Offices, but also shut up close prisoners in the *Bastille*; foreseeing well, that if they continued at liberty, and had power to manage their affairs, it would infinitely crosse their designs, and with very great danger interrupt the union and concord of the other Citizens. Wherefore having resolved amongst themselves what was to be done, and brought all the Heads of the people to their opinion, upon the sixteenth of January they with a great number of armed men beset the Palace Hall, where according to the custome the Counsellors of Parliament were met together, and having made good all the passages, and set guards at every door, they called forth *Richille de Harlay* first President of the Parliament, and all the rest by name whom they had determined to lay hold on, who being come readily forth to know what they would have of them, already presaging very well what would come to pass, the *Sieur de Bussy*, deputed to execute that businesse, gave them order to follow him; which command grounded rather upon force than reason, being by them obeyed without resistance, they were led thorow the cries and injurious utterance of the people to the *Bastille*; onely *Pierre Segiver*, and *Jacques Auguste de Thou*, by the help of fortune secretly saved themselves; who depending upon the Kings party, had laboured stoutly to keep the Parliament from meddling in the Interdiction. The favourers of the League being encouraged, and the opposers of it terrified by this vehement resolution, the remaining Presidents and Counsellors chose *Barnabé Brissot* first President and Head of the Parliament, a man of deep learning and singular eloquence, but of a violent various inclination, and therefore very subject to alter his opinions suddenly; and afterward the Parliament being solemnly assembled to the number of 160, they with a publick Declaration consented to the deposing of the King, and to the freeing of

All the Counsellors of Parliament and Officers who adhered to the King are imprisoned in the Bastille.

Cie

; and substituted new men in the places of those whom  
had put out and imprisoned. Nor did the businesse end  
; but to give form to their proceedings, the Parliament  
g assembled again upon the thirtieth day of January, they  
e an ample Decree to unite and combine themselves for  
efence of the Catholick Religion, the safety of Paris, and  
e other Cities that should enter into that League, to op-  
the power of those, who having violated the publick  
had in the Congregation of the States taken away the  
of the Catholick Princes, and defenders of the holy  
ch, to take just revenge for their murther, and do ju-  
to those that were injured, and finally to defend the Li-  
t and Dignity of the States of France against all persons  
soever without exception: which Decree was subscribed  
vorn to by the Presidents and Counsellors of the Parlia-  
by the Duke of Aumale Governour, the *Prevost des*  
*chambres*, the *Eschevins* of the Citie, and afterwards by a  
number as well of the Gentry and Clergy, as of the  
mon people; and this confederacy with the wonted name  
tles of the League, was also called the *Holy-Union*. Af-  
this Decree Madam *de Guise* the late Duke's Wife came  
n Parliament; where having in her wonted form made  
omplaint, and demanded justice for the murther com-  
d upon her Husband, and the Cardinal her Brother-in-  
reckoning up all the services which the House of Guise  
one to the Catholick Religion and to the Crown; and  
gerating the cruelty of that slaughter, under the publick  
t, and in the presence of the States-General of the King-  
n The Parliament (all the severall *Chambers* being so-  
y assembled) decreed that justice should be done her;  
those two Counsellors, who with the publick solemnity  
ould form the Proceffe; forbidding all other to meddle  
ut taking any information in that businesse, which they  
e, because they knew that there was diligent inquiry  
d by the King's order concerning those things which  
een done by the Princes of Lorain in their life-time.

At the insurrection of the Parliament and City of Paris,  
ta Beacon or signall of War, the greatest Cities, and most  
ke people of France took arms likewise, and rose with  
er great and universall commotion; for as the news of  
dath of the Princes of Lorain, and of the resolution of  
the

A Decree is  
made to com-  
bine them-  
selves for the  
defence of Re-  
ligion, and it is  
called the *Holy*  
*Union*.

The Dutchesse  
of Guise comes  
to the Parlia-  
ment and de-  
mands ju-  
stice; they de-  
termine to do  
it her, & chuse  
those that  
should form  
the Proceffe.



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Places and Cities which rise and unite themselves with the Parisians.

the Parisians was divulged from hand to hand, so like a dangerous fire spreading all abroad did this popular tumult incessively dilate it self, in such manner, that not onely Orleans, and Chartres, which had taken arms from the beginning, but Meaux, Crespy, the Castle of Pierre-fontaine, Meil, Melun, St Denis, Pontoyse, Senlis, Creil, Clairmont, and all the Towns about the Isle of France joyned themselves to the Union of the Parisians; with the same inclination revolted the City of Rouen, with the greater authority of the Parliament of Normandy, Louviers, Mante, Verneuil, Lisieux, Ponteau-de-Mer, Havre de Grace, Honfleur, Caudebecq, Fougères, Falaise, Argentan, Montivilliers, Dreux, and except Caën, and the Country of Constantine, all the Cities and strong places of that rich spacious Province. Picardy followed the same example; where Amiens, Cambrai, Arras, Beville, Soissons, Laon, and many other places sided with the *Union*. Champagne, a Province governed by the Duke of Guise did the like; for Rheims, Troye, Vitry, Chasteauvieux, and all the other Towns except Chalon, took part with the League without any demur. Nor were mens mindes any quieter, or the people more moderate in Bourgongne; for Dijon, the Parliament of that Province, Mâcon, Lux, and many other Towns betook themselves to the same party. The like did the Parliament of Aix, the head of Provence, which was followed by Marseilles, Carcasonne, and Narbonne, as also by the City of Bourges (where the Law is chiefly studied) Mans, a principal Town in the Confines of Anjou, and many other lesser Villages. In \* Gascoigne the Parliament and City of Tholouse took part violently, to which many other places joyned themselves. In Auvergne the Count *de Randan*, with Clairmont, Montfermeil, St Porcin, Isoire, and other Towns and Fortresses followed likewise the party of the *Union*. In Bretagne the Duke *de Montmorency* Governour thereof, forgetting that he was Brother-in-law to the King, and by him enriched, exalted, and put into the Government, being drawn not onely by the interests of his Country, but his own private pretensions which by his Weakness had unto that Province, took part with the League; and at last a Citie of great consequence revolting with him, followed also Vannes, Quimberlay, and in a manner all that Province full of Nobility and riches. In Guienne the tumult was exceeding high, at Bourdeaux a very great

\* Rather in Languedoc.

ere the Governo<sup>r</sup> of the Province resides, and which is  
seat of the Parliament : But the Mareſchal *de Matignon*,  
o held that Government in the King's name, with his wont-  
courage, and prompt resolution, made to brave an opposi-  
n, that having driven out the seditious, and got the upper  
d with little blood, he retained it happily at the King's de-  
ion : yet Agen, Perigueux, and many other Towns of  
Province went over to the League. The City of Lyons  
the last that rose, by reason of Colonel *Alfonso Corso* his  
tance, and the opposition of the Swisse and Italian Mer-  
nts : but the great abundance of common people got the  
at last, so that they generally resolved to turn to the party  
he *Union*, and to call the Duke of Nemours, who had e-  
ed from prison at Blois, and had had that Government  
ferred upon him by the King to gratifie the Duke of Guise  
ile before his death.

The example of the Cities and common people was fol-  
d by no small number of the Nobility in the several Pro-  
es, drawing with them not onely the train of their Ter-  
rs and Peasants, but also many Castles and strong Holds, in  
h both for their security and decency the Gentry use to  
bit in all parts of France : so that the party of the League  
not onely grown very great by the conjunction of the  
icipal Cities, but was also strengthened by the abetting of  
e Nobility, in whom for the most part the Forces of that  
own consist. By the commotion of this universal Insurre-  
on (as it were miraculously foreseen and foretold by the  
gen-mother upon her death-bed) all the Provinces of the  
ndom were divided and dismembred, in such sort, that not  
ey Cities were against Cities, and Castles against Castles,  
t also Lords, Gentlemen and meaner persons against one an-  
ne, became enemies in such a furious hostile manner, that  
aing down the Laws, breaking the bond of common cha-  
y and driving away the Magistrates from all places, they  
themselves, without expecting order from their superiours,  
ga a most fatal, cruel Civil War, with fire, slaughter, blood  
dapine : for neither the Commotions of the Cities, nor  
e inclinations of this or that particular man being yet  
own, every one mingling his private interests and revenges  
th publike combustions, did after their own wills fortifie  
ace that were quitted, seize upon those already fortified,

A description  
of the misera-  
ble condition  
that France  
fell into by the  
means of the  
Duke of Guise  
his death.

take



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The names  
which Factions  
gave one an-  
other.  
\* *Bandes Blan-*  
*ches.*

take rich men prisoners, lay wait for the lives of their adversaries, pillage the goods of the Country-people, rob upon high-ways, and with horrible unheard-of wickednesse, without fear of Justice or form of Government, filled every thing with terrour, mourning and confusion; so that all commerce being broken of it self, the Ways beset, the Gentry and Commons armed, and even the very Clergie encompassed with Guards and Weapons, sometimes under the names of *Huguenots* and *Catholikes*, sometimes of *Royallists* and *League*, sometimes of the *Holy Union* and \* *White Forces*, sometimes of *Navarriſts* and *Lorains*, they were as with a fatal general fire bent upon the destruction of their common Country.

But the King, to whom the news of these Insurrections were brought every hour from all parts, was exceeding solicitous to appease the Deputies, and to shew them the necessity he had to free himself of the Lords of the House of Guise: for he thought that they returning into their own Countries, with the impression of his reasons, might help very much to settle those mindes that were violently stirred up, and to restore their Cities unto the wonted obedience; and therefore did very carefully cause inquisition to be made concerning the intelligences held by the Lords of Guise both within and without the Kingdom, about the pensions which they received from Spain, and particularly, that they had contributed to the conspiracy of the Duke of Savoy, whereby he had possessed himself of the Marquessate of Saluzzo (though beyond the Alps) a most important member of the Crown; and in this they proceeded, by the Writings, Letters and Accounts that had been found, and the depositions of prisoners; Monsieur de Monthelon Garde de Seaux, and two Masters of Requests, assisting to form the *Processe* and examine the necessities.

But the secret opinions of the States were divers, though they all resulted to the same end: for those who before stood for the King, being confirmed and encouraged by what had passed, stood more boldly and stoutly for the Royal Authority, and that all things might be concluded according to his intentions: but those that were for the League, and that depended upon the House of Guise, being in fear for themselves, sought all manner of means, to the end that the Congregation of the States breaking up of any fashion, they might have

depart freely ; having resolved afterwards to dispose of themselves according to their own inclinations, notwithstanding all that should be determined in the Assembly, as things excited violently by fear and force : which though the King perceived by more signes then one, and knew clearly that everyone making a fair shew, endeavoured to withdraw himself and depart ; yet desiring to justify his actions, he again confirmed the Edict of the *Union* in the States, hoping to take away all suspicion from the Legat, who did very much presse for a Declaration, and from his Catholike Subjects, of his adding to the Hugonots, or of labouring to procure the King of Navar's succession, whilst he was disobedient to the Roman Catholike Church. Afterwards the Edicts being confirmed which had been made for the moderation of Taxes, and lessening the number of Offices, in all other things he kept on the same way, being diligent to shew that he had done all of his accord, and not as having been constrained by the Duke of Guise. Finally, many Decrees were made about the form of Judicature, and other matters touching the ease and relief of the people ; and in this manner the States concluded ; they were not suspected of them with deep dissimulation striving (in emulation of one another) to shew themselves the King's dependents, and affectionate to his service : among which were the Count *de Brissac*, the Sieur *de Bois-Dauphin*, Bernard Advocate, and others, who as soon as they were gone from Blois, joyned again unto the party of the League.

The King, besides the frequent news of so many Insurrections, was infinitely troubled at the losse of Orleans : for he had great thought about it, and had laboured with all possible diligence to keep it, as a City that was neer unto him, seated on the great road of Paris, and very convenient to make the progress of the War : and though presently after the death of the Duke of Guise, he had sent thither first Monsieur *de Dunes* then Monsieur *d'Entraques*, and then the Mareschal *d'Amont*, with some of the souldiers of his own Guard, yet Monsieur *de Lorain*, Knight of Jerusalem, brother to the Duke of Guise, being come to assist the People, with supplies sent by the Parisians, the obstinacy of their sollicitousnesse in assaulting it was so great, and so great the want of Ammunition and other things necessary to defend it, that in the end of January the Mareschal *d'Amont* marching away with four hundred

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men, gave way that some few who remained should rend up unto the people ; and so that City was left totally in power of the League.

But above all things, the means of appeasing the Pope the King in greatest perplexity: for though the Legat knew all things that had passed in France, shewed himself from beginning very favourable to his party, and ready to reprove what had been done advantageously for him at Rome, yet he not certain what the Pope would think of it, being far from the place, and perchance having received an ill impression both by the relations of the League, and the ill Offices of Spaniards: wherefore presently after the Cardinal of Guise's death, he dispatched most particular informations to *Jehan de Vivonne* Marquesse of Pisani his Ambassadour at Rome, and he might have wherewithal to answer those things which might be objected, and wherewithal to make good his reasons, and having before sent *Girolamo Gondi* a Florentine to the Pope, to intreat him to make the Cardinal of Guise his Legat at Avignon, now changing his Commission, he gave him order to take Post, and make all possible haste to Rome, to excuse the death of the same Cardinal unto the Pope, and if need were, to intercede for his absolution for it.

*Sixtus* being told of the Cardinal of Guise's death, is highly offended, and answers the Kings Ambassadors very sharply who came to excuse it to him.

But the Pope having received the news of the Duke's death first, seemed to make no great reckoning of it ; and turning to the Cardinal of Joyeuse, who was there present, he said what becomes of such men as commit errors, and afterwards know not how to look to themselves. But four days after the news being arrived of the Cardinal's death, and the imprisonment of the Cardinal of Bourbon and Archbishop of Lyons being a man of a most fierce precipitate nature, he broke into so great wrath, that thundering on every side, he called the Ambassadors to be called before him, to whom with very sharp words he told the news he had received, complaining beyond measure of the King, that he had had the boldness contrary to the Ecclesiastical immunities, and contrary to the privileges of the dignity of Cardinal, and contrary to the Laws, Divine and Humane, to put a Cardinal to death, and imprison closely two most principal Prelats ; at the same time highly threatening the Cardinal-Legat, who being present not withheld the King from so heinous an offence. The Marquesse de Pisani, and *Girolamo Gondi* (who was then arriv-

h modest and obsequious, but yet constant and grave discourses, laid open all the King's reasons, the crime of high-treason which the Cardinal of Guise had incurred, and where- the Cardinal of Bourbon and Arch-Bishop of Lyons were likewise guilty; their forces and power whereby the King was so far disabled to punish them with the wonted forms in a ordinary way, that they a few months before had unworthily driven him out of his own Palace, and made him fly unknown from the City of Paris to save his life: the state of affairs brought to such extremities by the Conspiracies managed by the Brothers of Lorain in the States, that unless the King as a *Ward* would be brought into subjection, or deprived of his Crown, he was necessitated to cause them to be punished, though without form of judgement, yet not without apparent reason, their crimes being most heinous and manifest, which he as King and Head of justice had power to do and punish in any manner whatsoever: That if nothing else, the very contempt they had shown of Religion, making use of so many solemn Oaths, and Sacraments of the holy-Church as means to deceive him, had made them unworthy of the protection of his Holiness, who might easily know and certify himself by many proofs, that it was not to protect and defend the Catholick Faith (which no man could hold in greater veneration then the King) but for their ambition, and to usurp the Kingdom from the lawfull Heirs, they had so often, with the losse of so many men, disturbed and distracted the whole Kingdom: Finally he added, that the King was an obedient Son of the Church, desirous to satisfy the Pope in all things possible, and that therefore he had sent *Girolamo Gondi* to intreat and beseech his Holiness to grant him his blessing in token that he was appeased and pacified. The Pope neither perswaded nor appeased, replied, that *Girolamo Gondi* had been dispatched about another business, and that he knew it very well; that the King was so far from submitting to his obedience, and in for absolution, that persevering yet in his sin, he still kept prisoners the two chief Prelats in all France, who were immediately under the Apostolick Sea, and that if the Cardinals of Guise and the rest had offended so much as the Ambassadors reported, the King might have demanded justice from him to whom it belonged to judge them, and that



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*Sixtus Quintus*  
chooseth a con-  
gregation of  
Cardinals, who  
were to consult  
about the af-  
fairs of France:

he should have known very well how to administer it: And because the Ambassadors answered, that they were Ambassadors, and publick persons, and therefore ought to be believed in whatsoever they represented touching the King's offence, and the Blessing which they demanded in his name: The Pope replied, that they were Ambassadors to treat of matters that concerned the affairs of the Kingdom of France; but that contrition and confession in *Foro Conscientiae* were to be before absolution; and that therefore it was needfull to send an especiall Embassie, and a person expressly for that purpose: that in token of his repentance he ought first to set at liberty the Prelats that were in prison; that the King and the Ambassadors sought to deceive him, but they should be assured they had not to do with a young Novice, but one who was ready with the shedding of his blood was ready to uphold the dignity of the Holy-Chair; and having with sharp words, and sharper looks dismissed them, he caused the *Consistory* to be called the next morning, in which with a vehement Oration and full of resentment, he accused the King in presence of the Cardinals, reprehended those who excused and defended him, and threatned severely to punish Cardinal *Morefini*, who forgetting the person he represented, had without any consideration of the affront, suffered the liberty and dignity of the Holy-Church to be trampled under foot: then electing a certain number of Cardinals who were to consult about those matters that appertained to the Kingdom of France, the chief whereof were the Cardinals, *Serbeloni*, *Fachinetto*, *Lancellotti*, *Castagna*, and *Santa Severina*, he set the businesse in a high reputation, and filled the whole world with exceeding great expectation.

In the mean time the affairs of the League gathered strength, and took form in France; for the Duke of Mayenne being departed secretly from Lyons the same night that he heard the news of his Brother's death, doubting (as it was true) that the King had taken order, and would send to lay hold of him, came much perplexed and uncertain of his condition to the Province of Bourgongne, which was governed by him, and retired to Mâcon, from whence he began practices with the other Towns of that Province, and particularly with the Citie and Castle of Dijon, commanded by the Baron de *ux* Nephew to the Arch-Bishop of Lyons; and having found the

(City)

Parliament, and Governour of the Castle ready to receive  
and to run his fortune, recovering courage, he went thi-  
from whence he presently sent unto the Pope the \* Com-  
latory *François Du* Knight of Jerusalem, a man vers'd  
e Court of Rome, and one of the chief ancient abettors  
e League, to the end that he might complain about the  
n of his Brothers before the Holy-Chair, and beseech the  
that he would take into his protection the relicks of the  
solidk party, extremely trodden down and afflicted. While  
Duke stayed there, not well resolved in his thoughts, Let-  
came from Madame *de Montpensier* his Sister, which gave  
notice of the revolt of the Parisians, and of all the adjacent  
ns, and exhorted him to take heart, and putting himself in-  
le place of his Brothers, to become Head of the *Union*, with  
ed hopes not onely to revenge their death, but happily to  
cute the contrived and begun designe of the League. This  
rtation and these letters added to the news of the revolt of  
ans and Chartres, confirmed the Duke's courage in such  
ner, that the King's letters written very kindly to him, which  
to his hands a while after, had not power enough to make  
eeld to peace, which at first perhaps he would have gree-  
embraced. The King writ, that he had been constrained  
ecessity to forget his own nature, to free himself of those  
iracies which the Duke and Cardinal his Brother had plot-  
against him, and in a manner brought to a conclusion; that  
thelesse he had not been so severe as any other would  
been, satisfying himself with taking away the principall  
as, and leaving all the rest alive, who he hoped might ac-  
nowledge and amend their former errours; that he had not  
removed by any hatred or passion, for he had always loved,  
ored, and exalted their Family, as he desired to do again  
the time to come; and that therefore he prayed him not to  
himself be guided and transported by his affection to his  
ters, but to remember that he had been forced by those at-  
pts, which he certainly knew had ever been displeasing to  
as one averse from the ambition and evill designes of his  
ters; that for that reason he had ever desired to exalt  
and had always conferred upon him the commands of his  
nes, because he knew him to be farr from those wic-  
rts which the others had intended to practice; He ex-  
td him to persevere in that good and laudable resolution,

\* The French  
says *Comman-  
deur*.  
*Un Comman-  
deur* is one that  
having Eccle-  
siastical livings  
may not marry,  
and yet is not  
compelled to  
be a Priest; as  
the Grand Pri-  
or of France, &c  
all the Knights  
of *S. John's* in  
Jerusalem.  
*Commynes lib. 7.  
cap. 9.*

The King  
writes kinde  
letters to the  
Duke of May-  
enne, promi-  
sing him very  
great things.



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The Duke of Mayenne, notwithstanding the King's promises, being perswaded by Madame de Montpensier his sister, makes himself Head of the Holy-Union.

not to make himself an instrument to divide the Cathol party, and tear in pieces their common Country, nor to j himself to the ambition of factious men, from which eve the fervour of his youth he had ever been averse: but they that he made more account of the general good, and his duty towards his Prince, then of those private passions w use to draw and govern mean vulgar spirits, he would sincerly unite himself to him to preserve the peace of the Catholikes, and make War against the Hugonots; which if he would consent unto, he offered him all manner of security, and the most reasonable satisfaction he could desire. But the Duke's minde was already set upon other thoughts, never believing that he could be secure, much lesse favoured by the King, who gave him those fair words, because he was escaped out of a net; and seeing the great distractions of the Kingdom, he hoped for a much higher power and greatnesse then what his brothers had possessed: wherefore his inclination and hope meeting both together in the same end, and thinking that to become his honour, he leaned toward revenge and the command of that faction; which resolution was absolutely concluded, after that Madame de Montpensier, not valuing her own health, nor the inconveniency of the season, came with great speed to *Dijon*, whose vehement effectual exhortations and the Letters of the Duke of Aumale and many others of the faction exciting him, he at last determined to consent to the taking up of Arms, and to prosecute the designs of the League, making himself Head of the *Holy-Union*.

The resolution being taken, he presently gave order to the Sieurs de *Rhosne*, de *S' Paul*, *Chamois* and d'*Esclavoles* to recruit their Regiments of French Foot; and began to summon the Nobility and Gentry his dependents, and to win the hearts of the people in every place. And because the foundation consisted in the City of Paris, the Duke determined to go thither with Madame de Montpensier, the way being now secured by the taking of the Castle of Orleans, and by the recovery of Bourges, Troye, and Chartres. The Duke passed through all these Cities, gathering Forces, and drawing men together, some raised with his own money, some brought in by his friends and adherents, and some furnished by the people; and his army already grown to the number of four thousand Souldiers and five hundred Gentlemen, he came upon the fifteenth of Fe

b. 1.

ry into the City of Paris. There the Duke and Chevalier d'Anmale putting themselves willingly under his authority, and the Council of the Union, with most ready consent the Citizens, acknowledging him for their Head; the Parliament having assembled all the \* Chambers, Bernabé Brissson President of the League making the Proposition, declaring him Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, giving him (except the name) the very power and authority which used to be natural to their Kings; which yet they intended should continue but till the States-General of the Kingdom should determine otherwise, they being appointed to assemble in the City of Paris in the month of July following. At the Duke of Guise's death did with admirable facility, the universal inclination of that party, produce that power in his brother, which he with so many toils and so long machinations had so eagerly laboured for in his life-time, yet never obtained it for himself. Upon the two and twentieth of January the Duke took possession in the Parliament of this extraordinary dignity, having taken a publick Oath to protect and defend the Roman Catholike Apostolike Religion against all heresies, To preserve entire the State belonging to the Crown of France, To defend the priviledges of the three Orders, the Clergie, Nobility, and Commons, and To cause the laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom to be observed, and to preserve the authority and power of the Parliaments. After taking the Oath many Prayers and Processions having been made, he chose and appointed the Council of the Union, consisting of forty of the most eminent perspicuous persons of the League, which with his assistance was to treat of and conclude the most weighty businesses; the Council of Sixteen being yet the less still left, and particularly appointed for the especial Government of Paris.

\* Or, several Courts.

The Duke of Mayenne being come to Paris, is declared Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France.

The Council of the Union is chosen consisting of forty of the chiefest persons of the League.

Having taken the command of the League upon him, the Duke began to increase the body of his Forces to form an Army of them, with which he might march whither need should require: but in every Province he allotted both Forces and commanders to order the affairs of the League, and to make war against those who were yet of the King's party. Breteuil was governed by the Duke de Mercœur, who not at all swayed with the King's and his sister's exhortations to unite himself unto them, was very strong and powerful, having with



with his authority made all that Province to revolt, except the Parliament of Rennes, and some few Towns and little castles. In *Normandy* it happened otherwise : for though the greatest part of the Towns had declared for the League, the Nobility held of the King's party ; so that the Heads were few and divided : the *Sieur de la Londe* at Rouën, *Armande Brancace Sieur de Villars* at Havre de Grace, *Long-champ* at Caudebec, and the Baron d'*Eschaufour* in the Country of Perche : wherefore the Duke sent the Count of Brissac thither with authority to command them all. The Duke of Aumale, who was Governour of it, went into *Picardy* a divided Province yet one of the most favoured by the League, because it bordered upon the Territories of the Catholike King. The Count de Chaligny, and Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* an old servant bred in that family, went into *Champagne*, a Province destined in the succession of his father) to the young Duke of Guise, who was yet in prison. The Viscount de *Tavannes* an old experienced souldier, had order to command in *Bourgongne*, the particular Government of the Duke of Mayenne. The care of *Lyon* was given to the Duke of Nemours, and in his absence to his brother the Marquess of *S<sup>t</sup> Sorlin*. The command of *Burgundy* continued under the *Sieur de la Chastre*, who being Field-marshal in the Duke of Nevers his Army, as soon as he could free himself of that obstacle, followed the party of the League as he had formerly done. The Count de *Randan* held the command in *Auvergne* ; and in *Provence* the Marquess de *Villars*, and the *Sieur de Vins* an old adherent to the House of Guise. The Dukes of Joyeuse (father and brother to that which was slain in the Battel of Coutras fighting against the King of Navar) had the Government of *Gascogne* ; in which Province, except the City and Parliament of *Tholouse*, the party of the Confederates was not very strong ; and in *Dainé*, *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, the League had but very few Forces.

But before all these preparations, the Duke dispatched *Lazare Coqueille*, Countsellour in the Parliament of Paris to Rome ; and with him were gone two Doctours of the *Université* of *bonne*, to confirm the Decree of their Colledge, by which they had determined that the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his Subjects might justly withdraw their obedience from him ; the Duke foreseeing well that the popu-

Cause wholly founded upon the pretence of Religion; was look for and take its increase and nourishment from the Apostolike Sea, and the Pope's approbation.

But the King, who afflicted with his wonted melancholy; though he dissembled it, had since the death of his mother been many days troubled with a bloody Flux, was no lesse sollicitous concerning the affairs at Rome then the Duke of Mayenne, as well because being a very great honourer of Religion, he could not be satisfied to live disobedient to the Apostolike Sea, as because making the same judgement as they of the League, he saw that the greatest foundation of the adversity consisted in the approbation and encouragement from Rome: wherefore though he had caused absolution to be given him for the death of the Cardinal by vertue of a *Breve* granted to him a few months before by the present Pope, to make himself be absolved in all reserved cases by his ordinary Confessor; yet seeing that that was not enough, he sent *Claude d'Angennes*, of his beloved family of *Ramboillet*, Bishop of Mans, a man of profound learning and singular consequence, to the end that being informed of all his reasons, he might as his Solicitor sue for an absolution from the Pope, and endeavour to reconcile him to the Apostolike Sea; to which (so he might but secure himself) he was ready to give almost exact satisfaction. The Bishop of Mans came to Rome, and having conferred with the other Ambassadors, they went together to receive audience from the Pope; where after words of complement full of most deep submission, they first argued that the King had not incurred any Censure, not having violated the Ecclesiastical liberties and immunities; for the Cardinal was guilty of the crime of Rebellion, in which case the Princes of France, notwithstanding any dignity whatsoever, are understood to be subject to the Secular Jurisdiction; and so much the rather, because he having been a Peer of France, his causes naturally ought to be judged in the Court of Peers, which is no other but the great Court of Parliament, with the assistance of the Princes and Officers of the Crown: so that if the King had infringed any Jurisdiction, it was that of the Parliament, and not the Ecclesiastical one, which hath nothing to do with the Peers of France: But because this reason was not only disapproved by the Pope, but that also he seemed much displeased and offended at it, alledging that the eminency

The Bishop of Mans is sent by the King on purpose to demand absolution for the Cardinal of Guise his death.



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and priviledges of the dignity of Cardinal were immediatly subject to the Pope, and no other ; the Ambassadors began to dispute that the Kings of France could not incur Censure by any Sentence they should give ; and urged the priviledges of the most Christian Kings, and the Jurisdiction of the Gallian Church : but this incensed the Pope so much the more, who bade them take heed how they proposed things that had the touch of Heresie, as this had ; for he would cause them to be punished. To which though the Marquess replied, that as Ambassadors they could not be medled withal nor punished, and that no fear should make them forbear to propose the King's right ; yet having received Commission to appease, and not to exasperate the Pope, they alledged in the third place, that the King, by vertue of the Apostolike *Breve* granted to him by his Holinesse, had caused himself to be absolved, and therefore they insisted onely, that his Holinesse knowing the Pardon he had granted him, would either confirm it, or if he be displeased if the King, valuing it as he ought, had made use of it in a seasonable occasion : for not having, in the heat of danger, considered so particularly, and having never had any intention to offend the Jurisdiction of the Apostolike See, after he had been made sensible of it, he being moved by a scruple of conscience, had prostrated himself at the feet of his Confessour, and had begged and obtained absolution for as much as need should require, though he thought he had not transgressed effectively. To this the Pope answered, that the *Breve* was granted for things past, but could not extend to future sins, the absolution whereof cannot be anticipated : that in such a case as this, in which the Apostolike See was directly offended, and all Christendom scandalized, was not comprehended under that *Breve* ; and that the exposition was to be demanded from him who had granted it, which now he declared, affirming that it had never been his intention to enable the King to receive absolution for his future faults, and for so evident a violation of the dignity of a Cardinal.

This Treaty having been often repeated, and discussed with great allegations of right and authority, in the end the ambassadors were contented to petition in writing for the Pope's absolution ; who expressed a desire to have it so, and that was the means to appease and satisfie him. Wherefore, see

Offices done by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors in favour of the King, having received order from their Majesties to take great pains in his behalf, the Bishop with a Person of a very submissive form demanded absolution of the King; who with pleasing words answered, That he would willingly grant it, when he should be assured of the King's intention, whereof he would have this token, that he should set at liberty the Cardinal of Bourbon and Arch-Bishop of Sens, it being vain to grant him absolution for one thing lest he persisted in the act of another, which did infer the great prejudice to the Apostolick Sea, which he could not dispense. At this the Ambassadors, and those that favoured them were exceedingly perplexed, conceiving themselves to have been deceived, and thinking that another kinde of motion ought to be used toward a King of France; whereupon laying together all those reasons already alledged in the former Conferences, they concluded, that the King by setting the Prelats at liberty, should but increase the fire in his Kingdom, with the evident danger of his own life and Crown, that therefore it was not fit to free them: To which the King replied, that they should be sent prisoners to him; for if he found them guilty, he knew which way to punish them: The Ambassadors answered; first, that the judgement of Kings in his own Kingdom belonged to the King; and then that the whole State (thanks to their Conspiracies) was so divided, that they could not be sent; for all the Country neer the Alpes, and round about the place where they were being kept on arms, it was not possible to remove them, nor to contain them securely, and that therefore the King was not obliged to impossibilities. But the Pope obstinately persisting in his demand, the Ambassadors agreed at last to write about it to France, and insisted that in the mean time the King should humble himself, and submitted to the Apostolick Decree, that the Decree of Sorbonne ought to be revoked and nullified being not onely exorbitant and unjust, but insolent, and injudiciall to the Holy-Chair, whereof those Divines made little reckoning, that they had dared to determine a point of so great consequence as the deposing of a King; a thing, which though it should be granted to appertain to the Ecclesiastical power, yet would it be simply proper to the highest power, which is in the Vicar of Christ, and not to that of a



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petulant Colledge consisting of a few passionate corrupt persons: but neither could this be obtained; for the King confessing that the Decree was presumptuous, and without censure, said that he would reserve himself to do it when the King had given him full satisfaction.

This seeming very strange to the Ambassadors, and seeing that they had proposed all those spirituall satisfactions which they (even to the prejudice of the Crown) could offer, with so great humiliation, that more could not be desired from the King, they intended to try another way; and the Marquis whose Wife was a Roman, began by means of that alliance to treat with *Donna Camilla* the Pope's Sister, offering (among other rewards which the Pope's kindred should have, in their means the absolution was obtained) to give the Marquis the Marquisate of Saluzzo in Fee-farm to *Don Michele* his Nephew, which the King proffered (the peace being made with the Catholics of his Kingdome) to recover at his own charge from the Duke of Savoy; but neither could this prevail with the obduratenesse of the Pope; partly, because the Marquisate was now in the power of another, nor could it be regained without a tedious War; partly, because he saw the Kingdome involved in so great a distraction, and the Catholick party so strong, that he doubted whether his absolution would be able to settle and restore its peace. Moreover about this very time the Abbot of *Orbais* was arrived at Rome, sent by the Duke of Mayenne, the Dutchesse of Nemours, Madame de Montpensier, and other Heads of the League, on the purpose to magnifie the Forces of the *Union*, into which almost all the chief and most noted Cities of France were entered, with an infinite concourse of the Nobility and Commons, so that now the King was thereby not in writing, but indeed captured and robbed of his Crown; and on the other, to complain of the inclination which the Pope shewed to absolve *Henry of Valois* (so they called him) whereby he who was Head of the Catholick Church, and to whom more then to any other it belonged to promote the *Holy-Union* contracted for the defence of Religion, and of the liberty and dignity of the Apostolick Sea, seemed to make but small account of it; and the imputations of rebellion and treason which were cast upon the memory of the Duke and Cardinal of Guise were and vain; for they had never taken arms against the King.

The Abbot of Orbais sent to Rome by the Duke of Mayenne treats of the affairs of the League very effectually.

conspired any thing against him; but alwayes with due  
 eience and veneration of the Royal Name, had sustained  
 defended the Catholick Religion, against the powerfull  
 and forces of the Hugonots: that it was known how  
 is the Duke their Father had lost his life in the service of  
 Crown, and of the Church of God, as also the Duke of  
 ale their Uncle, slain fighting under the wals of Rochel  
 ne Catholick Faith: that it was likewise certain how  
 the Duke of Guise had laboured, suffered, and endured  
 ing arms for the King's service, and for Religion: that he  
 ll his life-time born the scars in his face of the wounds he  
 eceived fighting against the Army of the *Reiters*, for the  
 ece of the Provinces and Confines of the Kingdom: that  
 d defended the City of Poictiers against the long siege of  
 Hugonots, led up the first Squadrons of the Army, fighting  
 ciously against them at *Jarnac* and *Moncontour*; that last  
 l with a handfull of men he had exposed himself, and the  
 of all his souldiers against that formidable Army of the  
 hrans of Germany, conquered it and dispersed it for the  
 t of the Kingdom, and of all Christian people; nor in all  
 etoyls and dangers had he ever pretended any other thing  
 o serve the King, and defend the Catholicks from the  
 nent oppression of the Hugonots: that if the King went  
 n Paris upon the insurrection of the Parisians, the fault  
 ls own, in having put a garison into a City where there  
 e had been any, and in having gone about to take away  
 ves of the chief Citizens; but no conspiracy of the  
 k of Guise's, who rather had appeased the people, and  
 eed the tumult: that since then the King had been recon-  
 d and had agreed to the pacification, wherein the Lords  
 rain had neither demanded nor obtained other, then that  
 ublick exercise of the Hugonot Religion might be taken  
 y and that warr might be made against them; and though  
 elittle shadow of suspicion should have remained, the  
 ought to have forgotten it after so many oathstaken, a-  
 n the sacred ceremonies; and not to make two most in-  
 et Princes be murder'd under the publick Faith, for no  
 ercause but to foment the Hugonot Forces, and suppress  
 Catholick party, and the Religion of God. But though  
 Duke and Cardinal had committed some errour, what  
 could be objected against the Cardinal of Bourbon, a  
 most



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most innocent peacefull old man, who was most cruelly le prisoner? That these were arts and violent wayes to tal way that prop also from the Catholick party, and to re the Succession into the relapsed, excommunicate Hug Princes; that the Pope ought to oppose his authority to so evident designe, to punish what was past, and provi gainst the future; not being faulty to so many people, h had unanimously resolved to spend their lives for the def of Religion, and to piece up and restore the trodden-d honour of the Holy-Church: that it became him being Shepherd to go before his Flock, and encourage them all holy, so pious a work; but that it was as unseemly, while all took arms boldly, he being so far from danger, sh be more affraid then all the rest. With these reasons the ces of the League endeavoured to animate the Pope, an receiving news daily from many places of the tumultuous surrections in France, as a man not well vers'd in Gov ment, and ignorant how easily popular commotions are tinguished, gave the King already for absolutely lost, would he shew himself a favourer of the weaker side, t dishonour of himself, and of the Apostolick Sea, as the anish Ambassador, and those of the League did perpetually unto him.

In the mean time the King, anxious and solicitous a the determinations at Rome, kept his resolutions in susp and seemed to have laid down the courage of a Lion, w after the death of the Duke of Guise, he made shew to taken up again; for the Duke of Nevers, who made wa Poictou against the Hugonots, having in this interim e Ganache, could not after the news of the death of the I of Lorain, keep his Army (composed for the most pa men depending upon the League) from dissolving of it and therefore the Duke being returned to Court, the straightned for money, and inclined to an agreement, di think of setting his Army again on foot, but minded thoughts of peace, having desired the Cardinal Legate to e pose for the attaining of it, promising to referr all busines the Pope's arbitrement; which condition the Legat ha made known to the Duke of Mayenne, and moved hi yeeld to a Truce, that the accommodation might be neq ted at Ronte, he denyed to consent unto it, alledging the

The Legate  
propounds a  
Truce to the  
Duke of May-  
enne; but he  
refuseth it.

no more trust him, who notwithstanding so many Saints and Ceremonies, violated the publike Faith, and the of Nations, in the face of the Assembly of all the States ance; and that this was another trick of the King's to the benefit of time, by means of the Truce, being now ed and unprovided: That the Legat ought not to make f the instrument of that deceitful policy; for it tend- he prejudice of the Catholike Religion, and of Ec- tical liberty, perfidiously trampled under foot and ed; but that it was rather fit to expect the resolutions Rome, where he had given the Pope information of all ences. But having at the same time received the Duke yenne's refusal of the Truce, and the Ambassadors from Rome, which contained the Pope's stiffnesse and icy in desiring to have the prisoners; and the King not ng how to release them without fomenting the present ations; for it was certain that they of the *Union*, having y declared him to have forfeited his Crown, would have e the Cardinal of Bourbon King; the face of affairs was e; and the King thinking he had used all possible means, o his own dishonour, to appease the Pope, began to e his resolution, lest he should be suppressed without e, by the power of his enemies. This necessity was arent; that even the Duke of Nevers, who had ever dded him to satisfie the Pope, lest he should divide Cholike party, had not any reason to alledge against he urgency of affairs did by force constrain all o- os to take to one side or other: wherefore the n *de Soissons*, who a few days before had defeated some os of the League, being come to Blois with certain For- nd having begun to introduce a Treaty of agreement he King of Navar, applied himself diligently to that ffe. The King (as he had always been) was averse his Agreement; his nature being (as a man may say) npatible with the commerce of the Hugonots: But ney shewed there was no other way, and all his Counsellours th one accord, that it was needful for him to resolve, e some course, if he would not be left alone, between ptent enemies, who, one on this side, and the other on ffe of the Loyre, had made themselves masters of all pla- nd with what Moneys, with what Friends, with what Armies;



Armies, and with what Forces, could he at the same time contend with both FaCTIONS? That it was clear, which way he turned himself, he should have one enemy before him, and another behinde him; and that his Kingdom being divided, and likewise forraign Princes, between the two Religions, with a new example should have them both his enemies: in this division, whilst others usurped the Royal authority on either side, he remained without Forces, without Treasures, without Money, and that he was now what he had ever feared, to be *dry between two rivers*: That he had done as well as he might to appease the Pope: That he had forgone his own dignity, to agree with those that were up in Arms, and to give such satisfaction to Rebels and despisers of his Name, they deserved not: That he had with unheard-of patience borne the injuries of the people, the invectives of the Preachers, the villanous insolencies of the FaCTIONS, the presumptuous Decrees of the *Sorbonne*, and exposed the Royal Majesty to the pleasure of the remnants of the House of Guise: That he had done that at Rome, which never any King had yeelded to do, not onely to ask absolution in writing for a reasonable, just and necessary action, but also offered to refer all differences to the Pope's arbitrement: what was there more to be done? but onely (by reason of the appetite of the Spaniards, who governed all in the Court of Rome, and of the fierce obdurate nature of the Pope) to expect to be miserably torn in pieces by his enemies without defence, and to have those outrages committed upon his own person which had been done unto his Statues at Paris and Thoulouse? he now indeed was the time to shew the heart of a Lion, and making use of the King of Navar's assistance, *De inimicis suis vindicare inimicos suos*: That this was neither a new nor an unheard-of thing: That King Charles his brother often had he himself, in lesse extremities, had granted peace to the Hugonots; and that the last breach was not occasioned by his will and consent, but by the conspiracies and violences of the League: That he had in vain taken away the lives of the Brothers of Guise, if he must be in the same fear of them now they were dead, and if that obstacle being taken away, he endeavoured not to bridle the seditious, to recover his power, and finally to restore peace and tranquillity to his Kingdom.

And the King of Navar already knowing that the occasion  
 ired and necessity forced the King to that resolution, did  
 favourable Writings and Declarations open the way unto  
 for many Towns of Poictou and Xaintonge having  
 ded themselves unto him after the departure of the Duke  
 Nemours, he had in all of them forbidden any harm to be  
 e unto the Catholikes, and wheresoever he had to do, sut-  
 d them to enjoy liberty of conscience, favouring and ho-  
 ing the Clergie, and giving way every where that Masse  
 ld be publicly celebrated without any hinderance; and  
 g come to Chastelrault, which together with Niort he had  
 n by composition, he published a *Manifest*, whereby de-  
 ng the rebellions and insurrections of the people against  
 natural King, he proffered, submitting himself to his  
 obedience, to take Arms against them; and exhorted all  
 of his party to follow him in so good a work; shewing  
 the world what their minde had ever been, and how they  
 ought simply, not for any interests, but onely for liber-  
 conscience. After which Protestations and Declarati-  
 , because the King had justified his actions in writing, and  
 irth the occasion of the death of the Lords of Guise, and  
 the Duke of Mayenne had done the like on his side, en-  
 uring to lay a fair colour upon their taking up of Arms,  
 upon the proceedings of the League, a Truce was begun  
 etreated of with the King of Navar, by means of the  
 ke of Espernon, who after the death of the Guises was  
 ned to his former greatnesse with the King; and after  
 ig supplied him with one thousand two hundred Gascon  
 e-locks under the command of Colonel *Moncassin*, had  
 t he Abbot *del Bene* to him about the present businesse.  
 ecause many difficulties arose, and that the King concur-  
 it as it were perforce, *Madame Diane d'Angoulesme* his  
 tad-sister, a Lady of great wisdom, and well versed in  
 res of Government by the experience of times past, was  
 oyled to treat about this Accommodation; which as soon  
 as was known unto the Cardinal-Legat, he made great com-  
 in of it to the King himself, shewing him how contrary  
 aso the promises which he had often made to him, that  
 withstanding the death of the Lords of Guise, he would  
 e forbear to make War with the Hugonots; upon which  
 and he had endeavoured by favourable advantageous rela-

The King of  
 Niver grants  
 liberty of con-  
 science in  
 those places he  
 had taken, and  
 publisheth a  
*Manifest*, offer-  
 ing to take  
 Arms against  
 those that re-  
 belled against  
 their natural  
 King.

The Duke of  
 Espernon re-  
 turned into his  
 former great-  
 nesse, treats a  
 Truce with  
 the King of  
 Navar.

Cardinal Mo-  
 resini the Legat  
 makes grie-  
 vous com-  
 plaints unto  
 the King.

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tions,



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tions, to promote his affairs to the Pope and Court of Rome, which now would become vain, to the lessening of both their reputations, nay to their blame and infamy, if the Agreement with the Hugonots should be so easily concluded, and that the Arms destined against them should be turned to destruction of the Catholike party, and of those that depended upon the Apostolike See, and the Pope's authority. The King, concealing the depth of the businesse from the Legat, denied that he had concluded any thing with the Hugonots; but that if he should do so, the fault was not to be imputed to him, who was still the same, and always ready to lay down Heresie; but to the obduratenesse of the Pope, who obstinately denied to absolve him, and fomented the Insurrection of those that rebelled against him; and to the stubbornness of the Duke of Mayenne and the rest of the League, who, after a horring Peace, had refused to refer the differences to the Pope's arbitrement: That he had desired no better nor more certain witnesse then himself, to whom he had ever imparted his thoughts sincerely, and upon whom he had imposed the trust of negotiating that businesse: That he should consider the great straights into which he was reduced by the wickedness of others, and not attribute that to Will, which was forcibly extorted by meer necessity.

The Spanish Ambassadour departs from Court without taking leave, and goes to Paris.

But *Don Bernardino Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassadour, as soon as it was divulged that an Accommodation was treating with the Hugonots, went presently away from Court without taking leave; and being come to Paris, made his residence there, as Ambassadour with the Lords of the League. The Legat stood doubtful, believing it not good to forsake the King, and deprive himself utterly of the hopes of keeping him with the Catholike party; and on the other side, fearing he should be reprov'd, if he shewed himself lesse jealous of Religion then the Spanish Ambassadour had done: and yet thinking that the assistance of the Physician was there most needful, where the danger of the disease was greatest, he resolved to stay till he saw the event of things, not failing in the mean time to write, and present his opinion at Rome. But his person being suspected, his counsels were so much more the Pope accounting him rather a Criminal, then a Legat or Ambassadour. There were often meetings between him and the Cardinal of Vendosme, who, though the Cardinal of

Cardinal Moreau stays with the King; and the Pope falling into suspicion of him, accounts him guilty.

Boubo.

bon his Uncle and Benefactor were a prisoner; yet in  
 ect of the interests of his Family, had never left the King,  
 there was present with them *René de Beaune* Arch-Bishop  
 bourges, a Prelate of deep wisdom and copious eloquence,  
 being driven away by those of his Diocese, for having  
 about to withstand their insurrection, was retired to  
 rt; and many times the Duke of Nevers likewise was at the  
 erences. All of them could have wished the King would  
 have made a peace with the Hugonots; but the Pope  
 so obstinate, the Duke of Mayenne so stubborn, and the  
 rections so great through the whole Kingdom, that  
 gh they all abhorred it, yet none of them durst blame  
 agreement. Wherefore Madame *d'Angoulesme* having  
 ed personally with the King of Navar, and then being  
 to Blois, negotiated with the King himself; the differen-  
 ere in a manner composed; for the King of Navar, intent  
 the great conjuncture of the present occasion, to rise a-  
 with his party, and fight under the King's Standard and  
 ience, against those enemies which had so many yeers  
 him down, had accepted all conditions imposed on him  
 e King, and they onely disagreed in this, that a place  
 to be assigned unto him upon the Loire, to the end that  
 ight passe and return with his Forces as need required; the  
 would have given him *Gergeau*, or *Pont de Sey*, weak  
 ns, and hard to be made good, and he demanded *Sau-*  
 a City seated in a convenient place near *Tours*, and  
 might easily be fortified and defended; yet he insisted  
 this modestly, and rather by way of request, then condi-  
 or article of agreement.

The peace is  
 concluded be-  
 tween the  
 King of France  
 and the King  
 of Navar.

Two weighty accidents did absolutely necessitate the  
 to conclude the Treaty; one, that Captain *du Gast*, Go-  
 ur of Amboise, to whom, after he had killed the Cardi-  
 of Guise, the other prisoners had been delivered into cu-  
 d, being dealt withall by those of the League with infi-  
 romises, and put into doubts and jealousies, began to  
 ger; for the Arch-Bishop of Lyons had made him believe,  
 he King, to shift off the fault of the Cardinal of Guise's  
 t from himself, had alledged at Rome that Captain *du*  
 had of himself, for some private injuries caused him to  
 in without his order, and that now likewise for private  
 ousness he kept the other Prelates in prison without

Capt. *du Gast*  
 who killed the  
 Cardinal of  
 Guise treats an  
 agreement  
 with those of  
 the League by  
 the perswasion  
 of the Arch-  
 Bishop of Ly-  
 ons.



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The prisoners given in custody to Captain *du Gast* Governour of Amboise, are sent to several Fortresses, under safer guards.

any order. Wherefore that vain suspicious man having ly believed this invention, treated an agreement for him and to release his prisoners; so that the King being driven to great anxiety, was fain to give him thirty thousand Cro of that little money he had by him, to recover them out of hands, and to keep him from freeing them, and from go over to the party of the League, which he could hardly tain of him with so great a reward; and it was necessary distribute the prisoners into several places with several gua and with a much greater charge; for the Cardinal of Bour was sent to *Chinon*, the Duke of Guise to *Tours*, the D of Elbeuf to *Loches*, and the Arch-Bishop (*du Gast* not ing to be perswaded otherwise) remained alone in the Ca of Amboise.

The other accident which did much perplex the King was the tumult in *Tours*, one of the chief Cities of Poict seated upon the Loire, and in which he had designed to establish the foundation of his party: for the people being red up by many favourers of the League, and by certain F with their wonted suggestions, began to make an uproar, to rise against the Magistrates, the common people having been perswaded, that that Town was to be assigned to the King of Navar for his habitation: wherefore the King, with the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, the Count *de Soissons*, and a small company he had about him, leaving Blois, was fain to run toward that danger, which being diverted, and the finesse of that City settled, he began to see cleerly that it was necessary to take resolution, and that the delays of Rome did too much prejudice the state of his affairs, reduced to the extreme hazard of an evident suppression.

The Truce is concluded for a year between the most Christian King and the King of Navar.

So cutting off all delays, the Truce was concluded a year between the most Christian King and the King of Navar, with these conditions: That the publick exercise of the Catholick Religion should be restored in all places held by the Hugonots without any exception: That the goods of the Clergy should be restored to them wheresoever they were and that all prisoners which were in their hands should be set liberty: That the King of Navar should be obliged to give the King personally with four thousand Foot and twelve hundred Horse wheresoever he should be commanded; and that all the Cities, Towns and places of his party should observe

Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, obey the Parliaments, and the King's Magistrates, and receive all those finances which the present King had made or should make. On the other side, that the King of Navar should receive the city of Saumur, and keep it in his power, to have a passage on the River Loire, that might freely be his own; which notwithstanding he should be obliged to restore at the King's pleasure without any contradiction. Which capitulations after they were agreed upon and ratified, *Beaulieu* the Secretary of State delivered up Saumur to the King of Navar, who gave the Government thereof to the *Sieur du Plessis Mornay*, his old friend.

The same Truce was made in Dauphiné between Colonel *Alfonso Corso* on the King's part, and *Monfieur de Lesdigniers* for the King of Navar, and they united their Forces for their common defence. The Hugonots rejoiced exceedingly at this reconciliation, magnifying their faith and obedience to the Royall Majesty, to the confusion of those who till now had published and defamed them as tumultuous and disobedient Rebels.

And truly it was a thing worthy of very great wonder, and one of the secret mysteries of God's divine Wisdom, that the King of Navar being weak, and forsaken of all, reduced to a narrow corner of the Kingdom, and for the most part want of things necessary for his own maintenance, so that he was fain to live more like a Souldier of Fortune, than a Prince, his enemies by too much eagerness in pursuing him, and by too ardent a desire to see him utterly ruined, would labour to plot so many wayes, to raise so many Warrs, to treat so many Leagues, to make so many conspiracies, and to use so many arts, from all which, resulting to his advancement, his greatness and exaltation did as it were miraculously succeed: for there was no man versed in the affairs of France, and far from the passions of both parties, who saw so clearly, that if the King had been suffered to live, and to live peaceably as he ought to have done, the King of Navar would by little and little have been destroyed and brought to nothing; for peace and length of time would absolutely have dissolved that little Union which was among the Hugonots, and by those occasions and necessities which length of time would have produced, the obstinacy of the Rochellers, wherein



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wherein the sum of affairs consisted, would finally have been overcome and broken; and the King a most bitter enemy of heresie, would in a manner insensibly by divers arts have rooted it out and destroyed it: whereas on the contrary, the revolution of the Wars and Factions did not onely foment the stubbornnesse of the Hugonots, who were so much the more hardened to resist, by how much they thought they were wrongfully persecuted; but also in the end made way for the King of Navar's reconciliation with the King, and with the French Nobility, furnished him with arms and power, and at last, contrary to his expectation, and the naturall course of things, opened him a passage to attain unto the Crown.

As soon as the Truce was concluded, though but in words onely (for the writing was not published till many dayes after) the King being resolved to change the course of his proceedings, to shew himself, and to reassume indeed the face of a Lion, dispatched the *Sieur de la Cuelle* to the great Duke of Thuscany, to intreat him to lend him two hundred thousand Duckats to make a leavy of Swisse Infantry and German Cavalry, with which by reason of the allyance lately contracted (for the Lady *Chrestienne* his new Dutchesse was but then passing into Italy to her Marriage) the great Duke was ready to pleasure him, having sent a hundred thousand to Alenbourg by Cavalier *Gnecchiardini*, and promised the rest as soon as the Leavy was begun; wherefore the King dispatched Monsieur *de Sancy* to the Switzers, he having been many years Ambassadour in that Country, with Commission, if he could not have the ten thousand Foot he required from the Catholic Cantons, by reason of the opposition he doubted he should receive from the Spaniards, to make his Leavies in the Protestant Cantons; and at the same time appointed Count of Schombergh to raise a Body of German Horse; who for fear of being taken by the Enemies, took a long, and in the end) a fruitlesse voyage. He sent also *Jaques Auguste de Thou* to the Emperour under colour of condoling for the Queen-Mother's death, and upon the same pretence *Perceval Forget Sieur des Fresnes*, newly chosen Secretary of State, into Spain; but the true intent was, that the one might dissuade *Rodolphus* not to meddle in those Leavies which were then made in his name in Germany; and that the other might

ould in some measure withhold the Catholike King from open favour which he was seen to lend unto the *Union*, to which *Mendoza* did manifestly perform the office of an Ambassador.

Having thus provided in the best manner he could for mat-  
without the Kingdom, he began to take care of those  
in it; and having called all the Presidents and Counsellors  
of the Parliaments of Paris, Rouën, and Dijon, who were  
from the popular fury, he determined that the Parliament  
Paris should reside in the City of Tours, that of Rouën in  
City of Caën in the same Province of Normandy, and  
of Dijon at Chalons a City also of the same Dutchy of  
Burgongne, and then by a most severe Edict declared them  
rebels, who being chosen to the dignity of the Parliaments,  
should continue to reside in those Cities and places which had  
drawn themselves from his obedience, and forbade all  
to have any recourse to them to seek for justice, declaring  
sentences to be void which they should pronounce under  
name and title of Parliament. The same Declaration he  
gave against the Duke of Mayenne, against the Duke and  
Chevalier d'Aumale, and others, who having caused Cities to  
take Arms against him; intimating to them, that if  
in the term of fifteen days they returned not to their  
obedience, desisted not from disturbing and molesting the  
Kingdom, and laid not down their Arms, they should be  
declared guilty of Rebellion, and should be so declared, with  
confiscation of their estates. After these writings, follow-  
ed commissions; and having appointed Governours in all Provin-  
ces he gave Commission to make Levies, to draw Souldiers  
together, and that the War should be begun in every place:  
the Count de Soissons was made Governour in Bretagne;  
the Duke of Montpensier in Normandy; the Mareschal de  
Vignerot Lieutenant to the King of Navar in Guienne; the  
Mareschal of Momorancy in Languedoc; Monsieur de la Va-  
lette Lieutenant to the Duke of Espernon in Provence; Al-  
phonse de Corso in Dauphiné; the Count de Tavannes Lieutenant  
in Burgongne; the Duke of Longeville Governour of Picar-  
dy; the Mareschal d'Aumont of Champagne, and Monsieur  
de Tinteville his Lieutenant; Filibert Sieur de la Guiche of  
Normandy; Monsieur de Montigny of Berry; Monsieur de Sour-  
dis of Beauvais; the Sieur d'Entraques in the Dutchy of Or-  
leans;



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leans ; and with himself he kept the Mareſchal d'Aumont to command the Army ; and gave order that the Duke d'Esperon and the King of Navar ſhould come unto him ; the agreement with whom, after ſome delay, was accepted, and publiſhed 28 of April.

Cardinal Morſini the Legat, aſſoon as the Peace is concluded with the Hugonots, departs from Court to go out of the Kingdom.

But after the Peace was concluded, and before the publication of it, the Cardinal Legat, not thinking it decent for him to ſtay longer near the King's perſon ; and on the other ſide not being willing, by his preſence and reſidence, to authorize the League in the taking up of Arms, reſolved after many doubts to go towards Moulins, and thence out of the Kingdom, aſſoon as he ſhould have received orders from Rome, where he knew himſelf to be wonderful ill thought of by the Pope, and his name blaſted by thoſe who favouring the affairs of the League, endeavoured to make his counſels be excluded. And yet the King, after he had tried all means to make him ſtay in his quarters, and excuſed his agreement with the King of Navar by the urgency of neceſſity, and after he had promiſed that howſoever he would perſevere in the Catholick Religion, which received rather help then any hurt at all from the Accommodation with the Hugonots ; at laſt he prayed the Legat that he would once again try the Duke of Mayenne, by meeting perſonally with him, and endeavour to bring him to an agreement, ſince that neither by means of the Duke of Lorain, to whom he had written, nor by means of Madame de Nemours, with whom he had cauſed the Queen to treat about it, had he been able to make him vouchſafe to lend an ear to any Treaty of Peace. And that all the world might ſee his deſire to remove the neceſſity of agreeing with the Hugonots, and to take away the credit from the Arms of the League, he gave the Cardinal a Paper ſubſcribed with his hand, which contained thoſe things he was contented to grant to the Lord of the Union.

He offered the Duke of Lorain the Cities of Metz, Thionville, and Verdun under the title of Government, and promiſed to uſe his endeavours to get the Heir of Bouillon in Marriage for the Count de Vandemont, by which means he might get the poſſeſſion of Jamets and Sedan, places ſo conſiderable and ſo much deſired by thoſe Lords : He was contented to leave the Duke of Mayenne the Government of Bourgoingne. To confer all the Governments of Cities and Fortreſſes in the Province

vince upon such as he should name, To permit that it  
ould passe in the same manner to his eldest son, To give  
an hundred thousand crowns ready money, To satisfie  
e debts he was run into upon the present occasion, and a  
sion of fourty thousand crowns *per annum*. To the Duke  
Guise the Government of Champagne, S<sup>t</sup> Disier, and Ro-  
for the security of his person; twenty thousand crowns  
annual pension; and thirty thousand of Ecclesiastical re-  
ues for one of his brothers, whom he would endeavour to  
advanced to the dignity of Cardinal. To the Duke of  
ers the Government of Lyons, and ten thousand crowns a  
e. To the Duke of Aumale S<sup>t</sup> *Esprit de Rüe* for his security,  
likewise ten thousand crowns in pension. To the Knight  
rother the Generallship of the Infantry, and \* twenty thou-  
franks a year. To the Duke of Elbeuf the Government  
oictiers, and ten thousand crowns pension. He referred  
elf to the Pope for the declaration of the Edicts and A-  
ments made in times past, and was contented that as a  
edly Mediatour he should compose all differences; leaving  
his own liberty, if he pleased, to joyn the Venetian Se-  
with him, or the Great Duke of Thuscany; being con-  
td, if he took the Venetian Senate, that the Duke of Fer-  
a, Uncle to the Lords of Guise, should be added for the  
alue: and if he chose the Great Duke, that they on the  
side should take the Duke of Lorain, the Head of their  
nly.

\* 2000 pound  
sterling.

ut neither did this writing produce any effect: for the  
ue of Mayenne having had an Interview with the Legat at  
eau *danne*, refused to give ear to Peace, excusing himself  
he could not accept of any Condition without assembling  
e states of the League, and all the Princes of his Family, to  
v their consent unto the businesse; and added that he  
ud no more have commerce nor security with him that had  
lted his faith. This he said, because he thought himself  
a superiour to the King in strength, and because the Ca-  
ke King and the Duke of Savoy promised him assistance  
en and money; and at Rome the affairs inclined already  
favour him.

The Legat  
moves the  
Duke of May-  
enne to an Ac-  
commodation,  
who refuses to  
hearken to it.

ut the news of the Truce with the King of Navar, and  
erof the Legats departure, being come to Paris; it is im-  
ssible to believe the hatred that sprung up from it, against



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The Parisians, at the news of the Truce between the King and the Hugonots, besides many publike signes of contempt, forbid the King to be prayed for any longer in the Canon of the Masse.

the King and all those that followed him, and the exorbitant demonstrations of it which were made, even to the prohibiting by publike Decrees, that in the Canon of Masse they should pray any longer for him, as the custom is to do for all the Kings of France, and as the Catholike Church doth often very publicly, especially in the Solemnity of Good-Friday, for Hereticks, Pagans and Idolaters: and it is impossible to relate the innumerable company of Libels, Writings, and Declarations printed and divulged against him, which were neither limited by any reason, nor bridled by any modestie. But the noise of Arms which were clattering in every place, did quickly drown that of the Libels and Sermons.

The first encounter of War was in the Province of Normandy. The Duke of Montpensier Governour for the King was gon to the City of Caën, whither the Counsellours and Presidents were fled from Rouën, and *Pierre Segnier*, where by vertue of the King's Edi& they had placed the seat of the Parliament. At the Duke's coming, all those Lords and Gentlemen ran thither who followed the King's party, and by his order the Sieurs *de Lorges*, *de Colombieres*, *de St. Eustache*, and the Baron *d'Ally*, had raised four Regiments of Foot, so that he had under his Colours three thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse. With this Army, which increased daily, the Duke resolved to besiege Falaise a considerable place, and defended with a Fortresse or great Tower called the *Dongre*, being assured that that Town once taken, Argentan, Vire, and the other places about Caën would presently yeeld themselves, whereby that City, which was very populous by reason of the new concourse of Clients, and of the number that were come thither for refuge, might have the greater means of subsistence. But the second day after their departure from Caën, there had like to have happened a great tumult among his men, which if it had fallen out, would have diverted the whole enterprife. *Jehan de Hemery* Sieur de Villiers, commanded the Army in the Office of Camp-Master-General, who in the first Wars had by assaulting Danfront taken the Count de Montgomery, who afterward by order from King Charles was executed at Paris. The Vanguard was led by the Count de Torigny son to the Mareschal de Matignon: the Sieur de Baqueville commanded the Light-horse; and the Rear was led by the Count de Montgomery son to the aforementioned

The Duke of Montpensier begins the War against those of the League, and besieges the Falaise.

between him and the Camp-master-General there was little correspondence, fomented on the one side by the Molick party, and on the other by the Hugonots. It happened, that marching thorow the enemies Country, it was necessary to quarter close, that the Country people who were in arms, might not have opportunity to do mischief to them; they should find stragling, whereupon *Villiers* was constrained to appoint straighter quarters to the Count *de Montgomery* then the Hugonots (little accustomed to the discipline of War, and used to the liberty of plundering, which they commonly called *la picorée*) thought fitting; wherefore having torn the billet which was brought him by his Quarter-master, the Count enlarged himself above three miles from the Army, and would needs lodge in certain Villages where he had full conveniency to feed his Horse; which being told *Villiers*, he sent to command him to return to his quarters, and the discipline of War so requiring, as also the order given by the Duke of Montpensier; to which the Count having answered arrogantly enough, *Villiers* commanding his Quarter-master to be laid hold of, made him presently to be hanged; or having had the boldnesse to assigne other quarters then he was appointed by the Camp-master-General; and having given the Duke notice of the businesse, he caused the Count *de Montigny* with the Van-guard to draw into order, to force the Count to return to his appointed quarter; and there would have happened some great mischief (*Villiers* being resolved whatsoever came on it, that he would be obeyed, and the Hugonots on the other side being obstinate to defend their action) if the Duke himself getting on horse-back, had not by his presence quieted the businesse, having with resolute words commanded the Count *de Montgomery* to obey; the next day after, under colour of going into the Confinnes of the Country of Constantine, where his estate lay, to defend certain Castles of his own from the incursions of the Duke *de Mercœur*, left the Army; and the charge of leading the rearguard was given to the *Sieur de Hallot*, and the *Sieur de Mercœur* his Brother.

After the tumult was appeased, they proceeded with ordered military discipline, the Duke not suffering any injury to be done to the Country people, nor any thing to be taken away from them, except victuall; for it was necessary



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(his souldiers not being paid) to take free quarter up them. The siege was laid to Falaise, and they began to batter it with a Culverin and two Canon, with assurance that should take it if it were not quickly relieved: but the Count of *Brissac*, who not having been able to get into Angiers his Government, had been sent by the Duke of Mayenne to command in that Province, being accompanied with some Gentlemen, and other his dependents to the number of 300 Horse, went to assist the *Gantiers*, that he might be able in time to relieve that place.

The *Gantiers* country people up in arms to the number of 16000, fight for the League.

The *Gantiers* were Country people, who at first had taken arms against all souldiers that passed thorow their Territories to prevent the losses and outrages which they might suffer from them; and after having received an impression, that the King was cause of all those miseries, and that to the calamities of War he added the burthen of impositions, they had taken part with the League, and having broken the ways, made passages with barrs and pales, and fortified their Towns and Villages, were up in arms to the number of sixteen thousand, and called themselves *Gantiers*, because they had first begun their insurrections in a Town called *la Chappelle Gantier*, which afterwards Vimotier, Bernay, and many other lesser Towns had united themselves. They had chosen three Commanders, the Barons *de Maillot*, and *d'Eschaufour*, and the *Sieur de Longchamp* Governour of Lisieux, they had appointed Captain *Vaunmartell* their Sergeant-Major-General, and exercised themselves with order and military discipline in the profession of arms. The Count of *Brissac* obtained that a thousand of these men, so arm'd and disciplin'd should go to him to relieve Falaise; and thinking the number sufficient to accomplish his designe with those Horse he had with him besides an hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back under Captain *Valage*, and two Field-pieces, he marched that way, believing that the Duke of Montpensier, lest he should have these Forces behind him, and Falaise before him, would retire, and then he might fortifie it better, and put in a stronger Garrison. But the *Gantiers* being come within four Leagues of Falaise, quartered in a great Bourg, which they fortified at the entry of the great high-way toward the enemy with their two pieces, and with a Barricado made with barrells full of earth and foil, that they might not be unexpectedly assaulted without defence.

ce; and the Count *de Brissac* at a little distance from  
but out of the great high-way, took up his quarters,  
sent forth parties of Horse to scour the Country.

*Villiers* the King's Field-Mareschal little valuing the num-  
ber of those inexpert tag-rag fellows, having been out him-  
self to discover their quarters, perswaded the Duke of Mont-  
pensier presently to raise the siege, and without delay to as-  
sault the Enemy; and the Duke desirous to try the encoun-  
ter, and being very confident of *Villiers* his experience, quit-  
ted the siege the same night, and drawing off his Canon from  
the wall, resolved to assault the *Gautiers* the next morning.  
*Villiers* ordered the assault on this manner; that the Culverin  
and Canon should play along the great way upon the En-  
emy's Barricado and Field-pieces, and that then the Infan-  
try should make the assault severally under their Colonels  
on that part; that the Duke of Montpensier with his own  
troop should fall on by a way that led into the field on the  
right side; and the Count *de Torigny* with the Cavalry of the  
guard by another on the left hand; and that the Sieurs *de*  
*Beauregard*, and *de Baqueville* with two Bodies of Horse should  
be ready to oppose the Count *de Brissac*, if he with his  
troop should make any attempt to divert the assault. The  
Culverin and Canon hit so luckily, that they beat down all  
the Enemy's Barricado, and took off the head of Captain  
*Marcell*, who was encouraging and ordering his souldiers:  
upon the signe was presently given to assault the ene-  
my on all sides. The Duke of Montpensier, a brave gene-  
ral Prince, trotted on at the head of his Cavalry to attaque  
the Enemy; but whatsoever the occasion was, leaving the  
Count appointed him on the right hand, he came to fall on  
in the place where (the Barricado being thrown down)  
the Enemy's two Pieces were planted, which had not yet gi-  
ven fire, and he was in great danger to have many of his men  
killed, and that the assault would have a bloody issue. The  
wall was very high, by reason whereof together with the  
noise of the Armies, no mans voyce could be heard; so that the  
Count would certainly have been in danger, if *Villiers* set-  
ting spurrs to his horse, running full speed to overtake him,  
striking him with his truncheon upon the helmet to make  
him awake, had not told him his errour, and brought him by a  
free way to charge the enemy in the Flank; which the  
Count



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Montpnsier de-  
feats the Count  
de Brissac's for-  
ces, who came  
to divert the  
siege of Fa-  
laise.

Cotint *de Torigny* having done likewise on the other side, the Infantry in the Front (where about twenty souls were slain by the Faulconets) the enemy was defeated in then an hour with the losse of about two thousand men their baggage, Colours and Canon. The Count *de Brissac* who during the conflict, appeared upon a hil hard by, ing himself without comparison inferiour in force, re- streight to *Falaife*, without making any further attempt ; ving, though with so great a slaughter of his men, made wa- relieve that place, and the Kings Army victorious, quarte- that night in the adjacent Villages.

It was debated in the Council of War whether they shal- return to the Siege of *Falaife* or no ; but the opinio- *Villiers* prevailed, who (the Count *de Brissac* being w- it, with the rest of his Forces) thought it would be a diffi- and a tedious businesse, and advised that the Army in the- of the Victory should prosecute the *Gantiers*, to take ei- places, and pull up the root of that Insurrection ; for a- obstacle being taken away, there would be no Forces le- in the Province which could hinder them from taking in he- Towns. With this resolution the Army encreased wi- a- bove four hundred fresh Horse, marched toward the *G-* ers, who being resolved to make resistance to the last- put themselves in three places, *Vimotier*, *Bernay*, and *la* pelle *Gautier*, into which the Commanders shut not up th- selves, but *Longchamp* retired to his Government, and the- gave out, that they went to the Count *de Brissac* to pre- assistance.

*Vimotier* was first assaulted, where with small trouble- being an open place, the Bourg was entred, above a t- sand of the *Gantiers* slain, and those that fell into the ene- hands alive, having taken an oath not to bear arms any n- but to follow their tillage, were set at liberty ; so that ha- found very great gentlenesse and good order in the Arm- the care which the Duke and *Villiers* used, in punishing- who dared to commit any outrage or insolence, they- quieted, and returned to the managing of their own af- Greater was the difficulty in assaulting *Bernay*, which- both walled round, and had the best men within it ; bu- Canon having battered from morning till noon, the- made the assault, which having been stoutly received by-

ndants, they renewed the Battery the next morning; and  
ng made a wider breach, many Gentlemen alighted from  
horses, and put themselves in the head of the Infantry,  
cilitate the assault: wherefore it being valiantly redoubled  
e morning, the service lasted hot and bloody for the space  
ur hours: at last young *l'Archant* and the *Sieur de Baque-*  
entered the Town, and after them the whole Army, put-  
the *Gantiers* to the sword, whereof a very great number  
lain; and a house being set on fire by a boy of Colonel  
*enis*, who for that fault was condemned by *Villiers* to suffer  
h, the greater part of the Town was burned to the ground.  
re were killed on the King's side the *Sieur de la Fountain*  
of *Villiers* his Adjutants, 14 Gentlemen, and about 100  
diers. The prisoners upon the same oath and conditions  
set at liberty. But the remainder of the *Gantiers*, reduced  
*la Chapelle*, seeing their companions defeated, and that the  
manders appeared not with relief from any place, resolu-  
o yeeld themselves; and having sent two Curates of their  
ines, they were received to mercy on the same terms: where-  
b, leaving their Arms and Colours, they returned to their  
s, and to their wonted employment of tilling the earth.  
his was the first prosperous successe of the War, and the  
thereof was carried with great joy to the King to Tours,  
ee he was busie in increasing his Army, and giving order  
u his Interview with the King of Navar. To which pur-  
e the *Sieur du Plessis-Mornay* was come to the King a great  
n days before, and the Abbot *del Bene* was likewise gone to  
ing of Navar; nor were they yet fully agreed concerning  
pace or manner of their meeting: for the King would ra-  
ave desired the Hugonots should make War apart; and  
one King of Navar was unwilling to come to Court, being  
svaded by those about him, who ceased not continually to  
t him in remembrance of Paris, and the danger of the Mas-  
reof *S. Bartholomew's* day. But necessity took away those  
nts, by the coming of the Duke of Mayenne; who ser-  
gn a popular Cause, and desiring to put his name in repu-  
io, to confirm and increase his party, having left Paris,  
s come to Chasteau-Dune, and there made up his Army  
om all parts; which, with two Regiments sent by the Pari-  
ans, was eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse. His  
exploit was upon the City of Vendosme, a great Town,  
and

The *Gantiers*  
being fortified  
in three places,  
after they had  
fought a long  
time, some are  
cut in pieces,  
and some  
yeeld.



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Vendosme taken by the League, by agreement with the Governour.

and of the King of Navar's Patrimony, and into which the Counsellours of the great Council were reduced by the King's order, as into a place which he thought secure; but the Governour holding secret intelligence to go over to the League, the Duke of Mayenne sent the *Sieur de Rhosne* thither unexpectedly with two thousand Foot and six hundred Horse, who being brought in according to the agreement, made him master of the City, and took prisoners all the Magistrate of the great Council, and many clients who followed them, who were fain afterward with great sums of money to save themselves.

Vendosme being taken, and it being believed (as it was probable) that the Duke would proceed further, the King sent forward the Duke of Espernon with the Vanguard of his army toward Blois, to the end that lying in the way, he might hinder the march of the enemy: but the Duke doubting the City might remain a prey to the Duke of Mayenne, went thither with all the Foot, and left the Count *de Brienne* with the Horse quartered upon the way that leads from Blois to Amboise neer unto *S' Ounyn*. The Marechal *d' Aumont* with the rest of the Army incamped neer the City of Tours, took it sufficiently guarded: and the King dispatched the Abbot *del Bene* the second time, to hasten the King of Navar's coming; who, when he had sent the *Sieur de Chastillon* General of his Infantry before, to present his duty to the King, and to receive his commands, at last waited upon the King himself in the \* *Parc du Plessis*, without the walls of Tours; where being met by the King, he not only alighted from his horse again while before he came neer him, but as soon as ever he was come unto him, kneeling down, he would by all means have kissed his feet; but the King having raised him up, and embraced him closely, laying aside all former enmities in a moment, led him talking along into the City, passing thorow the Army which was imbattelled, and thorow the people, which were come out of the gates, and with infinite applause, and loud acclamations of the souldiers, they went unto the King's lodgings, every one admiring, on the one side the King's courtesie, and on the other the King of Navar's submission and obedience. The next day, after two long hours of secret conference, the King of Navar returned to his Forces, which were yet quartered beyond the River: and the King having put the

\* Or, *Plessis les Tours*.

The Interview between the most Christian King and the King of Navar at Tours.

to the Suburb of *S' Syphorien*, kept onely his Guards in the  
y, and the Nobility about his person. 1589

But the Duke of Mayenne seeing Blois so strengthened by  
Duke of Espernon's arrival, that there was no hope at all  
ake it; leaving that City and the Duke of Espernon, he  
ed on with his Army as far as *Chasteau-Renard*, but seven  
ues distant from Tours, and from the body of the King's  
ny: and having had intelligence that the Count *de Brienne*  
ed at *S' Ouyn*, where he quartered carelessly with small  
ards, his Forces (according to the liberty of the times)  
ig dispersed and divided in those villages; he marched nine  
ues out of his direct way with infinite speed, and coming  
expectedly, found the Count so negligently unprovided,  
many of his men were cut off and taken prisoners in a  
ment, and he in great disorder fled away, and shut himself  
in the Town, without any provision to defend himself;  
e the Duke being arrived, and having with equal haste  
ted his Canon, though the Marquess *de Canillac* (who as  
eral of the Artillery commanded the Works which were  
there) and many of the stoutest Souldiers, lost their  
es, the Count *de Brienne* was yet fain to yeeld himself, he  
ig kept prisoner: but the Souldiers, upon promise of not  
ing Arms for a certain time, were set at liberty.

The Count *de Brienne* being defeated and taken, the Duke  
Mayenne resolved to assault the Camp of the King himself,  
ring that not being united to the King of Navar, and the  
not well fortified in the Suburb of *S' Syphorien* a vast  
een place, it woud not be very difficult to overcome it, if  
assault were unexpected: wherefore having raised  
Camp upon the seventh day of May in the evening when  
gan to grow dark, bringing two Culverins along with in-  
t trouble, he arrived neer Tours with all his Forces about  
rising. The King's Foot were quartered in the suburbs;  
because the place, being something lowe, was commanded  
by a Cavalier) by a hill, on the top whereof were certain  
ts, Colonel *Moncasin*, who led the Van, drew a line about  
buses, and placed himself there with a strong *Corps de*  
d to keep the enemy from possessing it, it being just in the  
hat comes from Blois and Chasteau-Renard straight to the  
vn. The Duke of Mayenne having caused his Army to  
k a halt in the plain beyond the hill, to give his Souldiers

The Duke of  
Mayenne de-  
feats the Count  
*de Brienne*, and  
takes him pri-  
soner.



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The Duke of Mayenne assaults the King's Army at Tours, where they fight a long time. The King himself orders and directs his souldiers, puts himself among those that fight. At last, supplies coming from the King of Navarre, the Duke of Mayenne gives off the enterprise.

a little rest, who were tired with the length and speed of the march, sent two Regiments before, commanded by the Sieurs *du Cluseau* and *du Bourg*, to make themselves masters of the little houses which annoyed and obstructed all the high-way. They arrived very unexpectedly; yet not so much, but that they were discovered by the Scouts: wherefore having put their Arms in a readinesse on both sides, there began a very fierce Skirmish, just at the very time when the King being come to visit that post was there present. His presence did much good: for besides his being ready to dispose matters in good order for the Fight, the Sieur *de Montigny*, who was with him, ran at the first noise of the shot into the forefront of the Battle, and by his words exhorting, and by his example animating every one to do their duty, did confirm the courage of the Guards; who remembring that they fought in the King's service, made so gallant resistance against the greater number of the enemy, that their fury was bravely repelled, till they came up unto them. The King not at all dismayed, but with a free secure countenance, though he was unarmed, and slenderly attended, causing the Regiments of *Jarsay* and *bempré*, who were upon the right and left hand of the Skirmish, to be supplied with Ammunition, commanded them to charge the enemy; and having himself drawn up the Swisses led by Colonel *Galati*, he sent them presently to guard the entry: for he was no lesse in fear of an uproar within the City, then in doubt of the assault without. Above all things, the King was most troubled to restrain the Gentry, who, stirred up by their courage and thirst of honour, desired to engage themselves in the action; and falling on scattered and dispersed, were without doubt likely to receive some great mischief; but he opposing both his own command and person to the violence of their forwardnesse, stayed and withheld them; and putting them in order in small squadrons, kept them near himself, that he might be able to assist in more places then ordinary need should require.

In the mean time the Duke of Mayenne had planted many Culverins upon the hill, and with his furious shot had forced the defendants to quit the post of the little houses, where the Sieur *de Montigny*, who fought in the first squadrons, received a Musket-shot, Colonel *Jarsay* was slain, and above two hundred Souldiers: But though the enemy had the higher ground

that the Duke stil brought up fresh Forces where there was  
 need ; yet *Moncassin* and *Rubempré* continued stoutly  
 outing it, with an infinite thick hail of Musket bullets,  
 whereby many fell on either side. But the Duke having com-  
 manded on the Regiments of *la Chataigneraye*, and *Ponsenac*,  
 made up of the old souldiers of the late Duke of Guise his  
 father, and both the King's Colonels being wounded, the  
 Duke began to retire, and the Enemy putting couragiously  
 forward, at last made themselves Masters of all the Suburb.  
 The King desiring to have it recovered, left with so little  
 provision he should be besieged in the Citie, which was all he  
 left behind him, commanded Monsieur *de Grillon*, who  
 Colonel of his Guards commanded the Infantry, that he  
 should make a charge to drive out the Enemy. *Grillon* advan-  
 ced valiantly with the flower of his men, and two gallant  
 squadrons of Gentlemen advanced with him, who having al-  
 lured from their horses by the King's permission were ready  
 all on with Sword and Pistol. These at their arrivall re-  
 covered the battell ; and having in their first charge recovered  
 most of the streets of the Suburb, made so fierce a conflict, that  
 they fought with various fortune and very great obstinacy till  
 the declining of the day, at which time the Duke's Artillery  
 being hotter then ever from the higher ground, and *Claude*  
*valier d'Aumale* being come with two fresh Squadrons to  
 revive his party, *Grillon* very much wounded, and his men  
 tired with the toyl of the whole day, were constrained to  
 retire to the Suburb, and retreated to defend the Bridge, upon  
 which the King himself was with all the Nobility that attend-  
 ed him. The fight was fore and sharp ; but some small field-  
 pieces being planted at the entry of the Bridge, they kept back  
 the Enemy, who being already Masters of the whole Suburb,  
 were most eagerly to get possession of it.

But whilest they fought with doubtfull event and equall  
 success on either side, the King of Navar having suddenly  
 intelligence of the businesse, was moved with his whole  
 force to relieve the King, and that delay might not hinder  
 the effect of his intentions, he had sent Monsieur *de Chastil-  
 lion* before with fifteen hundred the best Foot of his Army,  
 arriving about Sun-set, marched readily to the place of  
 action. They being come in fresh, and desirous to make them-  
 selves remarkable in the most dangerous service, repelled the



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violence of the enemy in such manner, that night coming up to them, put an end to the businesse as it were with a common consent, expecting the next dayes light. The defence of the bridge was given in charge to Monsieur *de Chastillon*, because his men were freshest; and the King, with the Duke of Mayen and the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, betook himself to go to the City, having with him the Swisse Infantry, and the Nobility of the Court. There were killed that day above five hundred souldiers on the King's side, and many Commanders. *Chevalier Berton* Nephew to Colonell *Grillon*, and *S' Maure* the same who with his dagger gave the first wound to the Duke of Guise at Blois. Of the Army of the League were slain above a hundred, but onely two Commanders, and few persons of quality. The *Chevalier d'Anmale* as General of the Infantry to the League, was left to make good the Suburbs they had taken, and the Marquesse *de Pienne* with his Regiment drew up just over against the *Sieur de Chastillon* at the entry of the Bridge, both sides labouring all night with infinite diligence to entrench themselves.

Many outrages were committed in the Suburb, both to things sacred and profane; nor were the Souldiers of the League more modest against Churches and Monasteries, than the Hugonots would have been if they had entered it, though the Duke of Mayenne by nature averse from military incursions, did strive with all possible diligence to hinder them: but the licence of a voluntary Army which is unpaid, is very difficult to be restrained. They lay in continuall suspicion, and many alarms were given all the night; but upon Thursday the ninth of May the Regiments of *Charboniere* sent by the King of Navarre to their relief, appearing about break of day, and it being known that he himself was hard by advancing with the rest of his Army; the Duke of Mayenne having lost all hopes of making any further progresse, caused his death to be buried, and leaving the Suburb which he had taken, retired in good order to his former quarters.

This day (though they lost the Suburbs) seemed very remarkable, and gave exceeding great hopes to them that followed the King's party, because after so many yeeres of affliction and rest, they saw in him a fearless Majesty, first putting his Army in array himself, though with but a little Company, and utterly unarmed; and then (having taken his arms)

head of his Nobility) in overseeing and ordering the  
providing against all accidents, and reassuming that  
and authority of a Generall, which having been pra-  
by him with so much glory in his younger yeers, had  
reason of his hidden designs been for a time utterly laid

On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne, and all those  
League making use of the outward appearance, in ha-  
taken the Suburbs, and beaten out the King's Infantry  
their Post, with writings published in print fit for the  
lar cause, did by all manner of wayes magnifie and aug-  
every circumstance of that action, amplifying the num-  
and quality of those that were slain, exalting the valour of  
own souldiers, boasting of the death of *S<sup>t</sup> Malin*, as a mi-  
of publick vengeance, and prognosticating within a while  
olute victory to their party.

*St. Malin who  
gave the first  
wound to the  
Duke of Guise  
at Blois, slain  
in the Fight at  
Tours; his  
death is boasted  
of as a miracle  
& as a presage  
of Victory.*

At about the same time they received a much greater losse;  
the City of Senlis ten leagues distant from Paris, and very  
ctune for the state of present affairs, which at first had  
part with the League, having now declared for the  
and called in *Guillaume de Momorancy* Lord of *Thoré*;  
passed not many dayes before the Duke of Aumale,  
ing there were but small Forces there, resolved to lay  
unto it, thinking assuredly to take it before it could be  
ed: wherefore having called unto him the *Sieur de Ba-*  
Governour of Cambray, and those Gentlemen which in  
y and the Isle of France followed his party, with seven  
ced Horse and nine thousand Foot (but most of them tu-  
tously listed in Paris under the command of the *Sieur de*  
*ville*) and nine pieces of Canon, fate down before it  
tenth day of May. The besieged defended themselves  
y from the beginning; and the next day after the Enemy  
otrenched, they made so bold a sally, that above 100 of  
Frissians were slain, and among them the *Sieur de Chamois*  
l servant of the House of Guise: but after the Artillery  
anted, there being but small store of ammunition in the  
y, and none of those things which were necessary for  
defence, they called the Duke of Longueville to their  
who with *Monsieur de la Noüe* was come to Compeigne.  
e Forces were very unequal, and the Gentry of the  
nce was not met together; wherefore the besieged were  
forced



1589 forced to treat of yeelding, being destitute of all hold out longer, and being as it were assured they should be relieved; and yet news being come to Compeigne, the besieged were capitulating, the Gentlemen began to treat the Duke of Longueville that he would lead them to fight, thinking it a great affront to them to suffer that Town to be lost before their very faces without striking a blow. The Duke of Longueville was a young Lord, and one though full of spirit, did yet referr all things to the advice Monsieur de la Noüe, and of the Baron de Giury who commanded the light Horse. These thought the inequality of forces so great (for they had not above eight hundred Horse lesse then two thousand Foot) that they esteemed it extremely folly to adventure themselves, especially if the Enemy drawing into battalia, should plant their Canon before them. So obstinate was the forwardnesse of the young Gentry, they were grieved to stand idle without doing any thing, that the Commanders resolved to go within sight of the Enemy, to expect the opportunity of some occasion, believing it easier to retreat without danger, as they thought it most difficult by any means to relieve the Town. Being come to the top of a hill which over-looks the Plain where the City stands, they saw that the Duke of Aumale having had notice of their coming, began to draw up his Army in the field, which la Noüe being advanced before all the rest, began diligently to observe and perceiving (as a souldier of very long experience the unreadinesse of his men, who went confusedly into the ranks with their Pikes tottering unsteadily, (a wonted infest signe of inexpert souldiers) and above all, that having leant their Artillery, either for want of knowledge in the affairs of War, or too much confidence, they were deprived of so great an advantage, he turned back to Giury, and told him that the Enemies faintnesse did almost perswade him to hazard the encounter; which being heard by the Gentry, and the Duke of Longueville desirous to make his youth renowned by a glorious exploit, all prayed him to yeeld unto that motion, and he taking courage from the boldnesse and forwardnesse of them all, having drawn the Cavalry into five Divisions, commanded out the Musketiers with three Faulconets which they had brought along, to begin the battell in the front. The Faulconets were so hidden and encompassed by the

The Duke of Aumale besieges Senlis; Monsieur de Longueville goes with small forces to relieve it, & raises the siege with a great slaughter of the Leaguers.

they were hardly seen ; and marched so fast, that keeping with the Souldiers, they were not discovered by the ene- Wherefore the *Sieur de Balagny* that led their Vanguard, inconsiderately advanced, his Squadron at the first encounter was so torn and disordered by the Artillery, which gave three times very happily, that before they had time to rally the *Baron de Giury* rushing upon them with his Light-horse, the *Sieurs d'Humieres* and *Bonivet* following with two va- Squadrons of Gentlemen, he was not onely forced mani- to give ground, but to turn his back without resistance : a beginning being followed by the Duke of Longueville, on the other side by the *Sieur de la Noüe*, they routed the Army, which made small opposition ; and having pursued it above three hundred paces, they wheeled about, and fell in the Parisian Infantry ; which being charged in the front by the *Noüe's* Muskettiers, and there being no Commander who knew how to order them securely in time of need, their ranks broken, they never defended themselves, but having cast their Pikes and Muskets, began to flee in disorder ; in flight, being pursued by the Cavalry, and the besieged at the same time sallying out on their rere, there was a very slaughter of them ; the Field won, the Trenches entered, Artillery taken, which were kept by the Conquerours, above thirty Colours. Of the King's Army not above any men were slain, and no Officer of note : The Army of the League lost above one thousand and two hundred, and among those the *Sieur de Meneville*, an old servant of the Duke of Guise, who making resistance where the Artillery received a Musket-shot thorow the side.

The Duke of Aumale loses the day, with his Artillery, Baggage, and thirty Colours.

The Duke of Aumale retired to St Denis, not having the time to carry that news to Paris ; which being related by the *Sieur de Balagny*, filled the whole City with infinite terrour, so much as *Madame de Montpensier* and *Madame de Guise* could hardly confirm their fickle mindes, as easily lost, as ready forward to rebel. But the Council of the *Union* being met together, they resolved to call back the Duke of Mayenne as soon as possibly they could, not being confident of any other bodies sufficiency to deliver them from the danger of the King's Army, which much increased since the Victory, over- ran the Country.

The Duke of Mayenne, after he had left Tours, having



1589 no hope by longer stay to be able to make any progresse against both the Armies joyned together, had marched with very great speed towards Normandy; and being come to Alançon a great important City, had (in a manner unexpectedly) gotten it by composition; by which he received this benefit, that the Duke of Montpensier, already victorious in that Province, could not turn to unite himself with the King's Forces, and increase his Camp any more: and therefore having taken Alançon, he intended to passe on further, with certain hopes that he should every day make great progresse: But the sum of all affairs consisting in the safety of Paris, and seeing that people not onely straightened for Victuals, because the Duke *de Longueville* cut off all passages, but also dejected, discouraged, and without his presence ready to break out into some tumult, he resolved to leave all other attempts, and return presently to settle it. So with his whole Army, making great marches, and without offering at any enterprize by the way, he came in the beginning of June to the Isle of France, which invirons the City of Paris.

Monsieur *de Sancy* having raised great Forces in Switzerland, and begun the War with Savoy, marches toward Paris against the Leaguers.

In the mean time the King, to whom Poitiers had revolted, having put his men in order at Chastelrault, intended to passe the Loyre, and marching toward Paris, either to straighten that City, or meet the enemy if he advanced to fight in the open field. The King of Navar with his Forces was the Vanguard; and before all, the Sieur *de Chastillon* with his *Avant coureurs*. The King commanded the Battell; in whom were the Duke of Montbason, the Mareschals of Breton and Aumont, Monsieur *d'O*, and many other Lordes and Commanders. The Duke of Espernon brought up the Rear-guard. At the King's second quarters, he received Letters from Monsieur *de Sancy* by an Expresse, (who coming disguised along by-ways, brought them secretly put up in the cover of a Breviary) by which he gave him to understand that having obtained from the Swisses of the Canton of Berne, not onely to leavie men, but also a certain sum of money lent him, upon promise that the King should defend the same, and those of Geneva from the molestation of the Duke of Savoy, he had raised ten thousand Foot of that nation, five thousand German Horse, and three thousand French Musketeers; and that having begun the War with the Duke in the confines of Geneva, and engaged the Canton of Bern

the resistance in those parts, till the King having disintangled his affairs, could be able to assist them with powerful Forces; he being come into the Territory of Langres, was marching thorow the Province of Champagne the straight way to

This news did not onely rejoyce the King, who was sollicitous about that businesse, but the whole Army also; there being no man but believed that with those Forces they should in few weeks be able to curb the Insurrections of the League: the King intent upon that celerity which he thought necessary above all things, made present dispatches several ways; he Duke of Longueville, and Monsieur *de la Noüe*, commanding them that having gathered as many Forces as possibly they could, they should move without delay, to meet that Army in Champagne; and gave the Duke of Montpensier permission to follow the Duke of Mayenne (who from the confines of Normandy was turned toward Paris) and come to join with him in some convenient place. This order being known, they continued their intended voyage, with so general boldnesse in the Army, that they held the Victory in a manner assured.

But this common joy was something troubled by the misfortune of the Count *de Soissons*, who having been dispatched by the King with Monsieur *de Lavardin* to command in Breteigne, while he was about to unite himself in the City of Nantes with the Gentry of the Province who expected him, being lodged carelessly and with slender Guards at *Chasteau-Gyron*, was assaulted about midnight by the Duke *de Mercœur*; who coming from *Vitry* with his Forces, had marched a great many leagues thither; where, after such resistance as the place would permit, and his strength was able to make, the Count at last was taken prisoner by the enemy. By this accident the King was forced (though he was not in a condition to furnish the body of his Army) to send some number of men to that Province, under *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Dombes, and the Duke of Montpensier, who being a youth of but twenty years, began to give proof of a generous spirit, and of very great courage.

The Army marched on its way with very great order; and the Vanguard being come to Beaugency upon the one and twentieth day of May, the Sieur *de Chastillon* with his

LIIII

Troops

The Count *de Soissons* assaulted at *Chasteau-Gyron* by the Duke *de Mercœur*, is taken prisoner.



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The *Sieur de Savense* going with 400 Horse to joyn with the Duke of Mayenne, is routed by the *Sieur de Chastillon*, and taken prisoner.

Troops advanced to get intelligence and discover the ways the Country, while at the same time Monsieur de Savense marched with three hundred Lances and one hundred Light horse to joyn with the Duke of Mayenne's Army. He being advertised of the King's arrival, having left Bonneval, a very rich Monastery within the Territories of Chartres, was on his way; but the parties sent out before on each side having met and begun to skirmish without knowing one another, the *Sieur de Chastillon* stronger in Forces, and more ready to fight, fell on and charged *Savense* so on all sides that having killed an hundred and fifty of his men, he fought valiantly, he with sixty Gentlemen was taken prisoner; and having received two wounds in the encounter, died of them within a few days after.

The King takes Gergeau and Piviers. Chartres voluntarily opens the gates.

Thus matters going on prosperously, upon the three and twentieth they encamped at Gergeau, a Town of a convenient bignesse, plentiful, and which hath in it one of the principal Bridges of the River Loire. In this place commanded the *Sieur de Jalanges*, who being summoned to yield, and not to hazard the battery of a Royal Army, having refused to do so, the Canon was planted, and after not much difficulty, the wall being entered forcibly by assault, he was condemned presently to be hanged. The Town was sacked by the Army, and the defendants cut in pieces; the King, contrary to his nature, using very great severity, as one who often alledged that he made not War against a lawful enemy, but persecuted the obstinate stubbornnesse of rebels. After the taking of Gergeau, followed that of Piviers, where the same rigour was used against the Magistrates of the place: wherefore Chartres not staying so much as for a Summons, opened their gates, received the King with all his Army; and having driven out the dependents of the League, submitted itself to his obedience.

The Pope by a *Monitory* declares the King liable to censure, if within 60 days hereafter he does not Penance for the Cardinal of Guise's death. The King troubled at it, fasts 40 hours.

Thither the news was brought by the *Sieur de la Clie*, how the Pope by a *Monitory* had declared that the King should incur censure, if within the term of sixty dayes he released not the Prelats out of prison, and if within the same time he made not his due submission for the death of the Cardinal of Guise; which struck the King so deeply, that he was alive forty hours without eating or drinking. This last resolution had been obtained by the Dean of Rheims, who lately

dispatched

atched to Rome by the Duke of Mayenne, had by am-  
 ying not onely the reasons of the League, but also the  
 ces of the Confederates, and the King's weaknesse, at  
 induced the Pope unto it so much the more easily, after  
 report was divulged, that the King treated an agreement  
 h the King of Navar, and was about to call the Hugonots  
 o his party. The *Monitory* was posted up in Rome upon  
 three and twentieth of May, and within a very few dayes  
 r published at Meaux ten leagues distant from Paris, the  
 op of which place was made High-Chancellour by the  
 ke of Mayenne in the Councel of the *Union*. The King  
 so grieved for this determination of the Pope, that it pro-  
 ed an universal sadnesse, and the progresse of the Army  
 very much slackened by it. Wherefore the Arch-Bishop  
 ourges began publickly to comfort him, saying, That as  
 Pope ill-informed, by the suggestion of the Confede-  
 e, believing what they did was out of zeal to Religion,  
 pronounced that Sentence: so when he should be better  
 formed, and assured that they fought for passion and am-  
 on, and not for the Apostolick Sea, nor for the Faith, he  
 rtinly, as a common Father, would change his opinion.  
 The King after a deep sigh replied, That he thought it  
 r hard, that he who had ever fought and laboured for Re-  
 gin, should be rashly excommunicated because he would  
 tuffer his own throat to be cut by the arms of his Rebel-  
 ects; and that those who had sacked Rome, and kept  
 e pope himself prisoner, had never been excommunicated:  
 o which the King of Navar, who was present, answered; But  
 ey were victorious, Sir: Let your Majesty endeavour to  
 onuer, and be assured the censures shall be revoked; but if  
 e overcome, we shall all die condemned Hereticks. The  
 in assented, and all the by-standers did the like; and upon  
 at hope order was given the Army should march, and ha-  
 ng laid siege to Estampes, and that Town being taken by as-  
 ul the King very much exasperated, and moved by his  
 tuall melancholy, now outwardly stirred up by so many  
 vocations, caused all the Magistrates to be hanged, and  
 ave the pillage of the Town freely to the souldiers. From  
 Estampes the King being desirous to shut up all the passages  
 f those Rivers that were fit to streighten the City of Paris,  
 armed on with the body of his Army to besiege Poissy, and

Words of Hen.  
 the Third up-  
 on the excom-  
 munication  
 thundered out  
 against him.

The King of  
 Navar's An-  
 swer.

The King ta-  
 king Estampes,  
 hangs the Ma-  
 gistrates, and  
 gives the pil-  
 lage of the  
 Town to the  
 souldiers.



1589 the Duke of Espernon enlarging himself with the Reer, took and with the same violence sacked Montereau upon the river *Tonne*. Poissy made very little resistance, and the Town yeelding it self, the King was Master of that brave spacious Bridge which there gives passage over the *Seine*, by the help whereof he was able to enlarge himself on both sides the river. In this place the Duke of Montpensier, who had followed the track of the Duke of Mayenne out of Normandy without receiving any opposition, joyned with the King's Army, who intending to make that Town his Magazine, gave the government of it to the *Sieur de Villiers*, and leaving his Baggage, Ammunition, and part of his Artillery there, put a garison of 2000 Foot.

Poissy being taken and manned, the King of Navarre with his Van-guard went without delay to besiege Pontoise, which Monsieur *d'Alincourt* was Governour, and with him the *Sieur de Hautfort* put in also by the Duke of Mayenne to supply what should be defective; these having fortified the Church which stood in a corner of the Town, and reduced it to the form of a *Raveline*, stood constantly upon their defence. The first force was employed against the Church, which battered and assaulted, and no lesse resolutely defended, maintained it self for the space of nine dayes: at the end of which, *Hautfort* being killed with a Canon-shot, the Church was also taken and utterly demolished, and the defendants retired to make good the walls. But the *Sieur d'Alincourt* being wounded in the shoulder, and the most valiant of the defendants being slain by the violence of the Artillery, and in the fury of a bloody assault, the rest were necessarily forced to yeeld; who marched out of the Town upon the ninth and twentieth of July, with this condition, that they should not bear arms again in service of the League till after six months.

The next day after the taking of Pontoise, the former Army arrived at Poissy bridge; for Monsieur *de Sancy* the first met by the Count *de Tavannes* with five hundred Horse at the Confines of Bourgongne, and then in Champagne by the Duke *de Longueville* and the *Sieur de la Noüe* with twelve hundred Horse and two thousand French Muskietiers, having advanced with great diligence; nor durst the Duke of Mayenne, who had made shew that he would oppose his page

him with so much weaker Forces; so that upon Saint Anne's day they passed the bridge at Poissy, being received with great joy, and provided for with great plenty to refresh themselves by Monsieur *de Villiers*, who had caused many carts of Wine and provisions to be brought beyond the bridge, to welcome the Swisses and the Germans. The next morning which was Saint Anne's day, the King desired to see them, and view them in their Divisions, largely spread over the fields; and being accompanied by the King of Navar and the Duke of Montpensier, he welcomed and cherished the Commanders with great familiarity, honouring them with such like presents as the state of things in the fury of arms would permit. There were ten thousand Swisses, two thousand German Foot, two thousand *Reiters*; to which the Forces of the King, the Duke of Longueville, the Duke of Montpensier, the Baron *de Ginry*, and of the King of Navar being added, the Army amounted to the number of two and forty thousand fighting men. The terrour of this Army made all the places thereabout to yeeld; and the bridge of S<sup>t</sup> Cloud, a league within a league of Paris, having had the boldnesse to shut its gates, upon the nine and twentieth day was victoriously opened, and the relief which the Sieurs *de Bourdaisiere* and *Tremblecourt* had attempted to put into it, with two Regiments of Foot and four hundred Horse, was likewise furiously driven back by the Cavalry.

The Swisses arrive and joyn with the King at Poissy.

The affairs of Paris were already reduced into an exceedingly bad condition; for all the Bridges being lost, all the neighbouring Towns surrendered, all the passages of the River stopped, and the City streightned on all sides, there was no hope left then what the presence of the Duke of Mayenne and his Army afforded, which was all shut up within the circuit of the Suburbs of Paris. The army was 8000 French Foot, and 800 Horse; but so great was the scarcity of victual, & the rage that had seized every one by reason of the King's prosperous successes and severe resolution, that within two dayes the French Foot were reduced to five thousand, and the Germans demanding meat and money, began to threaten that they would go over to the enemies Camp. Nor were the inhabitants more resolute, or more unanimous then the souldiers; nor the common people following the ordinary course, as they had been precipitate to rebell; so hoping by their meannesse

The King with a victorious and numerous Army lays siege to Paris, having taken all those places that furnish it with victual.

and



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and obscurity to lie hid, and escape unpunished, were easily induced to submit themselves to the King; and those who from the beginning had been inclined to his devotion, but could not declare themselves, now by his being so neer, and by the danger of the rest, being become bold and fearlesse, began to perswade the people through the severall quarters, and to draw them into such despair of the present affairs, that the Duke of Mayenne was no lesse troubled with the inconstancy of the Parisians, then with the potent Forces of the King; yet shewing courage answerable to the greatnesse and urgency of the necessity, he dispatched young *Meneville* to the Duke of Lorain (to whom Jamets, having been besieged by him a while yeer, was at last surrendred) desiring him to come personally to his relief, and had given order that four thousand Germans leavied by his Commission, should make haste to joyn with him, that they might advance together to raise the siege of Paris. But these Succours were too late, too far off, and too uncertain; for the Germans were yet in their own Countie, the Duke of Lorain was not well resolved what he should do, the reputation of the League was suddenly fallen in every Province, and the people, the first violence of their passion being over, and they full of infinite fear, thought every where of turning to the King's obedience, who having taken *S<sup>t</sup> Cloud* had himself begirt the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Honoré*, and all that from the *Lozre* to the River; and the King of Navar on the other side besieged from the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Marceau* to that of *S<sup>t</sup> Germain*. The Duke of Mayenne was quartered in the *Fauxbourg S<sup>t</sup> Germain*, and defended both *S<sup>t</sup> Marceau* and *S<sup>t</sup> Victoire*, having caused his posts to be shut up every where with trenches: the *Sieur de la Chastre* with the Germans, and a Regiment of Wallons guarded the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Honoré*, *Montmartre*, and *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*, which were likewise enclosed and fortified with trenches. In the Citie the Dutchesse of Lenox, Montpensier, and Guise, with the Preachers (though much fallen in courage and reputation) were busie in animating the people, who appeared manifestly sad and dejected. Monsieur de Rhosne executing the Office of Camp-Major General, ran up and down to every place: and the Priests and Friars had taken up Arms, putting themselves generally upon Military duty.

The City of Paris being in so great a straight, and in

terror (a thing very well known to the King, by the  
encie of those which ran every hour from the City to his  
) upon the last day of July would needs personally view  
enemies posts; and by the advice of the Marechal d'An-  
and Monsieur de la Nouë, who were with him, resolved to  
his Army the next day; and upon the second of Au-  
to assault their Works on every side; being not onely  
lent of a happie issue, but as it were certain that the  
ans would mutiny, and that many in the City would take  
me on his side, some out of their old constant inclinati-  
and some by their present services, to cancel their former  
and insurrections. In his return toward St Cloud, stop-  
his horse upon a hill, from whence he saw all the City di-  
y, he broke forth into this saying: Paris, thou art the  
of the Kingdom, but a Head too great and too caprici-  
it is necessary, by letting blood, to cure thee again, and  
the whole Kingdom from thy madnesse: and I hope that  
a few days here shall be neither walls nor houses, but  
the very footsteps of Paris. And there was no man who  
not already make that prognostick: and the Duke of  
ane being resolved not to outlive his ruine, had determi-  
to get on horseback with the Sieurs de Rhosne and de la  
le, and to die honourably by fighting, in that space  
les between the modern walls of the Town and the Sub-  
which they saw they could not defend.

It as in the revolutions of this War strange marvellous  
nts have still happened; so an unexpected and un-  
nt-of chance, provided against the exigency of that  
which neither the prudence nor valour of the Com-  
drs were able to prevent. There was in Paris one *Jacques*  
ut, a Frier of the Order of *S<sup>t</sup> Dominick*, which common-  
called *Jacobins*, born of mean parentage in a village cal-  
*Sabone* in the territory of the City of *Sens*, a young man  
two and twenty yeers of age, and always thought by  
elow-Friers and many others that knew him, to be a half-  
e fellow, and rather a subject of sport, then to be feared,  
any serious matter of consequence was to be hoped for  
him. I remember that (having been often to visit Frier  
*bro Lusignano* a Cyprian Bishop of *Limisso*, and brother  
of same Order, when the Court was at Paris) I have seen  
and heard the other Friers make sport with him. This  
fellow,

A saying of  
the King's,  
who having  
been to disco-  
ver the ene-  
mies Works,  
stayed at a  
place from  
whence he  
looked upon  
the whole Ci-  
ty of Paris.

The birth, age  
and condition  
of *Jacques Cle-  
ment* a Frier of  
the Order of  
*S. Dominick*.



The King is  
called *Henry* of  
Valois the Ty-  
rant and perse-  
cutor of the  
Faith.

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fellow, either led by his own fancy, or stirred up by the  
mons which he heard daily made against *Henry* of Valois,  
led the Tyrant, and persecutor of the Faith, took a reso-  
lution to hazard his life in attempting some means to kill him.  
He did he keep this bold thought of his secret, but cried out  
among his fellow-Friers, that it was necessary to take Arms  
to cut off the Tyrant: which words, heard by them with  
wonted laughter, he was in derision called *Captain Clement*  
to them all. Many provoked him, by telling the King's pro-  
ceedings, and how he was coming against the City of Paris  
to whom (while the Army was far off) he would answer  
that it was not yet time; and that he would not take so many  
pains: but when the King began to draw neerer, he passed  
from jests to a serious determination, told one of his Fathers  
that he had a bold inspiration to go and kill *Henry* of Valois,  
and desired him to counsel him if he should execute it. His  
Father having imparted this business to the *Prior*, who was  
one of the chief Counsellours of the League, they both an-  
swered, that he should take good heed it were no temptation  
of the Devil; that he should fast and pray, begging of God  
to enlighten his minde what he should do. Within a few  
days he came again to the *Prior* and the other Father, to tell  
them he had done as they advised him, and that he found in  
himself more spirit then ever to undertake the enterprise.  
His Fathers (as many said) having conferred about the business  
with *Madame de Montpensier*; or (as they of the League  
will have it) of their own proper motion, exhorted him to  
the attempt, affirming to him, that if he lived, he should be  
made a *Cardinal*; and if he died, for freeing the City, and kill-  
ing the persecutor of the Faith, he should without doubt be  
canonized for a *Saint*. The Frier ardently excited by these  
exhortations, laboured to get a Letter of Credit from the  
*Count de Brienne*, who having been taken at *S' Oyn*, was  
still prisoner in the City, assuring him that he was to confer  
with the King about a business of infinite importance, and  
which should redound to his very great contentment. The  
*Count* not knowing the Frier, but hearing how the City was  
affected, and that many plotted to bring in the King, he  
giving the business to be true which he professed to desire,  
made no difficulty of granting him the Letter; with which  
departing upon the last day of July in the evening, he

the City into the King's Camp, where he was presently  
by the Guards; but he saying he had businesse and Let-  
o communicate to the King, and having shewed the super-  
tion, was brought to *Jaques de la Guesle* the King's Attur-  
General, who executed the Office of Auditour of the  
p. The *Sieur de la Guesle* having heard the Frier, and  
ving that the King had returned when it was dark from  
vering the enemies Works, told him it was too late for  
night, but the next morning he would bring him to him  
out fail, and that in the mean time he might stay for his  
ity in his lodgings. The Frier accepted the invitation,  
d at table with *la Guesle*, cut his meat with a new knife  
a black haft, which he had about him, eat, drank, and  
without care. And because a Prophecie ran not onely  
w the Army, but thorow the whole Kingdom, that the  
should be killed by a Frier, he was asked by many if  
lance he came for that end: To whom he answered with-  
disturbance, that those were not things to be jested withal  
a manner. In the morning upon the first day of August,  
*Sieur de la Guesle* went to the King's lodgings very early;  
having told him the Frier's desire to speak with him, was  
manded presently to bring him in, though he was not yet  
eady, but still without his Buff-coat (which by reason  
is Arms he was wont to wear) and having on onely a thin  
ay doublet all untrussed. The Frier being brought in,  
they both withdrew to a window on one side of the room,  
eivered the Letter from the Count *de Brienne*, which the  
gead; and having bid him proceed to tell his businesse,  
ined to feel for another Paper to present it; and while  
King stood intently expecting it, he having drawn  
wnted knife out of his sleeve, strook him on the left  
o the navel, and left all the blade buried in the wound.  
King feeling the blowe, drew forth the knife, and in  
vig of it made the wound wider, and presently struck  
imself up to the haft in the Friers forehead, who at the  
e time (*La Guesle* running him thorow with his sword)  
instantly dead; and was no sooner fallen, but *Momperat*,  
na, and the *Marquesse de Mirepoix*, Gentlemen of the  
g's Chamber, who were present at the fact, threw him  
of the window, where by the common Souldiers he was  
in pieces, burnt, and his ashes scattered in the River.

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Frier *Jaques Clement* having advised with the Prior, and others of his Order, resolves to kill the King, and to that end goes from Paris.

A Question made to the Frier, and his Answer.

Upon the first of August the Frier brought in to the King, gives him a Letter; and then drawing a knife, thrust it into his belly.

The King strikes the same knife into the Frier's forehead. *Monsieur de la Guesle* runs him thorow; and being cast out of the window, he is torn in pieces.



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The King was carried to his bed, and the wound was thought mortal by the Chirurgians: wherefore having called his Secretaries, he caused an account of the businesse to be given to all parts of the Kingdom, exhorting all the Governours not to be dismayed, for that he hoped he should be cured within a few days, and be able to ride: The same he did to his chief Commanders and principal Officers of his Army; having presently sent for the King of Navar, committed to the care of his Army, and the diligent prosecution of the enterprise. But at night he felt wonderful great pain in his wound, and fell into a Fever: wherefore having called his Chirurgians, and search being made, they found his wounds were pierced; so that they all agreed his life could not last many hours. The King, who desired to know the truth, being told his danger, caused *Estienne Boulogne* his Chaplain to be called, and with very great devotion made confession of his sins: but before absolution, his Confessour having told him that he had heard the Pope had published a *Monitory* against him; and therefore he should satisfy his conscience in the present extremity: he replied that it was true; but the *Monitory* itself contained, that in case of death he might be absolved, that he would satisfy the Pope's request, and promised faithfully to release the prisoners, though he should believe it would cost him his life and Crown: With which satisfaction the Confessour absolved him, and gave him the Sacrament the same night. The King feeling his strength decay, caused his chamber-doors to be set open, and the Nobility to be brought in; who with abundance of tears and bitter sighs shewed like signes of their grief: and turning toward them, the Duke of Espernon and the Count *d'Auvergne* his Neighbour standing by his bed side, he said with an audible voice, that it troubled him not to die, but he was grieved to leave his Kingdom in so great disorder, and all good men afflicted and persecuted: That he desired no revenge for his death; for from his first yeers he had learned in the school of Christ to forgive injuries, as he had done so many in times past: then turning to the King of Navar, he told him, that if the custom of killing Kings should grow in use, neither should he by consequence be long secure: He exhorted the Nobility to acknowledge the King of Navar, to whom the Kingdom of right belonged; and that they should not stick at the difficulty

fe n

ence in Religion, for both the King of Navar, a man of a  
ere noble nature, would in the end return into the bosome  
he Church, and the Pope being better informed, would  
ive him into his favour to prevent the ruine of the whole  
gdom. At last he imbraced the King of Navar, and said,  
eating it twice over: *Brother, I assure you, you will never*  
*King of France, if you turn not Catholick, and if you humble*  
*your self unto the Church*; after which words, having cal-  
his Chaplain, he in the presence of them all rehearsed the  
ed after the use of the Roman Church, and having crossed  
self, began the *Miserere*, but his speech failing him in these  
ds, *Redde mihi letitiam salutis tui*, he yeelded up the ghost  
tentedly, having lived thirty six yeers, and reigned fifteen  
just two months. In his death ended the line of Kings of  
House of *Valois*, and the posterity of *Philip the Third*, sur-  
red the *Hardy*, and by vertue of the *Salique Law*, the Crown  
ylved to the Family of *Bourbon*, neereſt of the Blood, and  
ended from *Robert Count of Clermont* the second son of  
*Louis*.

The death of  
Henry the third  
upon the first  
of August at  
night, Anno  
1589, he ha-  
ving lived 36  
yeers, & reign-  
ed 15 and two  
months: the  
House of *Valois*  
ended in him,  
and the Crown  
devolved upon  
the House of  
*Bourbon*.

The whole Army became wonderfully grieved at so sad,  
ftall an accident, and especially the Nobility, who ac-  
panied the death of their Prince with tears which came  
the bottom of their hearts: but on the other side, the  
rians shewed profuse signes of joy, and some among the  
et ones, who had till then worn mourning for the death of  
ords of Guise, did again put on their gallantry and their  
aters, and leaving off black, clothed themselves in green;  
ogh the Duke of Mayenne, with the wonted moderation  
his prudence, far from such like demonstrations, minded  
ney how to excuse himself, and divulge with all diligence  
athe had no hand in the businesse, and that it was directly  
d immediately the hand of Heaven; which neverthelesse  
as believed by few; for the opinion which was conceived,  
as not to be rooted out of mens mindes, it being unlikely  
athe chief men of the *Union*, and particularly the Prior,  
ruty Counsellour of the Grand-Council of it, should not  
ve conferred about the fact with the Princes, and with their  
ivy exhorted, and with effectuall motives spurred on the  
mplicity of the Frier: but as the factious occurrences of Ci-  
l Varrs are full of Lyes and fabulous inventions, others  
dd many fictions to the truth, which a certain Writer, per-



1589 haps through ignorance, or heedlesnesse, or else through hatred, hath not shunned to publish in his Writings.

The Vertues  
of King Henry  
the Third.

But howsoever it were, it is indeed a thing worthy of very great consideration, to think how the singular vertues and eminent qualities of so brave a Prince should come to so cruel, so unfortunate an end; from thence to learn this excellent lesson, That the skilfulnesse of the Pilot avails but little if the wind of divine favour which with eternall Providence governs mortall affairs, help not to bring our actions into the desired port: For in *Henry* the Third were all amiable qualities, which in the beginning of his yeers were exceedingly revered and admired; singular prudence, royall magnanimity, inexhausted magnificence, most profound piety, most ardent zeal in Religion, perpetuall love to the good, implacable hatred to the bad, infinite desire of doing good to the popular eloquence, pleasantnesse becoming a Prince, generous courage, valour, and wonderfull dexterity in arms; which vertues, during the reign of his Brother, he was more admired and esteemed then the King himself. He was a Generall before he was a Souldier, and a great Statef-man before he came to yeers of maturity; he made war with power, concluded the experience of the most famous Commanders, wonne bloody Battels, took in Fortresses that were held impracticable, gained the hearts of people far remote, and was renowned and glorious in the mouths of all men: yet when being come to the Crown, he sought out subtil inventions to free himself from the yoke and servitude of the Factions, both parties conceived such a hatred against him, that his Religion was counted hypocrisie, his Prudence a wicked craftinesse, his Policie meannesse of spirit, his Liberality licentious and unbridled prodigality; his affability was contemned, his gravity hated, his name detested, his private conversations imputed to enormous vices, and his death being extremely rejoyced at by seditious men and the common people, was rashly judged to be the stroke of divine Justice.

After the King's death, the Army remained that day as if they were astonished and stupified; nor were the Parisians of lesse wonder and amazement, when by an unexpected accident they saw themselves left quiet that day, wherein with terror they looked for nothing but their utter desolation. In the King of Navar being gone presently to his lodging at

though he had determined in his minde to assume the  
and title of King of France, was doubtfull, solicitous,  
very uncertain what might come of it; for the Hugonots  
depended on him were few and weak, and if he should  
to acknowledge the scepter from them, he should with-  
question alienate the stronger and more numerous party.  
The Catholicks he could have but little confidence, differ-  
om them in Religion, not having gained them by the  
of former benefits, having ever been far from them, nay  
Enemy, and not so much as known by sight unto most  
of them untill that time. As for the forreign Forces, he  
not what they would resolve to do with themselves, be-  
nder Commanders of small credit and authority, with-  
Commissions from their Princes, and for want of money  
in a condition to mutiny and disband, then to yeeld o-  
nce to him, that had not means to satisfie them: for the  
of Navar newly come out of that narrow corner where  
had been shut up so many yeers, was so far from being a-  
pay them, that he had not wherewithall to maintain  
elf; and in the dead King's Treasurie was found very  
store of money, the gulf of War having swallowed up  
the Revenues which were gotten in, and those summs  
his friends had lent him in times of great need. To this  
added the disgusts which many chief men had against  
the Duke of Montpensier, though of the same Family,  
in respect of Religion, whereof he was most observant, had  
little correspondence with him, not being able to en-  
and counting it a shame to the whole Family, to see him  
passed with Hugonot Ministers and Preachers. The  
d'Anvergne Bastard of France, a young man of fierce  
ne, for slight occasions, as quartering of souldiers, and  
ing of spoil, was scarce wont to salute him; Monsieur  
ry, Monsieur de Villiers, and many others, who in times  
had received benefits from the House of Guise, & had later-  
ered the deceased King, because their courage would not  
erhem to be called and accounted Rebels, now that re-  
and the bond of obedience being loosened by his death,  
ldn no wise bend their mindes to follow an enemy to the  
of Lorain; and which imported most of all, the Duke  
Bernon, who as the custome is, hated and persecuted all  
se who he thought might remove him from the degree he  
held

The King of Navar having many Lords in the Camp ill-affected to him in respect of Religion, and other private causes, is in great perplexi-ty.



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Causes of hatred between the King of Navar and the Duke of Espernon.

held, or get before him in his Masters favour, had broker a most openly with him in the King's life-time : for the King of Navar having taken notice that the Duke of Espernon bore him ill will, and aimed to put him in disgrace with the King as a man of an open courage and free speech, had complained manifestly of him, saying, that if he thought to use him as he had done the Lords of Guise, he would not endure it : and Espernon on the other side, had said more than once, that the King of Navar was wont to make warr in the Royall Camps, and with military discipline, but like a Feudall booter, or a plunderer ; and that all outrages and insolencies were committed by the Hugonots ; and at the taking of the Camp of Stamps, having found a souldier of the King of Navar's Troop of Dragoons, who to steal the *Pix* out of a Church, had thrown the Sacrament upon the ground, he killed him presently with his own hand ; so that between them there was no very good intelligence. For all these reasons the King of Navar was surrounded with straits and difficulties, not being able to know what might succeed upon his Declaration ; and so much rather, because he knew many were secretly come from Paris into the Camp, to work upon the mindes of such as were discontented, and that the Duke of Mayenne would give them very large conditions.

But if the King was tormented with these doubts, and involved in these cares, the mindes of particular men were lesse troubled and perplexed ; for the Hugonots doubted not that the King would make more account of attaining to the Crown, than of persevering in their Religion, and therefore feared he would easily reconcile himself to the Church ; and the Catholicks seeing him environed by *du Plessis Mornay*, *des Amoneaux* Minister, and the *Sieur de la Noüe*, and many others who were firm Calvinists, and calling to minde past experiences, believed he would not forsake that Religion, and those men whom he had lived long, and sustained the difficulties of an adverse fortune ; and many of each Religion were drawn down byassed by diverse severall interests.

The affairs of the Army being so uncertain and distracted, the Catholicks who were the greater part gathered themselves together the night before the third of August, to consult upon the resolution they should take. Here there opinions were different ; for many thought best to follow and uphold the Crown

It means in the King of Navar, that they might not wrong the justnesse of his Cause, and violate the *Salique* Laws, but preserve the Kingdom in the lawful Succession : They said that by doing otherwise, it was necessary either to divide the Kingdom among so many petty Kings as there were armed princes and pretenders, or else submit themselves to the rule and arbitrement of strangers : That this was the true way to prevent discord, and make the Civil Wars perpetual, to the destruction of the publike, and of every particular man, and to expose their common Country to new dangers, fatal accidents, and most cruel slaughters : That the hand of God was plainly seen, which favouring the justice of his Cause, had in an opportune conjuncture armed him with Forces, reconciled him with his good Subjects, and put him miraculously in a condition to be able to attain to and defend his Crown : That it was a pious thing to follow the motives and disposals of Heaven, and to leave the care of future matters to divine providence : That by the Laws of God, Princes were to be born lawful, and not to be despoiled of their Rights and Inheritance by any particular defect : That the King of Navar was an illustrious Prince, full of clemency, modestie and sincerity: That there was no cause to fear a violent or tyrannical power, but to hope for a good and lawful Government, and liberty of conscience, which he till then had granted to every one : That finally it was a thing unworthy of the French Nobility, to adhere to Rebels, who had impiously stained their hands in the bowels of their Prince, and with manifest wrong and violence endeavoured to deprive and destroy the Blood Royal of the lawful Succession of the Crown : That on the contrary, That it was an action worthy the name of *valiers*, which they professed, to vindicate his just blood, justly shed by his Subjects, and to maintain the true and lawfull heirs of the Crown in the possession of the Kingdom. The authours of this opinion were the *Sieur de Ramboüillet*, *Baron de Ginry*, and especially the Duke of Longue-

The Catholics assemble themselves to consult about the future King.

but many others argued on the contrary side, that they ought to observe divine, before humane Laws ; and that the health of the soul was always to precede transitory worldly things ; that the respect of Religion in the succession of Kings was ancient : for that depends upon the law of Nature, and this



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this upon the particular Constitutions and positive Right of Nations: that the example of England was very neer and remarkable, where the Prince's alteration of Religion, caused the destruction of the Catholikes, and the alienation of the whole Kingdom from the Apostolike Sea: That the miseries of Wars, and the calamities they bring along with them, might be ended in a short time; but the danger of losing their faith and souls, extended it self to their children, and grand-children, and to their whole posterity for ever, which would receive an eternal losse and prejudice by their present connivence: That it was true, Princes were to be born with, though wicked, and of a different Religion; but that was meant by such as were already placed and established in the Throne, not of such as were to be received and established anew: That the King of Navar had by many means, with a thousand intreaties, and redoubled reasons, been perswaded by the States-General, and by the earnest desire of the late King, to change his Religion, and yet could never be drawn from Calvinism: and if he would not leave it in his extreme necessity, it was not to be hoped that he would do it in the prosperity of fortune: That what was said of his nature and qualities, were very true; but that he was so exceedingly affected to his Religion, that he would think he did well in forcing mens consciences: and though he had not a tyrannical mind, yet one of a different nature might perchance succeed him: That at that present it was fit to foresee the future, and not to alienate a most Christian Kingdom from its obedience to the Pope, and from the fellowship of the Church of God. This argument was held by Monsieur d'O, the *Sieur de Manuy* his brother, Monsieur d'Entragues, *Dompierre* the Field-Marshal, and the greater number of the Assembly.

Between these two contrary opinions arose a third, and were in the middle of the balance, held by the *Mareschal de Biron*, the Duke of Luxembourg, the Duke of Espernon, and the wisest among them, That the King of Navar should be declared King of France, and that they should serve and uphold him in that quality; but upon assurance that he would change his Religion, and embrace and maintain the Roman Catholike Faith: and this motion was drawn from the Wisdom and prudence of their dead King, who at his death had declared him lawful Successour, but had also at the same time a

The Catholikes resolve to declare the King of Navar King of France, upon assurance that he would change his Religion.

monist

ished him, that he should never be King in peace, if he  
 embraced not the Roman Religion. 1589

his resolution was in a manner generally followed, and  
 was given to those that had proposed it to let the King  
 stand, with all modestie, what they had determined.

The Duke of Luxembourg accompanied with the rest, carried  
 Message, and told him that the Princes, Lords and Officers  
 the Crown, together with the Catholike Nobility that was  
 the Army, which were the greatest and best part of the  
 dom, were ready to acknowledge him King of France,  
 ve and maintain him against every one, since God and  
 the had called him to the Crown by a lawful Succession:  
 withal they besought him, that for the general content-  
 and reasonable satisfaction of all his Subjects, for the  
 peace and tranquillity of his Kingdom, for the honour  
 own Person, and for that which became the Title of a  
 Christian King, he would be pleased to turn to the Catho-  
 Religion, and to come again into the bosome of the holy  
 ch, to take away the pretences of his enemies, and the  
 pes of conscience of his servants, to the end that he might  
 ved, obeyed and honoured with the universal applause of  
 all: That his Majestie would not think this their propo-  
 and most humble supplication strange; for it would ap-  
 much more strange to their consciences, and to the whole  
 itian world, that one should be established King of France  
 was no Catholike, as all his glorious Predecessours had  
 from Clovis the first King that received Baptism.

The Duke of  
 Luxembourg  
 delivers the  
 resolution of  
 the Catholike  
 Lords in the  
 Camp to the  
 King of Na-  
 var.

The King, though he was much troubled and perplexed in  
 e, yet either preferring his Religion before the Crown,  
 knowing that by pleasing his new Catholike Subjects he  
 d displease the Hugonots his old adherents, took also  
 middle way, and answered, That he returned thanks with  
 et sincere French heart to the Nobility, for their acknow-  
 ment of his Right: That he knew them to be the prin-  
 member of the Crown, the foundation of the Kingdom  
 ie of War, and the establishment of his Scepter: That  
 embraced them all with tenderesse of heart, being ready to  
 ce their duty and fidelity both in publike and in particu-  
 but desired they would not think it strange, if he did not  
 instantly satisfy their first requests, because the quality of  
 ting demanded, required a convenient time of advice, and

The King  
 thanks the Ca-  
 tholikes, and  
 his Answer  
 about chang-  
 ing his Reli-  
 gion.



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the ripenessse of a grounded resolution : That he set a great value upon his soul and conscience, then upon all earthly greatnesse : That he had been brought up and instructed in that Religion, which yet he held to be the true one ; but notwithstanding he would not therefore be stubborn and obstinate. That he was ready to submit himself either to a General National Council, and to the Instructions which without violating the Truth, should be given him by learned conscientious persons : But that these were motives which proceeded from God, effects of the maturity of time, and which ought to be laboured for in peace and tranquillity, and not amidst the noise of Arms and War, and with a dagger at a man's throat. That he had a firm resolution to endeavour the satisfaction of his Subjects, and the contentment of his Kingdom ; but that a conjuncture was not proper to put his good desires in effect, lest his action and declaration should seem feigned and counterfeit, and extorted by force, or else perswaded by worldly interests : Wherefore he intreated them to stay till a favourable opportunity ; and if in the mean time they desired any condition or security for the maintenance of the Catholike Religion in the same condition it was at that present, he was ready to give them all the satisfaction they could wish for.

With this Answer the Deputies returned to the rest of the Catholikes assembled in the *Hostel de Gondi* ; and the King with his most intimate friends retired likewise to consult. *Sieur de la Noüe*, a man of great experience in worldly affairs, though he were a Hugonot, told the King freely, that he would never think to be King of France, if he turned not Catholike ; but that he should endeavour to do it with his reputation, and without doing injury to those who had long supported and upheld him. On the other side, *du Plessis Mornay* the Ministers stood for liberty of conscience, and the Cause of God, against earthly greatnesse ; and magnifying the Fortunes of their party, told him, that they who had so many yeeres defended and preserved him, would also be sufficient to establish him in the Kingdom. The King knew that these were swayed by their own interests, and joyning in opinion with *Monsieur de la Noüe*, resolved within himself to turn Catholike ; but as a generous and magnanimous Prince, would not seem to do it out of ambition, or constraint ; and he believed the Proposition he had made to the Catholikes to be very reasonable.

The *Sieur de la Noüe* a Hugonot, tells the King, that he must never think to be King of France, if he turn not Catholike.

able; so that he was determined to continue that resolution, adding onely the prefixed limits and circumstances of

God seemed miraculously to inspire the same thought to the Catholick party; for though many of them, and particularly some Prelats that were in the Camp, did oppose yet the greater part kindled with a just indignation for the King's death, could not hear of any agreement or accommodation with the League: wherefore it was at last concluded, that the King taking a prefixed time for his condition, should secure the state of the Catholick Religion, that upon those terms they would receive and follow

The Deputies having carryed this resolution, and treated long time with the King and his Councillors, at last a Writing was mutually agreed on between both parties, where the Catholick Princes, Lords, Officers of the Crown, Nobility and Souldiery on the one side acknowledged *Henry of Bourbon* to be their lawfull Prince, and took an Oath of fidelity to him as King of France, promising him due obedience, and to serve and uphold him against every one: And on the other side, He swore and promised upon the word of God to make himself be instructed within six months in the Catholick Religion, by an Assembly of conspicuous persons; and if need were, to call a Nationall Council, to the Decrees of which he would humbly submit himself; and in the mean time promised to maintain the same Roman-Catholick-Apostolick Religion inviolate, not to innovate or change any thing in it, of what kind soever, but to protect, defend, and execute it with all his power; to dispose of Ecclesiasticall Benefices and Revenues (in the manner observed by the Kings predecessors) to fit, sufficient persons, and of the same Religion; to cause the use of it, and the ceremonies thereof to be publick and principall in all places under his jurisdiction, which had established in the Agreement made with the late King in the month of April last past; that he would put no officers nor Governours but such as were Catholicks in those towns which were under his obedience, nor in those which were to come should submit themselves unto him, or be taken; except onely those places which had been already granted to the Hugonots; that he would admit none

The Catholicks of the Camp swear fidelity to the King by a Writing signed & established, & the King swears to the maintenance of the Catholick Religion by the same Writing.



1589 to any Dignities, Offices of the Crown, or Magistracies whatsoever, but such persons as publickly professed the Catholick Religion; that he would conserve and maintain the Privileges, Peers of France, Ministers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities, and Corporations, and the three States of France in their wonted Beings, Priviledges, Immunities, Prerogatives, Offices, Places, and Magistracies, without any prejudice or innovation whatsoever; that he would endeavour to take the just and fitting revenge for that parricide committed upon the person of King *Henry* the Third, by severe exemplary punishment, and the destruction and extirpation of disobedience and rebellion: finally, that he permitted his Catholick Subjects to send an Ambassador to the Pope, to inform him of the reasons why they had acknowledged him, and sworn fidelity unto him, and to sue for and obtain those things of the Apostolick See, which they should think convenient for the universall good of the Kingdom.

Upon the fourth day of August this Writing was signed by the King on the one part, and on the other by most of the Nobles that were present in the Camp; and was afterward authorized and registerd in the Parliament of Tours, according to the form which was wont to be observed by those Courts in the times of former Kings. Thus the necessity of present affairs, and the fresh passion for the King's death, settled this commodation, which at another time would certainly not have been composed.

The Duke of Espernon standing upon precedence, will not signe the Writing, but departs from Court.

Yet was not this Agreement able to retain every body for the Duke of Espernon, who under colour of contentions for precedency with the Mareschals of *Biron* and *Angoulême* had not signed the Writing, because they as Mareschals, being in the Camp, pretended to signe first, and he as Duke and Peer of France pretended the same, doubting he should be ill used by the King, and that in his present wants, he would either by intreaties or force wring some money from him (whereof he was known to have very great store) alledging that he had obtained leave from the late King to return to his Governments, departed the next day from the Army with his Troops, and with many who following the example, took that occasion to return to their own houses; and having ended his journey thorow Tourain, he passed by Loches, and came at last to Angoulême. *Jehan* Sieur de Villiers, who had been Governor

ernment of Poissy, a man very zealous in the Catholick Religion, and who in his younger yeers had been exalted by Lords of Guise, those obligations ceasing which he had the late King, gave up his Government, with the Artillery and Ammunition of the Army to *Filibert Sieur de la Guiche*, by order from the King received it, and with two hundred Horse, and many Gentlemen that followed him, retired to his own Country; and the same did many others severally. Monsieur *de Vitry* with a bolder resolution (which nevertheless was also followed by many) went over to the League without any demur, alledging that he saw no certainty at all in the Kings promises, and that he would not bear arms against the Catholick Religion in favour of the Hugonots: and the common souldiers, some out of impatience, some for want of money, some for fear of future sufferings, began of themselves to disband scatteringly in such manner, that by the tenth of August the Army was diminished above half in number, and decreased still daily. The same was feared of the wives; but the Mareschal *de Biron*, who now followed the Kings inclination more then ever, did by reasons and intreaties induce them to promise that they would follow the King in the space of two months, till they should receive new commissions from their *Cantons*; towards which, reasons and intreaties prevailed not so much, as a good sum of money, which the King borrowed of his friends and divided secretly among their Commanders: so that without demanding further pay, but living upon free quarter, they followed the King's standard and Colours very quietly. Nor were the Hugonots more firm, or better satisfied then the rest; for having conceived hopes that the King, who had been bred up, nourished, fed and maintained by them, would, now he had attained the Crown, exalt their Religion, put Offices and Dignities into the hands of his ancient Confidants, and trust more to those Forces which had made him victorious among a thousand dangers, then in the doubtful conditionall promises of the Catholicks; now they saw the contrary, accused him of ingratitude: and had it not been that they hoped he did but surprize till he were settled in his Kingdom, and that then he would do quite contrary to what he had promised (which was by him cunningly fomented in his conferences with them) they would without doubt have utterly forsaken him; and

Many Lords, & a great part of the souldiers, following the Duke of Espernon's example, leave the Camp; so that by the seventh of August the Army is decreased to half the number.



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and yet for all that opinion, very few followed him, and that unwillingly enough ; for many, because they thought themselves secure, others out of anger and discontent disbanded, and returned in great abundance to the Cities of their party.

But the King having accommodated his minde, and fitted it to the present necessity, having assumed the Name and Arms of King of France, and not being able to make new expenses, made use of the late King's household-stuff, the same people serving to mourn for his Predecessor, which he till then used for the death of his Mother ; and knowing that many mindes were yet not well settled under his obedience, and that his own weaknesse was despised of many, he by the vivacity of his wit, by the readinesse of his answers, and by the familiarity of his conversation, behaving himself rather as a companion than as a Prince, and with large promises making provision for the wants of his present condition, endeavoured to satisfie, and to win the love of every one, seeming to acknowledge the Kingdom, and the reputation of his actions sometimes to this man, sometimes to that man severally, and promising to be ready earnestly to embrace those occasions of requitall which should represent themselves : To the Hugonots he seemed to lay open, and trust his most intimate thoughts, and to acknowledge the foundation of his hopes to be in them. To the Catholicks he did very great honours, speaking with much reverence of the Pope, and the Apostolick Sea ; alwayes honouring the Ecclesiasticall Order, and shewing himself inclined to the Roman Religion, gave signes of a sudden undoubted conversion. To the common-people hee shewed himself compassionate of their miseries, and of the calamities of War ; and to the means of them excused the necessity of taking free quarter upon them for his Army, laying all the fault upon his Enemies. To the Gentry with words and gestures full of respect, he recovered the glory of true French-men, of preservers of their Country, and restorers of the Royall Family, alluring every one by these arts to follow him ; eating in publick, setting out his most private lodgings to every one, not concealing the necessity of his private condition, and proposing those things in a jesting way, which could not so well be discovered in serious Counsels.

But the Army being already reduced to so small a number, at not only the siege of Paris could not be continued, but at it was needful to provide speedily against the imminent danger which was so near (for the League since the King's death increased every moment in strength and reputation): being in private with the Marshalls of Biron and Aumont, Sieur de la Noüe, and the Duke of Montpensier, (who having quieted his conscience by the King's promise, had for interests of their common Family firmly resolved to follow him) consulted a long time what course would be least judicial to take in that present condition. And because he had no means to keep the whole Army together, which though he had been able to do, would within a few days have been inferiour to the Forces of the League; they determined that the King with the Duke of Montpensier and the Marshall de Biron should retire into the Province of Normandy; that the Marshal d'Aumont should go into Champagne, and the Duke of Longueville with Monsieur de la Noüe into Picardy to keep those Provinces faithful, and to reunite themselves when time and occasion should require.

But the King knowing the vast structure of the League, how difficult the burden of Civil War is to be born, desiring to try the hope of an agreement with the Duke of Mayenne, not being willing in any manner to be faulty to himself, to neglect any possible means of settling himself in the town; wherefore many men being come into the Camp for private interests, he made use of the occasion; and hearing one Bigot a near servant to Monsieur de Villeroy was there, caused him to be brought unto him by the Sieur de Chaſtilion and bade him to let his Master know, that he desired indirectly to speak with him, and that if he would chuse the place of interview, he should have a Safe-conduct sent him, and all necessary security.

The Sieur de Villeroy had taken part with the League, not out of anger because he was so suddenly dismissed from office, but because the Government of Lyons after the death of Monsieur de Mandelot was, contrary to the promises they had made him, given first to the Duke of Nemours, and then to Monsieur de la Guiche, putting by Alincourt his son, upon that hope had married the daughter of Mandelot: which causes of discontent he added, for a more potent excuse,

The King of Navarre raises the siege from Paris, and divides his Forces into convenient places.



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The King desires to speak with *Villeroy*, who was gone over to the League: The Duke of Mayenne will not consent to it: They treat by a third person, but nothing is concluded.

cuse, that all his Land lying within the Territories of Paris and his Court-Pension being taken from him, he knew how to maintain himself, if he joyned not with that party wherein he might enjoy the revenue of his estate. But he ever it were, *Bigot* having delivered the King's Message, not being willing to do any thing without the Duke of Mayenne's leave, told him what Message he had received from the King: but the Duke would not let *Villeroy* go to the meeting, alleadging that it could not be done so secretly but it would be generally known, and by consequence those of his party would suspect something, and fall into a jealousy: That affairs were in a very hopeful condition, and that it was not good to distrust them inconsiderately, being they might easily be crossed; therefore onely gave way that he might receive a Gentleman in his house at Paris, and treat with him, if the King would be pleased to send one for that purpose. With this Answer *Bigot* returned to the Camp; and the King not scorning any kinde of means to advance his fortune, and to let the Catholics know that he desired Peace, sent presently the *Sieur de la Marfilliere* his Cabinet-Secretary.

He not having been able to obtain leave to speak personally with the Duke of Mayenne, told the *Sieur de Villeroy* that the King had sent him expressly to assure the Duke of his inclination to consent to Peace, and to represent unto him how necessary it was for the general good: That he did very much esteem the Duke's person, and desired to make him his friend, and to have him neer him in an honourable degree of favour suitable to his condition: That the Duke ought not to lay aside his vain hopes of seeing him totally abandoned and forsaken: for all the Princes, Officers of the Crown, Lords, Gentlemen and others that were both in and out of the Army, had sworn Allegiance to him, and promised him their assistance, he having satisfied them in what concerned Religion, by a reciprocal promise made in writing, the copie whereof he left with the *Sieur de Villeroy*, to shew unto the Duke: That not onely the Hugonots, but even the Catholics of the Army themselves, were much displeased with the Duke for the King's death, and had solemnly sworn to prosecute the revenge till they were fully satisfied: That he had promised the same, and was interested in it; so that if so univocal good and benefit as the Peace of the Kingdom did not

yeeld, and also mollifie the hearts of those that were offended, he should not be able to do it afterwards, under colour of any other excuse: and that therefore the Duke should stick upon it, and embrace this occasion of regaining the affection of so many Catholikes, and so much Nobility; who, the prospect of Peace being taken away, would for ever be his bit-reconcilable enemies: finally, That he should propound Conditions; for the King was extremely disposed to favour him in whatsoever was possible. Which things being said to the Duke by Monsieur *de Villeroy*, he had commission to deliver, That the Duke had no private enmity with the King, for his own part honoured and held him in the highest veneration; but that Religion and Conscience would not suffer him to enter into that Treaty with him: That if his late brother had in the King's life-time taken Arms to hinder the Crown from falling to a Prince of a different Religion, as by the Duke of Alençon's death they doubted that it might; what the necessity was more urgent, and the danger already present, he could not lay down those Arms that were taken without doing injury to the memory of his brothers, to his own conscience, and to the solemn Oath he had taken: That he had engaged his faith and given his life to the Publike Service, when he had accepted the Office of Lieutenant-General of the State; and that having declared and acknowledged the Cardinal of Bourbon King, to whom the Kingdom had been judged to belong, he could not break his faith to him, nor solve of any thing till the said Cardinal were at liberty: and all those of his party assembled together: That if the King's death had made him so many enemies, he hoped God would defend his innocence; but his contentment was so great at the death of his brothers revenged, that he was very willing to undergo all the hatred he had gotten by it: That he ought not nor could not give counsel to that King against whom he had taken up Arms: but he might easily know, that the liberty of the Cardinal of Bourbon, and his conversion, were necessary to precede the Treaty. With these general words *la Marfilliere* returned to the King, at the time when because he was able to stay no longer, he raised his Camp from *Blad* and the Towns adjacent.

His resolutions after the King's death had been no less painful and perplexed in Paris, then they had been in the



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Madame de  
Montpensier  
and others, ex-  
hort the Duke  
of Mayenne to  
make himself  
be declared  
King of France

King's Camp : for the Duke of Mayenne's friends and kindred especially Madame de Montpensier, exhorted and counselled him to make himself be elected and declared King of France by the party which he commanded ; urging to him that he ought not to omit that so great, so opportune occasion of transferring the Crown into his Family, which had formerly been possessed by his ancestours, he being already acknowledged the Head, and obeyed by the principal Cities of the Kingdom, by so great a number of the Nobility, and by the greater part of the Clergie : They said the Controversie was between him already acknowledged and obeyed by those of his party and a Prince of a different Religion, whose Inheritance might with reason be called in question, both because of the distance of degrees, and of his being an enemy to the Church ; so which considerations he would never be sincerely loved, nor firmly obeyed, by those very Catholikes that seemed to adhere unto his party : That indeed now at first they had, out of affection for the King's death, been perswaded to follow him ; but the Catholikes and Hugonots being incompatible among themselves, it would not be long before the memory of former hatreds would be renewed, by which their blood being once set on fire, they would quickly be separated and divided by the interests of conscience, and their own natural enmities : That it was necessary to provide a manly, warlike, and Catholic like King, to whom they might securely run, as from time to time they should grow discontented, finding their errour, and leaving that party : That the Cardinal of Bourbon, decrepit with old age, and kept in prison, was in neither of those conditions fit for that businesse : That the Duke would be accused of want of courage, if he should be faulty to himself in so fair an occasion : for they are poor spirited men, that count an excesse of moderation a vertue ; whereas men of a noble minde, love and favour bold generous designs : That there was both honour and profit in it, nay also possibility and convenience ; and that the Duke could neither be excused to himself, nor to his posterity, if he neglected that good which was so miraculously presented to him : They urged, that to declare the Cardinal of Bourbon King, was the true way to establish the King of Navar in the possession of the Crown ; for so they confessed the Kingdom to belong to the House of Bourbon ; and the Cardinal dying, who was already in the

minutes of his life, the lawfull Succession could not afterwards be denied to his Nephew ; and though the pretence of Religion remained, that was an objection which he would be able to take away at his pleasure by turning Catholick, and receiving one Masse ; and though he should persevere in his Religion, yet the other Princes of that House who were Catholics would succeed, and suffer no opposition ; that it was to oppose the very first point, and assume unto himself which he inconsiderately went about to confer upon another : that now the opportunity was ready and easie, which might chance within a few dayes would not be so ; for the King of Navar had promised to turn Catholick within six months, in the mean time it was possible his Nephew the Duke of Guise might be set at liberty, who being heir of the Family might perchance oppose his Greatnesse, his own interests giving more power with him then the respect which was due to his Uncle's age and many labours : that it was needfull to undertake boldly, and suddenly, before the King of Spain, the Pope, the Duke of Lorraine, and Duke of Savoy had time to think, and lay their plots to turn the course of affairs their own way ; for he being once elected and declared, they could be necessitated rather to maintain him, then take part with the King of Navar, a Heretick, and an enemy to Spain ; for Navar, to the Pope for Religion, to the Duke of Lorraine for the Duke of Bouillon's lands possessed by him, and to the Duke of Savoy for the protection of Geneva, and for the Marquesat of Saluzzo ; finally, they argued, that since the dangers were certain, and that he was to bear the weight of them, it was much better to undergo labour and hazard for his own interests and greatnesse, then to promote the elevation of another, and to uphold a frail, weak, imprisoned, unknown Prince, from whom he was not certain to obtain anything.

This specious counsel favoured by self-love, was opposed by Villeroy and president Jannin, with whom the Duke consulted about all things ; not that they did alledge against either Right or Justice (things of very small consideration when the debate is about a Kingdom) but onely urging the impossibility : That the Parisians, the people, and Cities of his part were terrified with the late businesses, having seen the Duke so few dayes before brought to the last extre-

The Duke of Mayenne dissuaded by Villeroy & others, doth not embrace the counsel of making himself to be elected King of France.



1589 mities, and looking desperately with them for his own destruction: That they had lost much of the opinion they had, and were not now so ardent as they were at first in the cause of the *Union*: That they desired to have a Prince powerful in men and money, that might be able to defend them, and secure them from the King of Navar and his party; and therefore they had turned their eyes, some upon the Duke of Savoy, some upon the Duke of Lorain, many upon the King of Spain himself; nor did any thing else withhold them but the right and justice of the Cardinall of Bourbon, esteemed a lawfull Successor (for these considerations move, and are able to do much more among the common people then in the mindes of the great Ones); which respect being taken away, there was not like to be any who would not rather chuse to obey a King of Spain, held so potent a Monarch, and that had so many wayes to gratifie and reward his Subjects, then a poor Duke of Mayenne, who had no other strength then what the *Union* of those Forces afforded who had elected him their Head; with what force, with what moneys, with what armies would he maintain the Crown against the King of Navar, and the greatest part of the Nobility united with him, with those of the King of Spain, of the Pope, of Savoy, or of the Duke of Lorain? The House of Bourbon being excluded, there was none of them but pretended better right to the Crown then he; for the *Infanta* of Spain was Daughter to a Sister of the deceased King, the Duke of Savoy Son to one of his Aunts, the Duke of Lorain was Head of the Family, and had Sons by another Daughter of France; and the Pope, if he were moved by zeal to Religion, ought to be more pleased, by how much a more powerfull Prince it had to defend it; and if he were moved by interests, he might hope for much more from any of those other Princes, then from the weaknesse of the Duke of Mayenne; That an enterprize was not to be undertaken which was neither generous, favorable, nor magnanimous, but rash, precipitate, and dishonourable, which together with the losse of his fortune, would cost him also his life.

This counsel prevailed with the Duke of Mayenne, as also for these considerations, as for two other reasons; one was *Don Bernardino de Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassadour lived in a manner openly contradict his election; wherefore by

on of the Authority and Forces of the Catholick King, he thought it would be impossible to effect that which he should tempt against his will: the other, that if it should be discovered that he suffered himself to be swayed by his own interest, and not by the respects of Religion, and the generall good, he feared he should be forsaken by the Pope, and all Confederates, and particularly by the Parisians: For which reasons he chose rather to expect the maturity of time, and in the interim to cause the Cardinall of Bourbon to be declared King, towards whom he saw the common inclination, and leaving the Name and Arms of King to him that was old, weak, and which imported most, a prisoner; to have the force and authority of Government in his own hand, being certain, that by how much the more favourably he should be nominated and elected by the League, by so much the more closely and warily would he be kept and guarded the King of Navar; and by consequence, so much the longer would the supreme authority remain in him; in which case either by his death, or some other occasion, and perhaps with the help of Victory, more easie and expedite opportunities might offer themselves; hope in the mean time serving to keep on the other pretenders, whose assistance would either be quite taken away, or very much cooled, if they should see the place possessed at the very first, which they were plotting to procure for themselves.

Thus the Duke preventing the people's desire, and the success of the *Union*, was the first that declared the Cardinal of Bourbon King of France, with the Name of *Charles the Tenth*, and so caused him to be declared in the Parliament, the Councill of the *Union*, and to be proclaimed in the streets of Paris, retaining to himself the name and authority of Lieutenant-General through the whole Kingdom. This Declaration was pleasing and plausible to the people, who were already well settled and confirmed to continue the War, as they said, for the liberty of their King, and to root out the dangerous seed of Heresie; it was well approved of by the Lords, who desired to gain time to dispose of their affairs; but above all, it was a great satisfaction to the Pope, who at the same point saw both the lawfull Succession safe, and the elevation of Religion.

The Cardinal of Bourbon being declared the lawfull King by

The Cardinall of Bourbon, who was prisoner at Chinon, is declared and confirmed King of France by the League, and called Charles the X.



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by the Councell of the *Union*, the Duke of Mayenne issued a lofty Ediēt, full of high words, exhorted every one to acknowledge that King which God had given unto the Kingdom to yeeld him due obedience, and to endeavour with all might to free him from that imprisonment in which he was detained by his Enemies; he commanded that every one should tye himself by oath before the Officers of his Province to live and die in the Catholick Religion, and to defend, protect, and confirm it; and pardoned all those who within the term of fifteen days should separate themselves from communion with the Hugonots, and retire into those places where the Catholick *Union* commanded: Which Ediēt, as soon as it was registered and published in the Parliament, he dispatched the *Commendatory de Din* to Rome again (who had brought the *Monitory* against the late King) to inform the Pope of the state of Affairs, giving him notice, that King *Charles Tenth* was declared, and intreating him to assist the cause of Religion, not onely by his approbation, but also by supplies of men and money. Into Spain he onely dispatched a great many severall expressees, with particular news of the whole businesse, deferring to send any persons of quality till he had conferred with *Don Juan de Morrea*, who had been sent by King *Philip* before the King's death, he had been in Lorain: for the Catholick King, though he had not been willing openly to declare himself enemy to King *Henry* the Third, to whom he in appearance bore respect for many reasons; yet as from the beginning had laid the foundation of the League, and helped & strengthened the Duke of Guise, with great summs of money after his death, he had caused *Mendozza* his Ambassadour to stay in Paris, and there under colour of favouring Religion cunningly to be present at all businessees, who by his arts and money had so won the hearts of the Parisians, that he had much power amongst them, as the Princes of the House of Lorain; and though the Catholick King did never send any supplies of armed men openly to the League while the King lived, yet he permitted that Count *Jago de Collalto* (who had raised a *Tertia* of German Infantry for his service, and was paid by him) should under shew of friendship to the Duke of Mayenne, go to serve him; and had by his authority, and partly with moneys, assisted the levies of Swi

Germans, which the Duke of Brunswick, Count *Charles Mansfelt*, and the *Sieur de Bassompierre*, had made in favour the League. But now the King's death had taken away scruple, and that so honourable a pretence of assisting Catholikes against an Heretick excommunicated King, contented it self, the Duke of Mayenne hoped he would turn his Forces to assist the League, and therefore he stayed, to his minde more particularly from the mouth of *Don de Morrea*, and then he meant to send some person of authority, to establish the agreement of common affairs.

But the King having heard of the Declaration which had been made at Paris, and received in other places of the League, concerning the Cardinal his Uncle, the first thing that came into his minde, was (just as the Duke of Mayenne had imagined) to dispatch his Confident *du Plessis-Mornay* to Chinon where the Cardinal was, and gave order that he should be removed to Fontenay, and there kept more carefully, with fewer Guards, thinking that place more secure, because it was nearer Rochelle, and environed on all sides with the Hugonot Forces. The second thing was to sollicite the Catholikes who had acknowledged him, to send the Embassie already resolved on to Rome, to begin to enter into a Treaty with the Pope, and to see if it was possible to satisfy him: Whereupon the Catholike Lords desiring that their Embassie might have authority, both by the Birth and Wisdom of the person employed, chose the Duke of *Luxembourg*, a man of most noble blood, of singular parts, and great experience in the Affairs of the Court. The Embassie to the Pope being dispatched, the King, desirous to shew that he remembered what he had promised to the Catholikes, caused the Assembly of the States to be appointed in October following at the City of Tours, which (the Parliament and Court of Exchequer sitting there) was made the Metropolis of his Party. There he made shew to the Catholikes, that in the Congregation of the States he would be instructed in the Roman Religion by learned pious men, whom he had sent for from all parts; and with words and demonstrations professed that he would submit himself to what should be determined in the Assembly: Although the Hugonots affirm that he told them otherwise in secret; which was not much to be wondered at in the doubtful case of his present condition. These things being dispatched,

*Charles the 10*  
taken out of  
Chinon, and  
removed to  
Fontenay a  
stronger place,  
where he is  
kept with  
stricter guards.

The Duke of  
*Luxembourg*  
is sent Amba-  
sadour to the  
Pope by the  
Catholike  
Royallists.

The King ap-  
points the As-  
sembly of the  
States at  
Tours, which  
is made the  
Head-quarter  
of his party.



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The body of  
Henry the third  
is laid in the  
great Church  
at Compeigne.

patched, all necessary and fundamental to the establishing his Kingdom, not to stay for the whole Army of the League which was to follow him within a few days, he marched wards *Compeigne*, taking with him the King's dead body; and having by the way taken *Menlan*, *Gisfort*, and *Clermont*, arrived there upon the four and twentieth of August: and there having laid the body in the great Church, with very little pomp, and such as the necessity of the times would permit, he went towards Normandy with all possible speed.

At his entering into that Province, as it were for a prosperous beginning of good fortune, Captain *Rolet* came to him, a man no lesse valiant then discreet, who held *Pont de l'Arche* a most important place, three leagues above *Roüen*, and as it were the Key of the River *Seine*; and taking the Oath of Allegiance, delivered up the Fortresse into his hands. Being come into the Province, the King in three days march came to *Darnetal*, a Town lesse then two leagues distant from *Roüen*, and there having incamped his Army, he resolved to make as if he meant to besiege that City, in which the Duke of Aumale and Count *de Brissac* were; not that he thought he had either strength or preparations sufficient to take it, but to shew a resolute minde, and a good courage, and to amaze the enemy, till he had disposed what he intended to do: wherefore the Army being encamped, and the Mills which were without the Works being burnt; whilst there passed frequent skirmishes with the Garison, the King having left the care of the Army to the Duke of Montpensier and the Mareschal de *Biron*, went speedily with three hundred Horse as far as *Diepe*, which City, governed by the *Commendatory de Chattes*, had acknowledged him. When the King had carefully considered the City of *Diepe*, the Haven of it (very capacious, upon the shore of the Ocean) and the Country that lay neere about it, he resolved to remove thither with all his Forces, and there to sustain the first violence of the Army of the League; being perswaded to this resolution, because the Town is seated upon the Sea, right over against England, with a sufficient Labour to receive any Fleet, how numerous soever; by which means he might have supplies of Men, Money, Cannon, and Ammunition from Queen *Elizabeth*: and in case he should be so straightned by the enemies, as to see himself not able to resist, he might go away for England, to return afterwards, not

at Rochelle, or in what other place he should think fit. He was the more confirmed in this determination, by the strength of the City, and the Castle of it; by the largeness of the Suburbs, fit to quarter his men; by the strong situation of the passages about it, which was such, as every place might be defended span by span; so that they could not, without a long time, and much fighting, be reduced within the circuit of the wall. For all these reasons, he presently dispatched *Philipper du Fresne* unto the Queen of England; (to whom he had formerly been sent by the late King, and was returned about that very time) to let her know his necessities, and to desire her assistance of Men and Money: And having made the most important Expedition with most exquisite diligence, he joined his Horse to the Garison of *Diepe*, and took *En* and *Chastel*, but weak Towns, yet not far off, that he might take away all neer impediments: and having purged the Country carefully on all sides, he returned to the Army at *Darne*, to bring it with a commodious march to quarter at *Diepe*. He marched from *Darnetal* the second of September with six thousand and four hundred Horse, two Regiments of Rifles, which amounted to the number of three thousand, and three thousand French Muskettiers; to so small a number were his Forces reduced since the King's death. There went with him the Duke of Montpensier, who led the Van; the Count *d'Auvergne* Grand Prior (anger for the King's death, and desire of revenge, having made him forget all former disgusts); *Armand* Mareschal de *Byron*, who had the chief authority in the Government; his son *Charles* Baron *Biron*; *Charles* of Montmorancy Seigneur de *Meru*, or, they called him, Lord *d'Anville*, who commanded the Swiss; *Monsieur de Chastillon*, General of the French Infantry; *Monsieur de Reux* Field-Marshal; *Monsieur de Baqueville*, who commanded the Light-horse; the Sieurs *de Rembures*, *de Aubant*, *de Mignoville*, *de Guitry*, *du Hallot*, and *de la Force*; and other Lords and Gentlemen, according to the first resolution, being gone into several parts of the Kingdom. With these Commanders, and with this Army, the King being come to *Diepe*, gave order that the *Commendatory de Chattes* should continue in the City, and in his wonted Command of the Citadel, with the ordinary Garison of two hundred Souldiers, and two Companies of French Infantry extraordinary;

The King's Army is reduced to but 6000 Foot and 1400 Horse; yet he marches with good success as far as *Diepe*.

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which



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which made in all the number of five hundred Foot ; and he with the whole Army resolved to keep possession of the field.

The situation  
of Diepe de-  
scribed.

The City of Diepe (as hath been said before) is situated upon the shore of the Ocean Sea just over against England and hath a Port on the right side, which extending it self like a Half-moon, is able to contain a great many Vessels with great security ; and on the left hand stands the Cittadel, which being of a four square form, and seated something high, doth with four great Towers scowre the field on one side, and in the other masters and commands the Town. The seat of this City is strong and advantageous : for on the side toward the Sea it is fortified with Flankers, Ravelines, and Platforms, besides the so powerful defence of the water ; and on the side toward the Land, the Country is so rough, that Armies cannot be brought thither without much difficulty, nor Canon without much more ; and the manner of the way round about, affords an infinite number of convenient obstacles for defence ; for it lies between two steep, uneven, woody hills, which from the bank of the Sea shoot out many miles into the Countrey ; and between these two lies a narrow valley, thorow which runs the River *Bethune*, which dividing the great *Bourg* called *Pollet*, falls into the Haven, and thence consequently straight into the Sea. By this River the Sea-waters entering when it is high tyde, do spread themselves for many miles over the valley, making it so fenny, deep and dirty, that there is no passing to the City along the Plain, but onely upon the two hills, and by another way which, made by art, leads along the foot of the hill on the left hand, and with many turnings and windings comes to the gate of the Town ; so that onely two ways lead to the City ; one upon the top, the other at the bottom of the hill on the left hand : and the way which is upon the top of the hill on the right hand, leads straight to *Pollet*, which *Bourg* is divided from the City by the interposition of the Haven, and the current of the small River *Bethune*. The Countrey from one hill to the other, is all moorish and rotten by the standing of the waters ; and there is no passage, but onely by a very narrow way, interrupted by many Bridges, because the River divides it self into many streams : upon the hill on the left side, which is no lesse steep and craggy then the other, stands the Castle of *Arques*, little more then a league from the Town,

Tow,

own, a place excellently fortified both by art and nature; which commands a great *Bourg* of the same name, that lies under it, just upon the way which at the foot of the mountain leads to Diepe along the bank of the River: The right hand hill, which is much more woody then the other, doth not run equally united in one ridge, as that on the left hand doth, but about a league from Pollet, is parted by a great valley, which extends it self as far as over against Arques; and in it on the right hand is *Martinglise* a great commodious Village; and on the left an Hospital of *S. Lazarus*, which the French commonly call a *Maladerie*.

The King having with his Commanders diligently surveyed every one of these places, resolved to quarter with all his Army at *Arques*; believing that if the Duke of Mayenne followed him, he would not passe along the hill on the right hand, which leads onely to *Pollet* thorow the valley and the wood, but would keep the straight way that goes to the walls of *Diepe*: Wherefore the whole Army working speedily, and likewise those few peasants which could be got together, he beset the *Castle* and *Bourg* with a good Trench of about eight foot wide, and as much in depth, making Works on the inside with all the earth, and distinguishing it with Rebatoys and Ravelines, about sixty paces distant from each other; and then having placed his Canon to the best advantage, he himself lodged in the Castle with all the French Nobles, and the *Mareschal de Biron* in the *Bourg* with the Regiments of the Swisles, shutting up in that manner both the ways which lead toward the Town, as well that at the top, as the other at the bottom of the hill. The Horse, quartered in that space which reached from the Trenches as far as *Diepe*, lay ready behinde the Army to move where need should require, there being left room enough, in fitting places of the Trench, to rally out conveniently fifty Horse in front, a sufficient Body for any action they should undertake. Many ships were appointed at *Diepe* to fetch Victual for the Army from *England*, and the coasts of *Normandy*, from *Caën*, *S. Lo*, and *Arantan*, places which held for the King; which succeeded most happily well: for some windes brought in Barks from *England*, others those that came from *Normandy*, supplying with interchangeable assistance the necessities of the Souldiers, who in that convenient season of the yeer had also many

The King lies with his Army, and fortifies the quarters about Diepe, possessing all places of advantage.



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miles of a most fertill Country in their power ; by the fruits whereof both Horse and Foot were plentifully furnished.

In the mean time the Duke of Mayenne having received the Marquess *du Pont*, who was come with the Army of Lorraine to assist the League, and likewise the Duke of Nemours who had brought up the Forces of *Lyonoise*, Monsieur de *Lagny* Governour of Cambray, and finally the German Horse and Foot which had been levied by his order, with the help of Spain ; that he might preserve his reputation, and fulfill the infinite hopes he had to conquer, and drive the King out of the Kingdom, was moved from Paris upon the first day of September, and with six thousand Swisses, four thousand German Foot, twelve thousand Musketers between French and Lorrainers, and with four thousand and five hundred Horse received *Poissy*, *Mante*, and *Vernon*, which yielded to him, and having in two dayes taken *Gournay*, which would have made resistance, marched on diligently towards *Roüen*, where finding the King departed, he took along with him the Duke of Aumale, and so increasing his Forces, which augmented every hour, continued on his voyage with the same speed towards *Diepe* ; but he took a different way from what the King and his Commanders thought he would ; for leaving that hill on the left hand which goes to *Diepe* by the way of Arques, and upon which he knew the Army was prepared to make opposition, being excellently quartered in places of advantage ; he marched on by the hill on the right hand, with a designe to come to *Pollet*, and making himself master of it, to block up and command the mouth of the Haven, that the King being deprived of the use of shipping, and cut off from his passage to the sea, might not onely want the assistance he hoped to receive from England, but also be reduced to extreme necessity of victuall, thinking he should this way very easily conquer, and make an end of the War.

But the King, to whom the *Sieur de Baqueville*, who had the care of discovering the motion of the Enemy, had brought word in time, that the Duke of Mayenne had taken the way toward the hill on the right hand ; perceiving his aim, and desiring to prevent it, left the Mareschall *de Byron* at Arques with the Swisses, besides a thousand Musketers, and six hundred Horse ; not onely that he might hinder the passage of the Enemy on that side, as had been the first intention ;

that passing crosse the valley, he might advance to the foot of the right-hand hill, and there draw a line about the *Mala-* and then make another great trench toward the bottom, cut up the Duke's passage on that side also by a double im- ment, to the end that he might not be able to get over to left-hand hill; which if he could do, he might either as- the Army in their works, or else putting himself be- n, might streighten it, and separate it from the Town. being thus taken for matters without, the King with the of the Cavalry, and the remainder of the French Muske- went presently thorow the City to Pollet, where with tuall labour day and night, the Lords and Commanders ing no lesse pains then the common souldiers and inhabi- of the place, he environed the whole Bourg with a deep n, which ending in the form of a spur, made a sharp e in the point whereof a great Mil was made into a Fort, n it up with earth, and setting pallisadoes round about; nt having planted six pieces of Canon, though but small s upon the works, he brought all his men to lie within that cation.

The Duke of Mayenne, who by reason of the hindrance is Artillery, and the difficulty of the steep rugged wayes, een fain to march slowly, arrived upon Wednesday the tenth of September within sight of Pollet, and having w his Army into Battalia, made a stand for three hours, eing that the King would come forth of his trenches to t and in the mean time, caused his light-Horse to scowr ountry every-where, being led on the one side by the k of Nemours, and on the other by the Count *de Sagone*. te King finding himself without comparifon inferiour Eces (for his Souldiers were few more then seven thou- d, counting also those that were at Arques; and the Dukes m was between eight and twenty and thirty thousand f and Foot, and was furnished with great store of Am- nion, and an excellent train of Artillery) keeping within wrks, consented onely that the light-Horse commanded th *Grand-Prior* should go out, and after them the *Sieur Lachant's*, and *Monsieur de la Force's* Troops of Lanciers, mae good their retreat if need were. They skirmished all e time that the Army of the League stood still, and some- es the service grew so hot, that the ignorant thought often

the

The Duke of Mayenne being come before the Kings trenches, draws his Army in battalia; but the Kings souldiers coming out onely to skirmish, no battell followeth.



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the Commanders would put it to a Battell ; in which enters the Kings party prevailing for the most part, there was very little hurt done on either side. But the Duke of Ma knowing the King would not venture the hazard of unlesse he were forced, and then with the advantage of works and trenches, retiring over the hill, quartered his at *Martinglife* ; and having caused *Pollet* to be viewed at night, and found that it was excellently fortified, and in manner inaccessible on all sides, by reason it commanded the Plain, and that it was flanked and fortified by the Cannon of the Town, resolved not to attempt it, but to passe over the hill on the left side, to try either to take the Castle of *Arques*, and besiege the Kings Army ; or else to draw out to battell in the defence of their posts ; for he was so confident of the valour and number of his men, that if he could not do it otherwise, he feared not to assault the King even in the advantage of his own trenches.

In the mean time the Mareschal *de Byron* had possessed himself of the *Maladery* ; and as soon as he had with industry and diligence cast a great trench round about it, he placed there twelve Companies of Swisses, and three hundred French Musketeers, and not trusting wholly to that, had made up another high work within lesse then five hundred paces below the first, into which he put the Swisses of the Kings guard under Colonel *Galati*.

The Duke having given three dayes rest unto his Army upon the sixteenth day at night marched with all his Army in battalia without noise of either drum or trumpet, and turning his back toward *Pollet*, passed beyond the Kings trenches and appeared about break of day upon the descent of the hill that goes down into the Plain, purposing to passe the bridges unawares, and to get up without opposition on the left side ; but he found himself prevented by the King's vigilancy, who being come in the evening silently to *Arques*, and having intelligence of his moving many hours before it was day, had disposed his Forces in exceeding good order ; some at the entry of the bridges, where the *Grand Prior* was with his Horse, and the Lanciers of the *Sieur Larchant*, and Monsieur *de la Force* ; some in the middle of the Plain, where the French Infantry was incompassed with the bogs and pools made by the Rivers ; some in the lower way of the hill on the left

the Duke of Montpensier was with the Nobility, and the companies of *Rambures*, *Hallot*, and *Mignoville*; and some in the ascent of the same way where the *Mareschal de Biron* with a Squadron of Swisses flanked with Muskettiers. Theillery of *Arques* was all levelled to secure the Plain; and having turned his back to the *Maladerie*, and his face to the enemy, did with his Swisse Muskettiers play from second Trench, and annoyed that very descent by which Army of the League was to come down.

The Duke thought that defence ordered with so good consequence, that not to fight at the same time with such a disadvantage of place, and with an Army which he saw standing firm in ranks most ready for the Battel, took a resolution to retreat, and by experience found it was impossible to passe the Trench, and to get up the hill on the left side, unlesse he first cleared the Kings two Trenches, which from a high place commanded all the descent, and all the Plain: Wherefore returning to his quarters at *Martinglise*, he made his men skirmish sometimes toward Pollet, sometimes toward the Trench, to keep the King uncertain on which side he was resolved to fall: and finally, upon the one and twentieth day in the morning, which was the Feast of *S<sup>t</sup> Matthew* the Apostle, being resolved to try his fortune, he commanded the Count *Rein*, one of the Field-Marshals, to go straight to attack the *Maladerie*, and begin the Battel there, with Count *Jago de* his Regiment of Germans, and the Foot-Regiments *Temblecourt* and *Chastaigneraye*; he having brought on him a thorough a covert woody way, but exceeding troublesome within shot of the great Trench; the Germans wearied in their march, and the unevenness of the way, and knowing the assault, by reason of the height of the Work, would be difficult, resolved to advantage their designe by art (if it may be so called): wherefore holding up their hats on the tops of their Pikes, and stretching forth their hands, made signes that their intention was to come over to the Kings party, and not to storm or assault that Work: which being easily believed, because a rumour was spread abroad, being unsatisfied with the Duke, they sought an occasion to revolt, they came till they were just under the Work, without being either shot at or resisted: Being arrived there, and uttering that with their words, which they had signified by their

The Germans of the League make signes of coming over to the Kings party, are received by them at the *Maladerie*; but being entered, fall hostily upon them that had brought them in, and make themselves masters of the place.



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their actions, they were by the Souldiers of the same N on pulled up by the hand, and helped to get upon the para where they were no sooner gotten up, but charging Pikes, and turning their shorter weapons against the Fr and Swisses, they began to fall unexpectedly upon them; using neither Muskets nor Fire-locks, because they had not by them; but seeing themselves suddenly assaulted, they said betrayed and murdered, turned their backs with resistance, and with infinite terrour and confusion began to flee towards the descent, thinking to retire to safety in Plain. *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneraye*, who, divided two fleeing squadrons, followed the steps of the Germans, seeing this beginning, rushed suddenly out of the wood, losing no time, advanced as fast as ever they could to the Trench, where closing with the flank of the German Battalion they ran together (being filled with courage and fury by this happy successe) to give a violent assault to the second Work. On the other side, the *Mareschal de Biron* was run thither, to encourage Colonel *Galati* to defend the Fortifications undauntedly: but the assault was so hot & unexpected, by reason of the sudden taking of the *Maladerie*, that the Swisses of the Guard gave back, & the *Mareschal de Biron* being thrown from his horse, the Work also was with incredible celerity gained by the enemy.

The Duke of Mayenne having heard of this fortunate beginning, and following the conjuncture of so fair an opportunity, gave order to the Duke of Nemours and the *Comte de Sagone* to advance with the Light-horse on the right side of the Trenches already taken, and to the Duke of Aumale to fall on with one thousand and two hundred Horse on the left side, and he himself, according as the quality of the situation would permit, followed with the remainder of the Army divided into several squadrons. The King full of grief and anger for the unthought-of losse of the Trenches, and knowing it was necessary to fight with his utmost force, encouraged the Duke of Montpensier with effectual words, to charge the Duke of Aumale; and the *Grand Prior* on the other side to encounter the Duke of Nemours, and the Light-horse of the League. The *Grand Prior* but young, yet desirous to get honour, and with his own hand to take some revenge for the King's death, coming up to the head of his Troop, and presently putting down the beaver of his Helmet, ran full

The Armies  
joyn battel.

meet the enemy ; and having seen the *Count de Sagone* at the  
of his Squadron, he called him by his name , and challen-  
him to fight hand to hand ; which being no lesse gallantly  
pted, they charged one another so resolutely , that the  
ed *Prior* receiving a Pistol-shot in the forehead of his Hel-  
reeled often, and was like to have fallen ; but the *Count*  
*Sagone* wounded with a brace of bullets in the side and left  
, fell from his horse dead upon the earth. With no lesse  
then their Commanders, did the King's Light-horse rush  
the enemy : but their number was so much greater , be-  
followed by two Squadrons of *Reiters*, whom the Duke of  
enne had sent to second them, that they were forced to re-  
; so that still giving ground, yet still obstinately resisting,  
were furiously driven back to the foot of the hill, whither  
Canon from Arques reached , both to defend their own  
and repel the violence of the enemy : in which Conflict,  
nd bloody on both sides , the *Sieur de Baqueville* died  
ng, who was the *Grand Prior's* Lieutenant-General. On  
her side , the Duke of Montpensier having met with  
who fleeing from the Trenches, ran disorderly toward  
lain , being half routed by them, had much ado to dis-  
e himself, and keep his ranks ; and being come up to close  
h he Squadron led by the Duke of Aumale , discouraged  
their number that came up *picquering*, and discharging their  
os, he retired still toward the descent, being fiercely pursu-  
the heels by the Cavalry of the League. The King, who  
etween both the Bodies, and who, to give fitting orders,  
d advisedly advanced to the steep of the right hand hill,  
s engaged in the midst of many Squadrons of the enemy,  
t being abandoned almost by all , and his courage not suf-  
n him to flee , he thought himself absolutely lost ; and  
ries, intreaties, and threatnings, rode stopping and re-  
ving sometimes one, sometimes another, and bewailing him-  
with a loud voice, *That in all France there could not be*  
*fifty Gentlemen who had courage enough to die in company*  
*with their King.* Nor did any man doubt, but if the Duke  
Myenne had come up time enough with the rest of the Ar-  
, the King and his whole Forces had at that time been ut-  
ly oppressed. But whilst he, leading on the Cavalry by an  
even troublesome way , feared they would be put in disor-  
, and therefore marched very softly , and turned back often

The *Grand*  
*Prior* challen-  
geth the *Count*  
*de Sagone*, and  
kills him in  
the sight of  
both Armies.

The King is  
in great danger  
in the midst of  
the enemies.

A speech of  
the King of  
France.



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The King being relieved by Monsieur de Chastillon, recovers the Trenches; and the Duke of Mayenne loseth the opportunity of the Victory.

to make them keep rank and file, he gave the King content time to recover: for in the interim the *Sieur de Chastillon* with two Regiments of French Infantry, having quitted the hill on the left side, where he had stood from the beginning, and seeing the danger in which his party was, marched up all speed to the place of battel, and crying out to the King, *Courage Sire, we are here, and will die with you*; he charged the Regiments of *Tremblecourt* and *Chastaigneraye* with much fury, that having taken the Count *de Belin* prisoner, and the chief Commander of the Lorainers, with the death of above three hundred of their men, he beat them out of the Trench: at which time, the tyde of the businesse turning in a moment, the Mareschal *de Biron* being happily escaped out of the enemies hands, had with Colonel *Galati* made the Swisses stand, who before were running away; and facing about with as much gallantry, as before they were fleeing, in great haste, they marched up, and joyned with Monsieur *de Chastillon*, who having already taken the first Trench, was rallied his men to assault the *Maladerie*. The King himself bravely came up thither, caused the Baron *de Biron* with five hundred Gentlemen, who were gathered together about him from several parts, to alight from their horses; and he placed them in the first files of the Infantry, sent them on without losing further time, to give a fierce assault to the second Trench. The service was hot and bloody for the space of a quarter of an hour; but *Collalto's Landskenets* already tired by their march and with fighting, being charged on all sides, fell back at last; and being beaten, and driven out with a great slaughter, quitted the *Maladerie*, being repelled with as much fury by the Swisse Pike-men, and French Musketers, as they had by cunning been easily drawn into it at the beginning.

In the mean time the King, whose admirable celerity in such a time of need supply all wants in all places, with three score Horse, which he had rallied with much ado, sent to the Duke of Montpensier, and turned vigorously to the squadron of the Duke of Aumale, who being master of the field, did already overrun all the descent; so that after an obstinate fight, which lasted about three quarters of an hour, he broke quite thorow it, and followed it fighting to the very part of the hill. The *Grand Prior* on the other side,

ore had been forced to retire, being succoured in his danger  
the Lanciers of the Sieurs *de Larchant*, *Montataire*, and *la*  
*ce*, who came up last into the Battel, presently made the  
ht-horse of the League to turn their backs, and to run full  
ed along that way which leads from the place of battel to  
*tinglife*. The Duke of Mayenne, who came thither  
n his Cavalry was already retiring, and when the King's  
ces had recovered their Works, thinking it too late to do  
more, and that his men were tired with long fighting;  
seeing that because the way was so bad, the Ammunition  
hch was behinde came not up, whereof the Infantry had  
ot need, having spent all theirs with fighting all the day,  
ted a Retreat to be sounded, and drew off to his first quar-

The Duke of Mayenne, who with so much greater Forces and such prosperous success began the battel of Arques, retired, because his men were wearied, and wanted Ammunition.

This was the dangerous Battel of *Arques*, which was  
ht the whole day with various fortune, and with an event  
fferent from the beginning, that the King said openly at  
gt, *That the Duke of Mayenne either was not the Souldier*  
*hch every one believed, or else had born him respect, and reser-*  
*him for a better occasion.*

A saying of the King's.

Men of experience doubted not but the Victory was on the  
r's side, who (though with various successe) had defend-  
s posts, and hindered the enemies from passing over to the  
of *Arques*, which was their principal end and intention;  
dyet the Duke of Mayenne cried up the advantage of his  
vparty, confirming it by a Cornet of Light-horse, and three  
ignes of Foot which were fallen into the hands of his Soul-  
er at the first taking of the Trenches, and were therefore  
red with infinite boasting to Paris. Of the League there  
el slain above six hundred men, among which the Count *de*  
*ague* and the Baron *de S' André*; and of the King's men  
ney two hundred: but the losse was very great, by rea-  
nof the death of *Baqueville*, a resolute, diligent, and  
viant Souldier, and truely proper to command Light-  
ore, which requires not onely courage, but also celerity  
diligence: Nor was it a small misfortune that befel the  
eu *de Montataire*, the Prince of Condé's Lieutenant; who  
ving received a Musket-shot in the left leg, was absolutely  
nd in the cure.

at night the Duke, being resolved to try all possible means  
dve away the King, or to draw him out of his Works, de-  
nned to passe on the other side of *Diepe*, not by the ordi-



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nary road, but a long way about : for having gone round the hills, he got in three days march on the north side of the City neer the walls toward the *Cittadel* ; and the same night being the four and twentieth of September, did with great speed cause eight Pieces of Canon to be planted, which the next morning he began to batter the houses of the Town : but the King, after the Army of the League was to march that way, having left Monsieur d'*Anville* with his Regiment of the *Sieur de la Garde*, four Companies of *Schuytzen*, and threescore Horse, to make good *Arques*, was come with all his Army to *Diepe* ; and being quartered in the *Faubourgs*, flanked and defended by the Canon of the *Cittadel*, he commanded the fight to be smartly begun on all sides, by that means to hinder the enemies battery. They of the League advanced no lesse fiercely to the skirmish ; but a new unexpected invention broke off the encounter, to their no small loss for the King having sent forth the Baron of *Biron* with a Squadron of Horse into the middle of the field ; and the Duke of *Mayenne* incensed by their temerity in coming on so far, or thinking they had unadvisedly engaged themselves, sent up two great Bodies of Horse to charge them ; at whose approach the King's men opening to the right and left hand with expert readinesse, there appeared two great Culverins in the midst, which giving fire, and running off at the same time with skill and admirable quicknesse, did not onely kill many of them, and break their ranks, but by the wonderful appearance of seeing two such great Engines skirmish among the Horse, caused the enemy to wheel about and retire. This so new and so nimble manner of ordering Pieces of great weight, was the invention of *Charles Brise* a Canoneer in *Normandy*, who, after having been many yeers at Sea on Pirate ships in the *West-Indies*, was grown excellent in managing Ordnance ; and in the whole course of the Civil War performed both this and many other services with very much praise of ingenuity and experience.

A device of  
the Royallists.

But while they skirmished hotly, and made a great noise about the Town-walls with their Artillery, the Duke of *Mayenne* did in an instant cause the Duke of *Aumale* with his Reregard (in which he had for that purpose placed a Regiment of *Wallons*, the Regiment of *Lorain*, and *Colours Landskenets*) to storm the Works and Castle of *Arras* ;

ing to carry it, and streighten the King within the bare  
uit of the Town: but he found so stout resistance there,  
e after having re-inforced the assault for the space of two  
rs, his Foot were fain to retreat with the losse of two  
ains, and above a hundred souldiers: Nor did *d'Anvil-*  
Forces scape without losse; for notwithstanding the  
ngth and advantage of the place, there were slain above six-  
oot, two Swisse Captains, and Colonel *la Garde* dange-  
ly hurt in the thigh.

But though the King and his Army had fought very lucki-  
and beaten back the Enemies in all places; yet were they  
onely much spent with wearinesse (for being few in num-  
they were fain to do continuall duty,) but also in want  
ual; for being reduced to scarcity in the end of Sep-  
ber, and the rains and storms beginning to be very great,  
ner could ships so opportunely bring in Provisions, nor  
d the Country, wasted and destroyed, furnish any lon-  
ufficient food for men, nor forrage for horses, which by  
toils and sufferings were brought to extreme weaknesse.  
the King's hopes depended upon the relief which he ex-  
ed from two severall places; for he had written to the  
e of Longueville and the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, that u-  
ing their Forces, they should march up to him, thinking  
the Duke of Mayenne would not suffer himself to be in-  
old between two Armies, though inferiour in strength;  
at that at their approach he would raise his Camp; and on  
e ther side he knew four thousand English Foot, with great  
or of Ammunition, were ready to be imbarqued, which  
uen *Elizabeth* sent to his relief; by whose arrivall his  
rry would be re-inforced, and their hard duty partly less-  
nd, not doubting but that with the English Fleet would  
one great store of provisions, wherewith he might sustain  
s army many dayes. The Duke of Longueville and the  
arschal *d'Aumont*, contrary to expectation, came first, (as  
yges by Sea are very uncertain;) for having joyned them-  
lvs together with the Count *de Soissons*, who was freed  
on his imprisonment in Bretagne, and the Sieur *de la Noüe*,  
y hastened their march in such manner, that upon the six  
d wentieth day they quartered within six leagues of the  
le of Mayenne's Army: wherefore the Duke, that he  
ge not be encompassed, and because he was out of hope  
of



1589 of doing any good at Diepe, raised his Camp upon the eigh  
 The Duke of and twentieth day in the morning, and drew toward Pica  
 Myenne marches from to meet the Forces which by order from the Catholick King  
 Diepe with his Army. were coming out of Flanders with the *Sieur de la Motte* to  
 assistance.

The next day the Duke of Longueville and Meresc  
*d'Aumont* joyned with the King, who having left the Ma  
*chal de Biron* at Diepe, went forth with six hundred Ho  
 and two thousand Foot to meet them, and following the  
 my of the League the same way, took *Eu*, and the Cale  
 of *Gamaches* before he passed the river *Somme*, opportu  
 making use of the occasion, while the Duke, whose Army  
 diminished continually by the running away of his men (be  
 intent upon his way) marched still close, and in order, a  
 went further from them; so that without receiving the le  
 harm the King came to *Amiens*, the chief City of *Picardie*,  
 where he was entertained with very great pomp, being re  
 without the gates by all the Citizens, who presented unto  
 a Canopy of State to be carried over him, as the custom

The King in modesty refu- to do unto the King; but he refused it, giving great te-  
 selt to go un- mony of his prudence and moderation by an act of so gr  
 der the Cano- modesty.  
 py of State at  
 Amiens.

Whilest he staves at *Amiens* to put the Army again in  
 der, and settle the affairs of that City, four thousand Eng  
 and a thousand Scots sent by Queen *Elizabeth* arrived t  
 Diepe: Wherefore the King (to whom prosperous fortune  
 began on all sides to shew her face) being returned with  
 whole Army, received them, to the great contentment o  
 very one: for they had not onely brought an exceeding qu  
 tity of victuals, but also a certain summ of money, wh  
 without delay, or shewing the least signe of covetousnesse,  
 presently all distributed to his souldiers; by which readin  
 (though the sum was not great) every body was equally p  
 fed and satisfied.

The Generall of these forces was that Noble Lord Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, Father to the valiant Earl of Lindsey, who was slain in the Battell of Edge-hill, where he was Generall of the King's Army.

The English having rested themselves; and those that d  
 born the toils in the service at Diepe being refreshed al  
 their sufferings, in the best manner that possibly might be,  
 King desirous not to lose time, now that the Duke of Ny  
 enne and his Army were far off, resolved to assault the S  
 urbs of Paris, not so much out of any grounded hope, that b  
 benefit of some unexpected accident he should be able to k  
 ch

City in the terrour and tumult of the people, which by  
and all his Commanders was thought impossible; as by  
pillage of those Suburbs, full of the riches of many yeers,  
supply the evident necessity of his Army, in which the  
try, no lesse then the private souldiers, were reduced to  
great scarcety of money; and not onely the furniture of  
horses, but even their arms and wearing clothes spoyled,  
broken with ill weather and perpetuall service. With  
designe he departed from Diepe upon the nineteenth of  
ober, having in his Army twenty thousand Foot, three  
thousand Horse, and fourteen great Pieces, and with con-  
tent marches took the direct way to Paris. The *Grand-*  
*Condé*, and the *Baron de Ginry*, who succeeded in the place  
*Laqueville*, scowred the way before them with the light-  
horse: the Count *de Soissons* and the *Mareschall d'Aumont*  
the Van-guard: in the Battell was the King, with the  
*Mareschall de Byron*, and *Monsieur de la Noüe*; the Duke of  
*Guiseville* led the Reer: with this order, as soon as the  
Army was come to *Pont de l'Arche*, the Duke of Montpen-  
sac having passed the *Seine* with three hundred Horse, went  
towards Normandy, to go to *Caën*, and look to the af-  
faires of that Province, where the Forces of the League were  
powerfull: upon the last of October the King quarter-  
d with his Army a league from the *Fauxbourgs* of Paris;  
the tumult of the people, and the trouble of the Dut-  
ies was very great, seeing the Duke of Mayenne far off,  
the King come unexpectedly to assault the Citie, at a  
time when they were perswaded he had enough to do to de-  
fend himself, and that he was so weak he must needs be ei-  
ther presently suppressed, or beaten out of the Kingdom;  
the Duke of Mayenne crying up the greatnesse of his For-  
ces, the people when he went to the assault of Diepe, had  
written to Paris, that within few dayes hee would either  
bring the King up prisoner, or force him to fly shamefully  
to England. Now businesses proving so contrary, the Ci-  
ty unprovided of souldiers, and seeing they could not hope  
for any relief, was full of fear and trouble; especially, there  
was no Head of Authority, who might keep the people in  
order, and provide what should be needfull: for though  
*Bernardino Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassadour labour-  
ed with all his power to comfort them, with grave speeches,  
and

The King's  
Army marches  
towards Paris.



1589

The King assaults the Suburbs of Paris upon *All Saints* day, takes them, and gives the pillage to the Souldiers.

and with his presence in every place; yet there was none in whom the Parisians could much confide, either for experience in arms, or for alliance to that Family: but that night Monsieur *de Rhosne* arrived opportunely, who being at *Estampes*, (which Town he had taken a few dayes before) march'd fourteen leagues without any stay, and came into the City (though with but a few Horse) in the beginning of the night. At his arrivall the Councell of the League receiving courage, resolved that the Suburbs should be defended to which end the people taking arms, and all both great and little, and even the very Friars running armed, they were in the best order that might be, distributed in those Works which had been cast up three months before, at the time when it was besieged by *Henry* the Third. The King before the day upon the first of November, being *All Saints* day, divided his Foot into three *Tertia's*, one of which was led by the Mareschall *de Byron*, the Baron his Son, and the Sieur *de Guitry* to assault the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Victoire*, and *S<sup>t</sup> Jean*; the second led by the Mareschall *d'Anmont*, Monsieur *d'Anville*, and Colonell *de Rieux*, against the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Jacques* and *S<sup>t</sup> Michael*; and the third commanded by the Sieurs *de Chastillon*, and *de la Noüe*, assaulted the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Germain*. The Cavalry being likewise distinguished into three Divisions; One led by the King, another by Monsieur *de Soissons*, and the third by the Duke of *Longueville*, stood all ready in the field, each Body as a reserve to its Squadron of Foot, in case of any unexpected accident which might happen. The assault began when it was broad day light, and lasted very fierce for the space of an hour; but the King's being beaten down in many places, and there being no equality between the inexpertnesse of the people, and the valour of the King's souldiers, the defendants were at last forced to give back, who with a great slaughter had made time doe to retire time enough to have the gates of the City shut; the assailants pressing on violently on every side, and particularly the Sieur *de la Noüe*, who having entered the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Germain*, and coming down through the street which is called the *Rüe de Tournon*, followed those so furiously, that they retreated in at the *Porte de Nesle*, that it could hardly be shut, the Sieur *de Rhosne* himself being there. In this assault above nine hundred Parisians were slain, and above four hundred

ken prisoners, among which Father *Edmond Bourgoin*, Prior of the *Covent of Jacobins*; who being convicted by witnesse have publikely (in the Pulpit) praised the murder of *Mary* the third, and to have counselled and instigated the murderer, comparing him also in his Sermons after the fact to *with*, and the dead King to *Holofernes*, and the City delivered to *Bethulia*; he was by Judgement of the Parliament of Paris sentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his quarters burned, and his ashes scattered in the winde: which Sentence, some few months after, was severely executed. The suburbs being entered on every side, the Officers withheld the Souldiers with infinite care, from running up and down rufedly to plunder, till the Cavalry were come in, and pladed ready to repell those that should have the boldnesse to sally out of the City; and then the quarters were divided among them, and leave given unto them to sack it; with charge nevertheless not to violate either Churches, Monasteries, or other sacred places; which was observed with so much order by the officers, and obedience by the Souldiers, that Masses were said that day in all Churches, as if there had been no such business; and all the Catholikes of the King's Army were present with them in great abundance, celebrating that holy-day with very great joy. The sacking of the Suburbs lasted as long as the Army continued in them; and the pillage was so rich and plentiful, that the King's Army was wonderfully relieved and encouraged by it.

In the mean time the Duke of Mayenne having had notice that the King was marched towards Paris, omitting to meet with the Ministers of Flanders, for which reason he was drawn nearer to those Confines; without staying for further intelligence, moved that way with his whole Army; and having crossed the Bridge of *S' Maiscant* (contrary to the King's expectation, who had commanded *Monsieur de Thoré* Governour of *Senlis* to break it down, which he, being sick in bed, could not speedily perform) sent the Duke of Nemours before with the Light-horse; who arriving upon the second of November, did very much raise the spirits and ease the trouble of the Parisians, who were in very great fear that the King, prosecuting his Victory, would assault the City after the taking of the suburbs. The Duke of Mayenne came up also the next day wherefore the King, thinking himself not very secure

1589  
Father *Edmond Bourgoin*, of the Order of *S. Dominick*, taken prisoner, is sentenced to be torn by four horses, for having counselled and praised the King's murderer.



1589

The King  
leaves the sub-  
urbs of Paris  
at the arrival  
of the Duke  
of Mayenne.

in the Suburbs, being in danger to be suddenly assaulted, that he could not be able to draw up his Cavalry, marched upon the fourth of November on that side toward the *F* *S<sup>t</sup> Jaques*, and set his Army in Battalia, looking, for many hours, if the Duke of Mayenne would follow him; but seeing there was not the least stir from the City, he marched with a slow pace, and quartered the same night at *Moml'be*, and resolved to passe on to *Tours*, because he had given word to the Catholike Lords, and issued Writs to assemble the States there in the end of October: And though he knew that by reason the War was kindled in every place, and all very unsafe, the Deputies could not be met together at the appointed time; and though he had not used any diligence to bring them together, that he might not be so soon put upon the necessity of changing his Religion, and making all the Hugonots distrustful of him; yet would he be himself in that City to the end he might not be accused by the Catholikes, and that he might upon that occasion order the affairs of that Province, and as soon as they were settled, return more fresh, and perhaps better furnished with the attendance of the German, and with strength to maintain the War. The next night his Army lay under the walls of *Estampes*; which Town being yeelded without resistance, the King, because it had been taken thrice in a few months, thinking it could not be kept, caused it to be dismantled in his presence, leaving the citizens in liberty to receive either party. Having staid there a day, he dispatched the Baron *de Giury* into *Brie*, the *Mareschal d'Aumont* into *Champagne*, and the Duke of *Ingouville* into *Picardy*; giving to each convenient Force to defend themselves in those Provinces: and he himself, with the rest of his Army, making short marches thorow *Beaune*, and the most frequent passes of the *Loire*, took the direct way into *Touraine*.

The King causes *Estampes* to be dismantled.

While the principal Armies, and the Heads of the Factions make War thus sharply, the other parts and Province of the Kingdom were no lesse unquiet; but to the slaughter of men and ruine of Towns, there were everywhere frequent bloody encounters: for in the County of *Beauvais* the *Marquesse de Piennes*, one of the principal Lords of the *Union* being defeated and killed the *Sieur de Bonivet*. In *Picardy* the *Duc d'Arcy* having called the same *Marquesse de Piennes* to his assistance

ance, taking the opportunity of the waters being let out, at the moat of *la Fere* might be cleansed, had surpris'd that town suddenly by night. In *Berrie* the *Sieur de Montigny* leading the King's party, defeated and took *Monsieur de la Motte's* Lieutenant in the open field : and on the other side, *Monsieur de Nenny*, who held for the League, routed and took prisoner the *Sieur de Gamachée*. In *Champagne* the Count de *Grandpré*, accompanied with a great many Gentlemen that were of the King's party, surpris'd *Vitry*, and put all the defences to the sword : but being assaulted a few days after by Colonel *S' Paul*, who was chief Commander for the League in that Province, they fought so stoutly, that they of the League won a most bloody Victory ; and on the King's side all the Gentlemen and Officers were either killed or grievously wounded, and the Count de *Grandpré* himself carried half dead to *Chaalons*, being hurt in eighteen several places. In *Normandy*, the Baron d'*Eschaufour* and Captain *Valage* routed out to flight Colonel *S' Denis*, who was going with his Regiment to joyn with the Duke of *Montpensier*. At *Tholouse*, *Nîmes*, and *Tours*, there were most turbulent unruly Seditious. In the Territories of *Geneva*, the War was very hot between that City and the Duke of *Savoy*, who having possid himself of that Country, did also besiege the City, out of which he rais'd many Forts, and was in very great hope to carry it. In *Provence*, *Monsieur de la Valette* Governour for the King, had many a skirmish with the Count de *Cars* and the *Comte de Vins*, who commanded for the League ; and on both sides many Towns were taken, and many bloody encounters opened between them. In *Dauphiné*, Colonel *Alfonso Corbigny* joyn'd with the *Lesdiguieres*, blocked up *Grenoble* and *Valence*, the onely Towns in that Province that held for the League : And thus with various successes, but still with the loss of much blood, was the War prosecuted by both parties.

A narration of several successes which happened at the same time through all France.

The Duke of Savoy besiegeth Geneva.

In the mean time, the King was come with his Army to *Château-Dun*, where the Swisse Commanders arriv'd, being return'd from their *Cantons*, whither they had been sent by the Officers of their nation who were in the Camp, to give notice of the death of *Henry* the third, and to receive directions from the Republike what they should do for the future. They gave answer, that the *Cantons* would persevere in the same



1589

friendship and confederacy with King Henry the fourth, as they had done with his Predecessour, and that therefore they should continue to serve and follow him : Which resolution of the Swisses was much furthered, not onely by the wisdom of the *Sieur de Silleroy*, who was there Ambassadour, but also by the presence of *Jaques Auguste de Thon*, who returning out of Italy (whither he had been sent by the late King to the *Grand Duke of Tuscany*) had negotiated and perswaded that determination. The King and his whole Army was much pleased at it, as well because they had found the greatest strength of the Infantry lay in the Regiments of the *Swisses*, who were there present, and had always fought very valiantly, as because they had hope to increase their number by a new Levie, which should be granted under the publike Ensignes of their *Cantons*.

At his departure from *Chasteau-Dun*, the King went to besiege *Vendosme*, a City of his Patrimony, and which was thought very convenient, because it was neer the River *Loy*. The Suburbs were taken in the first on-set; and the King a person having viewed the walls, and the quality of the place, resolved to batter that side of the Castle, which, opposite to the Town, stands, but not very high, over a spacious Place. There were two Pieces planted the next day, to take away the defence, with intention to plant a Royal Battery against the Curtine, as soon as two Towers were beaten down, which served to flank it on each hand : but a great part of the Tower on the left hand being fallen after not many shot, some of the Foot fell on to make the assault; but they found the place without resistance abandoned by the defendants : wherefore, having made themselves masters of the Tower, they began with their Muskets to play from that higher place, upon the inside of the wall, where those of the Town were retired to make head : and the number of the Foot continually increasing with hopes of very good success, the Baron *de Buz*, newly made Field-Marshal by the King, ran thither, and did scarce brought down the foot to assault the defendants at the wall, when they, full of infinite fear, forsook it, and the whole circuit of the Castle at the same time, seeking to save themselves by flight in the City; but being prevented by the Soldiers who followed them fiercely, the City was also taken with the same fury in lesse then three hours; wherein, except

The King takes *Vendosme*, and gives the pillage to his souldiers: condemns the Governour to death for his infidelity, and Father *Robert* a Franciscan for having commended the killing of *Henry*, the third.

Churces

urches, Monasteries, and other sacred places, every thing  
s given up to the violence of the Souldiers, who took there  
at store of spoil and rich booty. The Governour, who  
d often dealt perfidiously with the King, and had alwayes  
sified his faith by double dealing, was condemned to death;  
also Father Robert a Cordelier, who had there publickly  
sified the King's murtherer, and with his Sermons stirred up  
common people. After the taking of *Vendosme*, *Lavar-*  
and *Montant*, Castles of that Jurisdiction, yeelded them-  
ves, and the King finding no more resistance in any  
ce, came at last to *Tours* upon the one and twentieth of  
vember.

He entered into the Citie the same night by torch-light,  
ng met at the gates by the Cardinals of *Vendosme* and *Le-*  
*mour*, and all the Presidents and Counsellours of the Par-  
ment, and was surrounded with a great abundance of peo-  
e because all the neighbouring Towns were run thither to  
his entry. The necessity of affairs perswaded not to  
ed time unprofitably, and the King's nature that was quick,  
ready, agreed with the present necessity; wherefore the  
morning coming without more delay to the Parliament,  
e in the Royall Throne, and was acknowledged King  
ance, with publick ceremony, and very great applause.  
nhearing the murmurs and complaints of the Catholicks  
Army, and the earnestnesse of the Lords and Barons  
followed him, that he would observe the promise he had  
e to change his Religion, having caused the Nobil-  
to be publickly called together, who came greedily to  
hearken unto him, he told them in a few words, That to his  
greed discontent, he saw how the danger and heat of war had  
inged the appointed Assembly, which should have been at  
that present time; That they themselves had seen how he;  
aying aside all other enterprises, had in consideration of them,  
come to *Tours*, hoping he might some way give them all per-  
fect satisfaction; That the nature of affairs, and not the will of  
men opposed it; and that therefore considering how much  
advantage their common Enemy received by his being at so  
great distance, and by the delay of making a sharp, diligent  
war against them, he entreated them to allow that to necessi-  
ty which depended not upon his will, and that they would be-  
sought the Convocation of the Deputies might be defer-  
red

*Hen. the fourth*  
is acknowledg-  
ed King of  
France with  
publick solemn-  
ity at *Tours*.



1589

The King desires that the Assembly of the States (in which his conversion was hoped for) might be deferred, & obtains it.

red till the fiftenth of the next March ; in which time he perped the fury of the Rebels and seditious persons being quelled, he might with more quietnesse of minde, and lesse danger to the common affairs, think of a happy establishment of life, and future Government ; That as a pledge and security of his faith, they should accept his Person, which was always in their hands ; That he would sincerely observe in deed, not then at that present he promised them in words. To which the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen assenting, more out of necessity then will, a Declaration was made, that the meeting of the Assembly should be prorogued till the fiftenth of March next ensuing. The King hoped that the Warre continuing, and mens mindes being daily more enflamed between both factions, the Catholicks would still be more content to follow him, and that he might with excuses which appeared necessary, and with divers promises and artifices gain convenient time to turn to the Catholick Religion, and that by chance they would be content he should continue in his Obedience, and therefore he politickly avoyded their intreaties, and excused himself for not satisfying their desires, as well lest he should seem to sway his conscience to a compliance with them, as lest he should lose the adherence of the Hugonots to the great diminution of his Forces ; wherefore, because need so required, and not to give men time by idleness to think of new disturbances, but to keep them continually employed in military exercises, he resolved to go from Tours and move with his Army to take in those Towns which the Enemy held in the Country of *Maine and Normandy*.

The Republick of Venice acknowledges *Henry the IV* King of France; and *Mocenigo*, who was Ambassador to *Henry the III*, passes a complement with the King in publick.

Before his departure *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, having received Commission from the Senate to continue in his Embassie neer the present King, being at a publick ceremony come unto his audience, presented Letters to him from the Senate, with the Title of King of France ; wherein congratulating his coming to the Crown, the Ambassador *Mocenigo* made excuses, that a particular Ambassador was not sent purposely, according to the custom by reason of the difficulty of the wayes, broken every where by the incursions of Warre. The Senate had been in doubt whether they should confirm their Ambassador, and whether they should give him the Title of King of France or no ; but finally, foreseeing with a prudent eye, not onely that it was

for the interests of Christendom that the Kingdom should be conserved in the lawfull Heirs, which the League endeavoured to tear in many pieces, or to subject it to forreign forces; but also that the King being acknowledged by the greater part of the Nobility, which are the sinews of the Kingdom, and that by his vertue and courage he was like to be conquerour in the end; resolved at the same time to continue their Ambassadour, to give him the Title of King of France, and to assist him in all things possible, as they had done all other Kings of France in their urgent occasions; and though the Pope's Nuncio, and the Spanish Ambassadour made a mighty stir about it, and complained exceedingly that it was heretick, and one disobedient to the Apostolick See should be acknowledged King of France, contrary to the Declaration made by the Pope in the Consistory of Cardinals; yet the Senate answered, that it concerned not the Re-publick of Venice to decide matters of Faith, which belonged to the Pope's care; but that it acknowledged Henry of Bourbon to descend from the Stock of the Bloud-Royall, and true legitimate Successour of the Crown, which could not be denied; That they medled onely with temporall things, and not with the knowledge of spirituall interests; and that they would treat with the King in what concerned the Government of those States under his Dominion, without doing any prejudice to the Pope's Declaration: Which Answer, though it gave not much satisfaction at Rome, and that *Gieronimo Matucci* the Pope's Nuncio resident in Venice, made many protestations, and in the end departed suddenly from the Citie; yet that was the dexterity of *Alberto Badoaro* their Lieger Ambassadour to the Pope, and so great the efficacy of the reasons urged by *Leonardo Donato*, sent extraordinary Ambassadour from the Re-publick about that matter, that the Nuncio being so much as admitted to the Pope's presence, was constrained to return to his residence, and without further replies, as was put to that businesse. The favourable Declaration of the Senate was a very great satisfaction to the King, as well as the determination of the wisest politick Assembly in Christendome gave great reputation to his Forces, as because it brought many other Princes, especially of Italy, would follow the example of Venice; wherefore both by Letters, and by word of mouth delivered by Monsieur de Mets, the Ambassadour

*Gieronimo Matucci* the Pope's Nuncio having complained and protested against the Venetian Senate, which departs, which not being well approved by the Pope, he returns to his residence.



1589 dour residing in that City, he strove to expresse singular gratitude, and infinite respect for the kinde inclination of the Senators.

The King being departed from Tours upon the six and twentieth of November, caused siege to be laid to *Mans*, place of wonderfull importance, in which was the *Sieur Bois-dauphin* with above two hundred Gentlemen, and seventeen Colours of Foot. The defendants made shew of holding out couragiously, and therefore burned the Suburbs, and fortified that gate towards which the King was to come, casting up a *Raveline* in the form of a *Tenaille*. The Count of *Brissac* was come at the same time to *la Ferté Bernard* with four hundred Horse and two Regiments of Foot, who purposed to relieve that Town opportunely, and cutting off passages, and molesting the Army, had fallen upon a quarter of the King's German-Horse, and pillaged above fifty of them. But after that the Baron *de Byron* and Monsieur *de Chastill*, who were quartered in the suburbs, had with redoubled assault taken the *Raveline*, which happened the fourth day after the siege was laid, the defendants not standing out the utmost valence of the battery, began to capitulate, and yeelded upon very large conditions: for the King, in whose Army there was great want of powder and bullet, was infinitely pleased to have that place upon so easie terms, but that he might also provide against that want with the Enemies Ammunition that was in the Town. The example of *Mans* was followed by *Beaumont*, *la Val*, *Chasteau Gontier*, and all the places thereabout; and the King passing forward, laid siege to *Alançon*, which Citie being yeelded after three days battell, Captain *Lago* with the souldiers of the Garrison retired to the Fortresse with an intent to make it good; but when the Canon were planted, he stayed not to be brought to extremity, but delivered it into the King's hands upon the fourth of December, in which place the Baron *de Hertré* was left with 300 French Foot. From this Citie the King marched on towards Normardy, besieged *Falaise*, into which the Count of *Brissac* was entered with many Gentlemen, and the Chevalier *Piccard's* Regiment of Foot; wherfore by reason of the Count's reputation, of the strength of the place, but more of all of the unsittes of the season, it was thought it would be a long difficult businesse; yet the *Fauxbourg de Guibray* in

The King  
makes himself  
Master of all  
the Towns and  
Fortresses of  
Normandy.

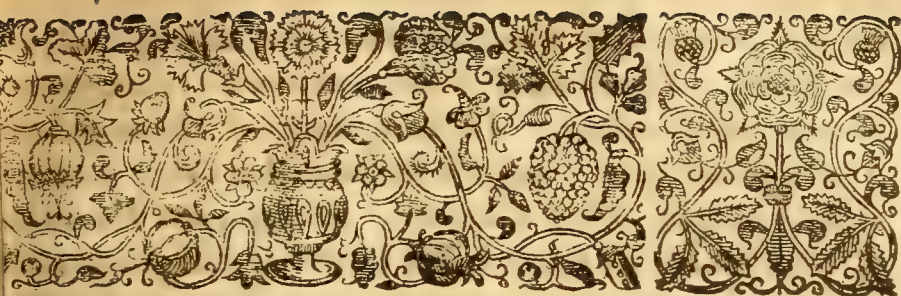
and the Army quartered under cover, the King having  
ally viewed the situation of the Fortresse, commanded  
ttery to be planted against the Castle, judging that if he  
ake that, he might also at the same time take the Town.  
the principal Battery, he caused also two Culverins to  
ted upon a certain hill, by the shot whereof the passage  
pped which led into the City from the Tower of the  
n, the principal security of the Castle; and in this man-  
did straighten and incommode all the resolutions of  
endants. The Artillery played two days with very great  
e; which having utterly ruined and beaten down the  
e, which defended the corner of the City and Castle op-  
o the *Dongeon*, the King made it to be assaulted the same  
ly two different Squadrons, one led by the *Sieur de Cha-*  
at should strive to get into the Castle from the broken  
s, the other by the *Baron de Biron*, which was to endea-  
by the same way, to get into the Town, which joyned in  
ce to the Fortresse. Both Squadrons did absolutely effect  
ligne: for one passing thorow the ruined Tower, for-  
elendants to shut themselves up in the *Dongeon*; and the  
a the same time got into the chief street of the Town,  
without more resistance was furiously taken and sacked:  
unt shut up in the *Dongeon* with a few defendants, and  
eady terrified by the valour the Infantry had shewed,  
erosnesse of the late businesses, gave themselves up the  
orning to the King's discretion, who kept him and fif-  
nce of the chief of them prisoners, and with a Kingly  
ly gave his household-stuff, among which was store of  
ue of very great value, unto the *Baron de Biron*.

*Argentan* and *Bayeux* yeelded without a blowe: and the  
psecuting his march, came to *Lisieux*, which at sight of  
tilery yeelded upon the thirtieth of December: *Pon-*  
*le-ler*, *Pont l'Evesque*, and all those other Towns, follow-  
s ample; so that the League had no place left in lower  
ny, except *Honfleur*, seated at the mouth of the *Seine*,  
vr against *Havre de Grace*; which (though the Duke of  
posier was much against it) was passed by without be-  
olsted, by reason of the King's haste to go into the  
r Province.

The end of the Tenth Book.







THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

by HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Eleventh BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**he Eleventh Book contains the Pope's inclination touching the affairs of France : His resolution to send Cardinal Gaetano his Legat thither : The variety of opinions concerning his Commissions : His arrival in the Kingdom : His perplexity, and journey to Paris. The different ends of the League are discoursed of. The Marquesse de Belin introduces a Treaty of Agreement : The Duke of Mayene deliberates upon that point, and resolves to prosecute the War : He besiegeth Pontese, which yeelds it self unto him: He encamps before Meulan, and batters it with great obstinacy. The King comes to relieve the place. The Duke raises the siege, and marches to meet the supplies in Picardy. The King assaunts Drenx, but to no purpose. The Duke of Mayene returns increased in strength. The King raises his Camp, and chuseth a place of Battel in the field of Ivry. The Duke follows, and comes up to the same place. The Armies fight, and the King remains victorious. The Preachers deliver the news of this defeat to the

S s s s s

Parisians,



1590

*Parisians, who prepare themselves constantly to endure a siege. Divers overtures of Peace are made; but nothing at all can be concluded. The Duke of Mayene, to procure relief, goes to the frontiers of Flanders. The King takes all the neighbouring Towns about Paris. Siege is laid unto that City, to overcome it with hunger. The Calamities of the siege, and the constancy of the Citizens are related. The Catholike King commands the Duke of Parma to march with his whole Army into France, to raise the siege of Paris: He enters into the Kingdom with great Forces, and with exceeding great preparations joyns with the Duke of Mayene, and advances towards Paris. The King consults what is best to be done; resolves to raise the siege, and go to meet the Enemy. The Armies face one another many days. The Duke of Parma takes Lagny, and opens the passage of the Etinals to Paris. The King retires, and in his retreat gives a scalado to the City, which proves ineffectual. The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil, and so absolutely frees the City of Paris from want of provisions. He resolves to return into Flanders; marches in excellent order: The King follows him. There happen many encounters. The Duke departing, leaves aid of men, and promises supplies of Money to the League. The King returning, marches towards Picardy.*

1590



*Now followeth the yeer 1590, full of all the Calamities which use to be the consequences of Civil Wars; but famous also for the greatness of those accidents that happened in it: the natural revolution of things having been brought to passe, that in it the greatest peace and storm of Arms broke forth with violence. In the yeere before, Henry the third's Ambassadors and publike Ministers were already departed from Rome, by reason of the Monition published against him, when the news of his death was brought thither, which, being come in a time when the Pope was not only very much exasperated by the conjunction made with the Hugonot party, but also infinitely solicitous and anxious because of the prosperous successe of his Arms, was received by him with great demonstrations of joy, thinking that the miraculous power of the hand of God had unexpectedly converted that ruine which humane remedies seemed no way able*

prevent. His contentment was increased by the Agents of the League, who to the confirmation of the King's death, added the resolution of the Duke of Mayene and the Council of the Union to acknowledge the *Cardinal of Bourbon* the legitimate King of France, with an open Declaration and strict charge to use all their might to free him from his imprisonment, and that this resolution was adhered to and unanimously followed by almost all the principal Cities, with the greater part of the Nobility, and the applause of the Clergie of the whole Kingdom: all which things being conformable to the Pope's wishes, who exceedingly desired the exclusion of the King of Navarre, esteemed by him an irreconcilable enemy to the Church; but yet was not willing that the Kingdom should be divided into many parts, as some had a minde to have it, and that it should come into the hands of a forraign Prince, were the cause that he wrote not onely very kinde Letters of great commendation to the Duke of Mayene, and the Catholikes of the League, but that he also determined to supply them with men and money, for the setting at liberty and perfect establishment of the Cardinal of Bourbon. Wherefore, without any delay in a work which he accounted excellently good, and of wonderful great glory and advancement to the Apostolike See, he resolved to send a Legat into France, who by his presence might assist affairs of so great importance, and might endeavour to reduce all the Catholikes, by such means as he should think most reasonable, to unite themselves in one body under the obedience of the Cardinal of Bourbon already elected and declared King of France, whose freedom by all possible force was to be endeavoured. For this businesse of so great concernment, he chose *Cardinal Henrico Gaetano*, a man not onely by the noblenesse of his birth of great reputation, but also for his worth and experience esteemed of sufficient abilities for so great an enterprize: yet according to what the King's friends said then, and his own actions discovered afterwards, too much inclined to favour the attempts and interests of Spain. He appointed moreover a select number of Prelates to accompany the Cardinal-Legat, all men conspicuous for the fame of excellent Learning, or approved experience in matters of Government; among which were *Lo- renzo Bianchetti* and *Filippo Sega*, who after were Cardinals; and *Antonio Mocenigo* Bishop of *Ceneda*, a man well versed in

The Pope resolves to send assistance to the League against the King.

Cardinal *Henrico Gaetano*, a man partial to Spain, is declared Legat to the League in France.

Prelates appointed by the Pope to accompany the Embassie, and three hundred thousand crowns to be employed for the liberty of the Cardinal of Bourbon.



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affairs, and highly esteemed by the Pope ; *Francesco Panigrola* Bishop of *Asti*, a Preacher of great renown ; and *Robert Bellarmino*, a Jesuite of profound and admirable learning. To the choice of these men, the Pope added Bills of Exchange to the Merchants at Lyons for three hundred thousand crowns with Commission to the Legat to dispose of them according to need and occasion ; but particularly, to spend them for the Infranchisement of the Cardinal of Bourbon, upon which shewed his minde was fixed more then upon any other thought whatsoever.

But this so ardent resolution was cooled in the very beginning ; & the Pope was put in doubt, by Letters that arrived from the Duke of Luxembourg, wherein he gave him notice, that by the French Nobility (who in a very great number followed and acknowledged the King of Navar to be the legitimate King of France) he was chosen Ambassadour to his Holiness and the Apostolike See, to inform him of the causes which had moved the mindes of all good French-men to that acknowledgement ; and to require from him, as from a common Father, the proper means and remedies for the Peace and Union of the whole Kingdom. By which Letters the Pope did not only finde, that what the Agents of the League had represented unto him was vain, *viz.* that the major part of the Kingdom was joyned to the party of the Union, and that onely a few desperate persons followed the King of Navar ; but he also conceived some hopes, that by the way of Pacification, and might be put to the miseries and discords of the Kingdom, those that were gone astray might be reduced into the bosome of the Church, and his aim of having a lawful Catholike French King might be attained without submitting the afflicted people of France any longer to new dangers and calamities of an obstinate War : Wherefore, being also excited by the diligent informations which were given unto him by the Venetian Ambassadours, intent upon the preservation of the Crown of France, he returned favourable Answers to the Duke of Luxembourg and the French Nobility which were in the King's Camp, assuring him that he should be well respected, and kindly received, and exhorting them to persist constantly in the Catholike Religion, as in their Letters which came unto the Duke's they asserted they would do, and that they would continue in it even to the effusion of their blood. Any

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Agents of the League (especially *Frisson* Dean of Rheims  
ly sent thither by the Duke of Mayene ) urging him not  
delay the Legat's expedition, for that these were artifices of  
King of Navar, to take him off, and gain the benefit of  
e, he dispatched the Legat towards France, but with In-  
structions very different from his first designs: for whereas  
before all the endeavours tended to the confirmation and free-  
the Cardinal of Bourbon; now passing over his name in  
ence, the designe was onely to reunite, by any means what-  
ever, the Catholikes under the obedience of the Church,  
establish a Catholike King, to the general liking, without  
aining the person. To these Commissions set down in a Wri-  
g dated the fifteenth of October, were added particular ex-  
rse Advertisements to the Cardinal-Legat to shew himself  
ollesse neutral and disinterested in the Secular pretensions of  
Princes, then most ardent and zealous concerning Religi-  
and not to value one person more then another, provided  
were a French-man obedient to the Church, and generally  
ld by the Kingdom: nay more, at his last coming to receive  
nstructions, the Pope added and repeated it effectually, that  
e should not shew himself an open enemy to the King of Na-  
so long as there was any hope that he might return into  
bosome of the Church. But these advertisements were  
ey contrary to the principall scope of the Embassy, which  
to uphold the Catholick party of the League as the foun-  
on of Religion in that Kingdom, a thing often repeated  
is instructions, and which was alwayes the aim from the  
beginning, but which the Pope pretended to have altered in his  
ldirections; so that the substance of the businesse changed  
ne variety of circumstances, as it often happens, did so di-  
b the execution, that it was afterwards governed more by  
diversity of accidents, then by any firm determinate resolu-  
ic. The advertisements of Cardinall *Morefini* differed not  
th from the Popes instructions; for being met by the Le-  
at \* *Gaetano* in the City of *Bologna*, he as vers'd in the in-  
ests of the Kingdom, gave the Legate a particular account  
of the intentions of Spain, of the pretensions of the Duke of  
Mayene, of the weaknesse of the League, composed of various  
ifferent humors, and of the King's Forces, which had more se-  
ur foundation in the concurrence of the major part of the No-  
bly, then the party of the *Union* had in the conspiracy of the  
common

Pope Sixtus V.  
his orders and  
commissions  
to Cardinall  
*Gaetano* Legat  
in France.

Or, *Cajetan*.



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common people. The same was told him at Florence by *Ferdinando* Great Duke of *Tuscany*, who being perfectly informed of the interests which were on foot in the Kingdom of France, perswaded him to keep himself neuter, and not to refuse the overtures of Agreement which might be with the profit of the Catholick Religion, and the reputation of the Pope. Both the advice of Cardinall *Morefimi*, and the Great Duke's counsell were suspected by the Legate, doubting that one sought to make him fall into the same faults whereof he was accounted guilty in the Court of Rome; and that the other did not counsel him sincerely: Wherefore as a man bent with severity to sustain the greatnesse and power of the Church, and accustomed to the affairs of Italy, where the Pope's authority, by the piety of the Nation, and the neerness of the Princes, is held in high veneration, he firmly persuaded himself, that by the meer terrour of spirituall armes he should keep all the Catholicks at his devotion, and exclude the King of Navar, make a King he declared and obey, wholly depending upon the Apostolick See, and neerly joined and obliged to the Crown of Spain, to which, both by his ancient breeding, and the new practices of the *Condé* and *Olivares* the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome, he was infinitely inclined. He was the more confirmed afterward in his thought, that all ought to depend upon his Authority, when being arrived at Turin, he saw that the Duke of Savoy did with exquisite terms of submission intreat him (as one that might dispose of matters at his pleasure) to consider his right to the Crown of France, as born of *Margaret* Sister to King *Henry* the Second, by whose right (the course of the Salic Law having been formerly interrupted) he alledged the Crown ought rather to be confirmed to him than to any other that in ancient times had pretended title by the woman's side; and alledging his deserts to the Apostolick See, that still with continuall pains and exceeding great charge, he endeavoured to subdue the Citie of *Geneva*, the basis and foundation of Calvinisme; he laboured to win the protection of the Legate, who not being well informed how matters went, did not take notice that the Duke brought on his pretensions that way, because he had no better prop to uphold them, and strove to get into the favour of the Pope and Legate, to draw supplies from them of men and money, where

he might bring those of Geneva under his yoke, and for-  
e and establish himself in the possession of the Marquessate of  
uzzo, against whosoever should at last be elected and ac-  
nowledged King of France, wherein he saw he could not  
e a more safe protector then the Pope.

But the Cardinal Legate being come into France, was not  
before he found effects contrary to his opinion; for ha-  
sent to require Colonel *Alphonso Corso* not onely to for-  
molesting Grenoble and Valence (which Cities alone  
ed for the League in Dauphiné) but also that as a Catho-  
and a Stranger, he should forsake the King's party, and  
yn with the *Union*, that tryall proved vain; for the answer  
eceived was, that he was indeed a Catholick, and an obe-  
t son to the Apostolick See in spirituall things; but that  
ing made his fortune as a Souldier in the service of the  
ig's of France, he could not desist from following him; and  
lwing him, he was bound to do that to Grenoble and Va-  
re, which he thought fit for the affairs of the Prince whom  
erved. By which answer the Legate was a little dashed,  
he was so much the more troubled, when being come to  
yns, he found the businesse of the League in such disorder  
he King's prosperous successe, that he was so far from ob-  
ing any thing else, that he could neither have security nor  
voy to prosecute his journey; for the Count of *Brissac*,  
ointed at first by the Duke of Mayene to meet him, and  
ere his passage, was necessitated to face about, and imploy  
hself in the affairs of Normandy, and Monsieur *de la Bour-*  
*goyne*, to whom that Commisision was given afterward, had  
en defeated by the King's Forces under the command of  
the *Sieur de Pralin*, neer Bar upon the Seine; so that being re-  
duced into very great perplexity, he knew not by what resolu-  
ion to steer his course, so various were the things that repre-  
ented themselves to his consideration. The Duke of Nevers be-  
ng retired home, and not interessed on either side, invited him  
come into his state, where standing neuter, as befitted one  
ha represented the Apostolike See, he might freely take  
hce wayes that should appear most convenient to him; and  
his determination seemed to agree with the Pope's intenti-  
on and instructions. On the other side, the Duke of Mayene  
ced not to sollicite him to come to Paris; shewing him, that  
without the authority of his Name, and without those helps  
which

The Cardinall  
Legat's request  
to Colonel *Al-*  
*phonso Corso*;  
And his An-  
swer.



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which were hoped for from him, the League was in danger to be dissolved, and to be subdued by the King's Forces; and by consequence, not onely the City of Paris, but all the rest of the Kingdom would remain oppressed by the Hugonot party. The King did not at all despair, but that if he could not be wrought to come into the places under his obedience, he might at least be perswaded to stay in some neutral Town out of the way, and perchance to go to the City of *Avignon*, till he saw the issue of the Duke of Luxembourg's Embassie at Rome; to forward which hopes, he had caused to be published, That if the Pope's Legat, who was reported to be coming, should take his journey toward him, every one should receive, honour and reverence him, taking care neither to offend him nor any of his followers, and should by all means give him safe conduct and security: but if he went towards the quarters of the League, he did expressly forbid every one to acknowledge him for a Legat, or to receive him into those places that were under his obedience, upon pain of Rebellion. But the Legat did not onely think it unsafe to go to the Duke of Nevers, a weak Prince, who had neither Fort nor principal City wherein he might shelter himself from the snares of the Hugonots, and unhandsome to return back; but also esteemed it much more indecent and prejudicial to abandon the Catholike party, and by that demonstration utterly to confound and deject the mindes of those who were for the League, with a manifest increase of the King's forces and reputation; from whence a greater mischief would have followed in Spiritual then in Temporal matters, because to the Pope's dishonour, the Catholike party would have been abandoned through his default, and the King, who at that time for fear of his enemies made shew both in words and actions that he would turn Catholike, would be left free with power to do what he pleased, without respect of any body: and finally, he thought with himself that he was come into France, not onely to compose the discords, but principally to endeavour the suppression of the King of Navar, an enemy to the Church, and the election of a new King depending wholly upon the Pope, and a friend and confident to the Kingdom of Spain. This opinion had so much power with him, that being grounded upon decency, and not finding any obstacle to the contrary of his Commission, he resolved at last to satisfie the party of the League.

Leag

gue, and to go on without delay to Paris : Wherefore 1590  
ing the Duke of Mayene extremely taken up with Milita- The Cardinal-  
mployments, he sent *Monsignor Bianchetti* to the Duke of Legat having  
ain to demand a Convoy of him for his safe passage ; overcome ma-  
ch being obtained without difficulty, passing by Dijon ny doubts and  
Troyes, he came upon the twentieth day of January into difficulties, ar-  
City of Paris, being received with most solemn pomp, tives at Paris.  
lodged in the Bishop's Palace, richly and sumptuously fur-  
ed with the King's stuff, taken out of the lodgings of the  
vre. At his arrival, he caused the Pope's *Breve* of the  
enth of October to be published ; wherein, after an ho-  
rable commemoration of the merits of the Kingdom of  
ace toward the Apostolike See, and of the reciprocal be-  
ts and kinde demonstrations of it towards the most Chri-  
Kings in all times, and after having compassionately de-  
ed the present troubles and calamities, he attested, that  
t the counsel of the Cardinals he had chosen Cardinal Gae-  
Legat to the Kingdom of France, with power to use (by  
Divine assistance) all means which by him should be thought  
o protect the Catholike Religion, to recall Hereticks into  
osome of the Church, to restore the peace and tranquil-  
of the Kingdom, and finally, to procure, that under one  
ey, good, pious, and truly Catholike King, the people of  
Kingdom might, to the glory of God, live in quietnesse  
d tranquillity, after so many dangers and calamities of War :  
Therefore he did pray and exhort all the Orders and Degrees  
France to persevere in the Catholike Religion, and labour  
e glorious example of their Ancestours, to extinguish and  
oup the evil of Heresie, to cut off the occasions and roots  
of discord ; and that particular enmities and quarrels being  
may buried, and those fatal ruinous Civil Wars being laid  
own, they should resolve to yeeld obedience to a lawful true-  
Catholike King ; and the Divine Worship being restored  
nder his shadow and protection, to live in charitable union  
nd concord ; being in the mean time obliged to receive the  
Cardinal-Legat with due reverence, and to put in execution  
is fatherly admonitions ; thereby to reap, besides temporal  
artly fruits, the divine heavenly benediction.

Two different Declarations followed upon the publicati-  
on of this *Breve* ; one, of the Parliament of Tours, by which  
all persons were forbidden to obey or acknowledge the Legat ;



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The Parli-  
ment of Tours  
forbids to ac-  
knowledge the  
Legat; and the  
Parliament of  
Paris exhorted  
all to give him  
due reverence.

All the learned  
men fight for  
their factions  
with their  
Pens, as the  
souldiers with  
their Swords.

the other, of the Parliament of Paris, by which all were exhorted to receive the fatherly love of the Apostolike See, and to give due reverence to the Legat's Admonitions. And which contrary Declarations, learned men desiring to fight for their factions in their way, no lesse ardently then the soldiers, there came forth many Decrees of Parliament, and infinite Writings of particular persons, decisions of the Sorbonne, Letters of the Legat, Answers of those Prelats that followed the King's party, and so great a quantity of Books spread broad thorow all parts by curious men, that it well appeared there was no brain that laboured not, nor pen that writ not for the defence and confirmation of the Rights of each party; but with so much pertinacie of mindes and reasons, all striking as it were at the mark of the coming and power of the Legat, that it was an easie thing to consider how spiritual Arms, wrestled and interpreted divers ways in the heat and inconsideratenesse of War, were rather like to supply new fuel to the fire, then to extinguish the flame already burning; whereby Cardinal *Gaetano* within a few days perceived the falsity of his opinion, and that it had been better counsel to have stood neutral, since that by coming to Paris he made himself Leagued onely to one of the factions; which did not onely trouble him, because it was very different from the minde and designes of the Pope, but because he began also to know clearly the weaknesse and disorders of the League.

The affairs of the *Union* were at this time very doubtful and uncertain: for the diversity of pretensions, and the contrariety of the ends of the Confederates, did (as the custom is) disturb the course of the enterprize, and did not only hold the deliberations of mens mindes in suspence, but also the effects and operations of common interests, which by reason of the King's celerity and resolution, had no need of delay. The Duke of Mayene, Prince of the faction, and Head of the enterprize, who with the authority of his Person, the prudence of his Government, and his experience in War, managed the weight of all things, esteemed the reward which should result from the blood of his brothers, and his own industry, justly to belong unto himself, and designed either to transfer the Crown upon himself and his own posterity, as had happened in the times of *Pepin* and *Charles Martel*; or that could not finally be obtained, to confer it at least upon

one Prince who should acknowledge it totally and absolutely  
 on him: yet observing his wonted integrity and right inten-  
 tion, he was resolved never to suffer that the Kingdom should  
 in any manner be divided, much lesse that it should fall into  
 the hands of a forraign Prince. The King of Spain on the  
 other side, who from the beginning had secretly, and now  
 openly protected and fomented the League, and who in late  
 years had spent two millions of gold in the service of the Con-  
 federates, and was fain now, besides the maintaining of Horse  
 and Foot, to contribute vast sums of money, both in publike  
 and private; and who saw, that without his Supplies, which  
 might be great and potent, not onely the enterprize could not  
 succeed, but also that the League could not so much as subsist,  
 he speedily dissolved, thought it more then reasonable,  
 more then just, that the expences and losses being his, the  
 gains and profits should be so likewise; and therefore besides  
 his most secret hidden intention of uniting the two Crowns, or  
 to make that of France to come to his daughter the Infanta  
 Isabella, born of Queen Elizabeth eldest sister to Henry the  
 eighth: he sought also to be publicly declared Protectour of  
 the Crown of France, with Royal preeminencies, and au-  
 thority to provide for the Offices of the Crown, to chuse the  
 Governours and Commanders in War, to dispose of Prelatical  
 dignities, and to have the power belonging to a supreme Prince:  
 which this was demanded and openly laboured for by his Agents,  
 who were *Don Bernardino Mendozza*, the Commendatory  
 of *Alora*, *Juan Battista Tassis* \* *Veedor General* of his Armies,  
 who was newly come for that purpose from Flanders. The  
 Parisians, who saw the foundation of the Faction consisted in  
 the City, not onely by reason of the abundance of people, and  
 the power of the City, but also of the continual Contributions  
 from whence they derived the sinews of the War, thought it  
 belonged to them to dispose of the Crown: and being ill sa-  
 tisfied with the Duke of Mayene, because of his unprosperous  
 success in the War, both in that the *Faux-bourgs* seemed to  
 have been lost by his delay, and that through his want of dili-  
 gence the City was in a manner besieged, and in great scarcity  
 of provisions, they inclined to submit themselves to the will of  
 the Spaniards, hoping by means of their Forces utterly to de-  
 stroy the King, whose very name they hated bitterly; to ex-  
 tinguish the Religion of the Hugonots, whereof they naturally

Princes that  
 aspired to the  
 Kingdom of  
 France.

\* *Commissary*  
*General.*



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were enemies ; and by the moneys of Spain to be eased of the intolerable burden of Contributions , as the Catholike King's ministers went cunningly promising and bragging both in publike and private. On the other side, the Nobility who followed the party of the League , and in whose hands were Arms and Fortresses, averſe from submitting themselves to the Spanish dominion , desirous of a French King , and affectionate to, or interested with the House of Guise , inclined to favour the Duke of Mayene ; and following his Name , and obeying his Command , necessitated all the rest of their party to depend upon him , and to order themselves by the motions of his will, and the authority of his Government. In the Parliament many were inclined to favour the King , and desired that he would turn to the Catholike Faith , that they might acknowledge and obey him : and universally the major part of the Counsellours were far from suffering either that the Kingdom should be divided , or that it should come to a foreign Prince. The Duke of Lorain, from whom the League received no small increase of strength and reputation, thought that the Kingdom appertained to his son the Marquess of Pont , as being born likewise of *Claude* the sister of *Henry* the third , and took it very ill that any others of the House of Lorain should dare to stand in competition with him , the Head and Chief of the Family. The Duke of Savoy likewise pretended a right to the Kingdom, because he was born of *Margaret* the sister of King *Henry* the second ; and trusted that he should perchance be favoured by the Spaniard , but perswaded himself certainly that he should have the protection of the Pope. These two Princes , besides their designs upon the Crown, had also other particular aims ; the Duke of Lorain to get Metz, Thoul, Verdun, and the Dutchy of Sedan, upon which places he had divers pretensions. The Duke of Savoy to conserve the Marquessate of Saluzzo , and by that (as it began after to be discovered ) he hoped to joyn Provence to his State ; a very commodious Province, and opportune for reason of the footing he had there already , possessing in it the City and County of Nizza. The Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Mercœur thought also of this division of the Kingdom into many parts : The first, out of a desire to reduce his Government of Lyons into a proper Signory ; the other to attain Brétagne , which by ancient rights he pretended belonged

ing unto his Wife: and many others among particular  
e, who out of a designe to reduce their Governments into  
timonies, would willingly have followed that resolution.  
fo great diversity of humours and designes, and of so great  
rty of Counsels was the League composed, who justling  
chwarting one another, interrupted the course of affairs,  
lackened that fervour wherewith from the beginning they  
conspired to establish that bond, which seemed to have no  
ar end save that of Religion.

Nor could the variety of counsels, or the uncertainty of  
e resolutions of the League be unknown to the King, by  
a on of the experience he had of them, and of the intelli-  
ne which came daily to him, and therefore endeavouring  
caw advantage from them, and make profit of them, he  
d from the time he departed from Diepe, given liberty up-  
is parole to the Marquess of *Belin* (who had been ta-  
prisoner in the businesse of Arques) with Commission  
poffer peace to the Duke of Mayene in his name, and to  
art him as a Prince of a good moderate nature, not to con-  
to the pernicious thoughts of strangers; but that freeing  
nself from the vexations of the common people, and from  
ats of the Spaniards, he would hearken to a good whol-  
n Accommodation, for by that means he might with more  
et and honour obtain whatsoever he himself could desire  
m: And at the same time he had brought to passe under  
n, that the Catholicks of his party should pray the same  
aquesse to beseech the Duke of Mayene from them, that  
ould exhort and perswade the King to turn Catholick;  
r hat was the way to reduce him into the bosome of the  
rch; and with his honour and reputation to restore peace  
etranquillity, so necessary, and so desired of all France.  
at the Marquess having done his message, and reiterated it  
a after the King's departure from the *Fauxbourgs* of Paris,  
e thoughts & reasons were different not only in the minds of  
ounsellors, but also of the Duke of Mayene himself. They  
a favoured the Propositions of the Catholicks of the King's  
ry, said, There could be no resolution taken either more  
e purpose, or of more benefit and honour to the Duke,  
e event be what it would; for if the King should ac-  
p the invitation, and make himself a Catholick, discords  
ould thereby be buried, Religion secured, the Kingdom  
come

A Treaty of  
Agreement be-  
tween *Henry*  
the Fourth and  
the Duke of  
Mayene.



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come into the hands of the lawfull Successor, and an end to the fatall revolutions of Civill War; That the name of the Duke would thereby remain glorious to all the world as the authour of so great a good; his intentions would be justified, and the end of his taking up arms would plainly appear with the eternal benedictions of all the people of France: That as a consequent of so pious a work, would result the freeing of the Cardinal of Bourbon, who in so decayed an age, one could hardly believe, desired rather his liberty, and a quiet passage out of this life, then a vain shadow of dominion accompanied with a most strict imprisonment; That thereupon likewise would follow the freeing of the Dukes of Guise and Elbœuf, of whose recovery they had for a long time had but small, or no hope. And finally, that the state of the Duke himself, and of his posterity, would be as great as he himself knew how to ask or desire. But if the King should refuse to satisfie his request, and should persevere in the Hugonot Religion; then not only the reasons of the League would be justified to all the world, but the confusion of those who did sinisterly interpret the acts of the Confederates; but also the Catholicks who followed the King, despairing of his conversion, and having found the falseness of his promises, would all forsake him; whereby he remaining only with the dependence of a few hereticks, it would be easie to suppress him, and make an honourable end of the War by Victory.

On the other side, they that dissuaded from that resolution, said, That the War being wholly grounded upon the point of Religion, that overture could not be made without a precedent licence from the Pope, whom it concerned to approve and confirm the King's conversion: And that the Duke of Mayene not being absolute Prince of the League, but only Head of his own party, ought not to proceed to so important and so peremptory an act, without the consent of all the Estates that followed his party, and of all the Princes that adhered to and favoured the League: For if the Pope should not approve of his conversion, whatsoever he should have treated or resolved upon would remain void and of no effect; and if the Confederates should not follow his determination, they would chuse another Head, and he would be left deprived of the prop of the Catholick party, and unhappily exposed to the will of his enemies. That this was a plot of the King himself, to beget distrust

en him and his party, and to sowe discords and suspici-  
among the Confederates; That it might be, he would  
himself a Catholick, to the end he might more securely  
pose of Religion at his own pleasure; in which case the  
hasty, and too simple credulity of the Duke would for-  
be condemned; and likewise that the King, to break the  
on of the League would promise mountains of gold, but  
out any security; that being settled King in peace, hee  
ld not after observe that, or the least part of that which he  
promised; from whence to his eternall blame, would fol-  
the ruine of himself and all his Adherents; That the  
se of present affairs required he should continue united  
the rest of the Confederates: That he should not dis-  
the Pope, nor alienate the Catholick King, nor the  
e of Lorain; That he should not be abashed for the ill-  
esse of the beginning, but hope, that as God had reven-  
d the bloud of his Brothers, so he would give him assistance  
establish Religion, and exalt his state to the greatnesse he  
d for. The Duke was moved on the one side by the  
esse of the Proposition of those of the King's party, as  
oy his anger at the instability and impertinency of the Pa-  
s: the scarcity of money afflicted him, for want whereof  
new not how to pay his forreign Forces, nor how to sa-  
fi the demands of all the Garisons, and all the Governors,  
oaddressed themselves to him for whatsoever they needed;  
the cunning and obduratenesse of the Spaniards troubled  
more then all the rest, who having caused the *Sieur de la*  
Governour of Graveline, to come out of Flanders with  
olyses to the very Frontiers of the Kingdom, denyed to  
him advance any further, or to pay any summe of money  
e maintenance of the War, if the Catholick King were  
t declared Protector of the Crown of France, with au-  
thy to dispose of the principall Dignities, as well Ecclesi-  
icall as Civill (which they called *las Marcas de justicia*)  
e by hee would have power and superiority over the  
e; which things seemed to him so exorbitant, so pre-  
diall to the Crown, and so unfit, that neither he himself  
uld endure to hear of them, nor did he believe that any of  
e Confederates, except the Parisians, would condescend un-  
th; knowing that it was a putting off the bridle into  
e hand of the Catholick King, to give him leave to guide  
the

The *Sieur de la Mothe* refuses to advance beyond the Frontiers, unless the King of Spain be declared Protector of the Crown of France, with authority to dispose of the chief Ecclesiastical & Temporal Dignities; which prerogatives were otherwise called *Marks of justice*.



1590 the event of things whithersoever he pleased at last to determine them. But on the other side, the doubt of being left alone and forsaken, the uncertainty of the King's conversion, of his word, the ancient enmity stirred up against him, much more the hope of attaining the Crown for himself at last did not suffer him to consent to the *Marquesse de Bellegarde* Propositions: wherefore he sent him back to his imprisonment with generall ambiguous words, and cut off the proposed Treaty of agreement. And to remedy (as much as in him lay) the disorders of present affairs, partly by opportunity, partly by cunning, partly by terrour of arms, he caused the Councell of the Union to be very much moderated, which from the beginning was composed of seditious persons, and such as did not depend wholly upon him, and would have the Arch-bishop of Lyons (newly set at liberty by *Catharin du Gast* for a great summe of money, and come to Paris) to execute the Office of High-Chancellour, and in that quality to be President of the Councell; and brought into it *Sieur de Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, men that were confident, and averse from condescending to the will of the Spaniards; and increasing the number, he put in so many of the principall Gentlemen, that he did no longer fear their insolency and instability of the common people in those deliberations which occurred daily; and yet to satisfie all in appearance, he caused a Decree to be made in the Councell, by which the Princes, Peers, Marshalls of France, Governors of Provinces, Officers of the Crown, and the three Orders of the Kingdom were appointed to meet at *Melun* in the month of February following, to hold the States Generall there, where all present affairs should be deliberated, and resolved on with the common consent: which appointment, though men of understanding saw, that in respect of the confusion of the war it was like to prove vain, it not being possible either to meet, or stay together in a place that was in the middle of the combustion, served nevertheless to bait the common people, who are sooner caught with vain, but specious things, then with such as are serious and substantiall.

The Duke of Mayene will not hearken to an agreement with the King.

The Arch-bishop of Lyons lately prisoner at Amboise, is made High-Chancellor to the Duke of Mayene.

With the Spaniards (who importuned him most earnestly for the Declaration) the Duke held another temper, excusing himself by the coming of the Cardinall-Legat, which was ready was very neer, without whose assent and presence he

it was not fit to conclude a businesse of so great moment ; fed them with hopes, so artificially, and with so much dissimulation, that they not distrusting the inclination and ready consent of the Legat, it was easie to perswade them to stay coming : neither therefore would they make the supplies hence, or disburse any sum of money, alleadging the same on, that for their parts they would stay for the approbation of the Cardinal-Legat. But because the Parisians, straightned by the scarcity of Victual, murmured exceedingly, (nor did it appear that in that they were much to blame) the Duke joining together all the Forces he had in being, laid siege to the city, to open on that side a passage for the provisions of necessity.

In the mean time the Cardinal-Legat arrived, with whom the Duke of Mayene having had an Interview at Paris, many of the principal Lords who were neere at hand being there present, and among the rest Cardinal *Gondi* (who since the death of his brother, being retired to *Noysey*, a house of his brother's, had kept himself neuter) they began to treat of the progresse of the affairs of the League. The Spaniards above all insisted upon declaring the Catholike King Protector, and upon the *Marks of Justice* they demanded him ; and were fomented by the Council of *Sixteen*, who maintained there was no other opposition against it, but that of the Duke of Mayene ; and that the whole party would willingly concur to satisfy the Catholike King, as he from whom they acknowledged the security of Religion, and their own safety. On the other side, the Duke resisted, with the major part of the Nobility, and with the Counsellours of Parliament, who were resolved not to consent unto it : and some inconveniency might have sprung from it, if Cardinal *Gaetano* had not put the Spaniards in minde, That it was no time to insist upon those demands, nor to force the wills of the French unreasonably : That it would make them agree, and reconcile themselves to the King of Navar, who not being wanting to himself, proposed large advantageous conditions : That the urgency of the businesse was to be waited for, and mens mindes were not to be put into suspicions unseasonably, for that without doubt the event would be the dissolution of the League, the danger of Religion, and ruine of the whole enterprise. That it was needful first to withstand the Arms and



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A false rumor is divulged, of a Treaty of Agreement, which increases the confusion of the Parisians.

progress of the King, lest he by means of those discords should have time to establish himself; and then that danger being removed, neither ways nor occasions would be wanting to satisfy the Catholike King's interests, which he in due time would advance and favour with all his power: And it fell on very opportunely, that about the same time, either by chance or cunning, some Articles of Agreement were divulged, between the King and the Duke of Mayene, which were reported to have been concluded by Monsieur *de Villeroy* for him, and the Marechal *de Byron* on the King's part; and many affirmed that they were most true, and already subscribed by the Dutcheffes of Nemours and Mayene, the one mother the other wife to the Duke, who indeed were against the Spaniards demands; whereby that happening which ordinarily is wont, that Fear overcomes all other Passions, and removes all other impediments, the Spanish Ministers agreed at last, that *Juan Battista Tassis*, one of their number, and the *Sieur de Rossieux* for the Duke of Mayene, should go together into Spain, to know personally the Catholike King's intentions, which the Duke of Mayene affirmed to be different from what his Ministers reported, and to bring back the order that was to be observed in the administration of common affairs.

The Spaniards consent that the Supplies of Flanders should advance, and joyn with the Duke of Mayene.

Cardinal *Gaeziano* grants unto the Duke of Mayene the 300000 crowns brought for the enlargement of the Cardinal of Bourbon.

The Decree of the Colledge of Sorbonne.

In the mean time they consented that the supplies from Flanders should advance, to unite themselves with the Army of the Duke of Mayene; who, Pontoise being once taken, purposed to march forward and meet the enemy. The Cardinal-Legat added the three hundred thousand crowns which he had brought from Rome in bills of Exchange, which (being for the present they could not be spent for the enlargement of the Cardinal of Bourbon) he had upon the necessity of that enterprise granted to the Duke, since he absolutely denied that the Army could move, if it got not at least some part of the arrears of its pay.

On the other side, the Duke of Mayene consented that the Colledge of *Sorbonne* should make a Decree, confirmed by the Cardinal-Legat, that no Agreement should be treated with the Hereticks, nor particularly with *Henry of Bourbon*, who was declared to be relapsed and excommunicated; nor should hold any commerce or intelligence with him, upon the same pain of Excommunication and Heresie: to which the Duke

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 take more easily gave consent, because at that time his minde  
 as utterly averſe from an Accommodation, and full of hope,  
 maining victorious over his enemies, to reduce things to  
 at point which he aimed at ſecretly in himſelf.

The diſcords being thus compoſed and quieted, the Duke  
 ſirous to piece up his reputation loſt in the aſſaults at Diepe,  
 d in the loſſe of the *Fauxbourgs* of Paris, being ſtirred up and  
 led with hopes by the Cardinal-Legat, moved with his  
 hole Army to beſiege *Meulan*, a ſmall place, but ſeated up-  
 the Paſſe of the River *Seine*, at the entering into *Norman-*  
 , which therefore next to *Pontoife*, hindered the bringing  
 Viſtuals to the City of Paris. *Meulan* is a little Bourg en-  
 ſed with ancient walls, which ſpreads it ſelf along the bank  
 the *Seine*: from thence there is a convenient paſſage over  
 pacious Bridge into an Iſland in the miſt of the River, which  
 duced into the form of a Fortreſſe, is defended and flanked  
 th four Ravelines after the modern way; and from the Iſle  
 ere is a paſſage over another Bridge to the other bank of the  
 River, where there is a great Tower of ancient building, which  
 ives as a defence and fortification to the Bridge. Colonel  
*Brangueville* was in *Meulan* with four Companies of French  
 ot, fifty Switzers, and eighty Light-Horſe; who thinking  
 ht after the taking of *Pontoife* (which Town had capitula-  
 ed to ſurrender) the Duke of *Mayene*, to ſatiſſie the *Parifi-*  
 is, would come on to beſiege that place, had with exceeding  
 at diligence cauſed the Bourg to be encompassed with a  
 od Trench, flanked with Half-moons; and the ſame had he  
 ne to the great Tower which ſtands beyond the River upon  
 entry of the Bridge, the Iſle being already well enough for-  
 id before: At the ſame time he likewiſe diſpatched ſeveral  
 ſſengers to the King, to demand relief: and having ordered  
 imen in a readineſſe, and given Arms to thoſe of the Bourg,  
 al taken a reſolution to defend himſelf to the uttermoſt.  
 The ſiege being laid on that ſide where the Bourg ſtands, the  
 Dke of *Mayene* cauſed a Battery to be planted, which be-  
 a to play upon the defendants with eleven Pieces of Canon;  
 uſo great was their diligence in repairing their Works, and  
 oreat annoyance did the Army receive as it were in the flank,  
 on two Pieces of Artillery planted in the point of a Rave-  
 in the Iſland, that the ſiege went on with great difficulty,  
 n exceeding ſlowly: Wherefore the Duke, angry that ſo

*Meulan ſtands  
 upon the Seine  
 belowe Paris.*

A deſcription  
 of the ſituation  
 of *Meulan*, and  
 of the ſiege  
 laid to it by  
 the Duke of  
*Mayene*.



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small a place should make so obstinate a resistance (for he had already been ten days at work about it) caused the *Sieur de Rhosne*, one of his Camp-Mareschals, to passe over to the other side of the Seine, and make a Battery against the Tower of the Bridge, to straighten the defendants on all sides.

In the mean time the King, who was quartered between Lisieux and Ponteau *de Mer*, with a designe to besiege Houlle, which was the onely Town in the lower Normandy then held for the League, having had notice of the eager siege of Meulan, resolved to march presently to relieve it: for the greatest hope of his Arms consisting in the blocking up and cutting off provisions from the City of Paris, with confidence that he should break the stubbornnesse of the Citizens, and that the impatience of want and necessity would make their mindes incline to Peace; he saw that the taking of Meulan would open a large passage for abundant supplies of provisions: wherefore being departed from Lisieux the fourteenth of February, and having taken Vernueil by the way, he marched (though orderly) with so great diligence, that having gone four leagues in seven days, he appeared upon the one and twentieth with his Army in Battalia within sight of Meulan, on the side where the Tower was besieged and battered by the *Sieur de Rhosne*, who having but a small part of the Army with him, and therefore unequal Forces to continue the siege on the field side, drawing off his Canon, passed the River in Boats that waited for him, and went into the Duke's Camp; and the King entering personally into Meulan on that side, and giving due commendations to the defendants, left three hundred Swiss and two hundred French Fire-locks there; and retiring to his Army, quartered in the places neer adjacent.

The Duke of Mayene knowing that the King would not attempt with inferiour Forces to passe the River in the face of his Army, continued with confidence to batter the place; and the Canon having made way with about five hundred shot, the assault was given upon the two and twentieth day; which was so sharp, that the defendants would not have endured it long, if the King at the same time, sending in fresh men on the other side of the River, had not given them new courage and new strength; and yet neverthelesse having lost the first Trench, they were reduced to their inner Works, with small hope of defending them, if the Mareschal *de Biron* had not come in with a gre-



at many Foot ; who bringing other Canon into the Isle, with raked thorow their flank with a very great slaughter, and the assailants at last to retreat towards the evening. The Duke of Mayene still persisted in his resolution to the place, judging that his glory would be so much the greater if he could take Meulan before the King's face, by much the more difficult he esteemed the enterprize in respect of the hourly relief which the besieged received from the mouth of the River. But the King having changed his quarters and after having furnished Meulan with all things necessary having lodged his Army upon the great high-way that leads to Paris, the Duke of Mayene was constrained to send the Duke of Nemours thither with some Light-horse, to prevent the tumults and precipitate despair of the people : after the diminution of his Army, it fortuned that news came suddenly, how the old Castle at Rouen was seized upon by rebellious persons, and that the whole City was brought to very great danger and confusion : wherefore upon the next twentieth day he resolved to raise his siege, and to that way without delay, (so much did accidental chances assist the King's proceedings) and yet the danger of the City vanished without any trouble : for the *Sieur de la Roche* who commanded the Souldiers, having driven out those who made the tumult the same night, and also the *Sieur d'Alençon* who was the Head of them, restored the City unto its quietnesse. But the Duke of Mayene, thinking it at impossible to take Meulan, considering the hourly relief it sent him from the King; and not being willing to lose time, and to draw off his Army upon a vain enterprize, resolved to draw off, with easie marches to meet the Supplies from Flanders and Italy, which he had intelligence were advancing speedily to the aid of the King.

The Duke of Mayene, after 25 days, raises the siege of Meulan, and marches towards Rouen to appease new troubles.

On the other side, the King being intent upon cutting off the communications from Paris on all sides, resolved unexpectedly to besiege the City of Dreux, his minde giving him that he should be able to take it before the Duke of Mayene returned, and so not only to shut up the passage of Normandy, but also keeping a strong Garrison there, cut off and molest the ways of Beauvais, and hinder the free passage between Chartres and Paris. The *Count de Falandre* and Captain *la Viette*, were in Dreux; both with a strong Garrison, who having a sufficient Garrison, received the

The King besiegeth Dreux.



1590

the siege very constantly, which was begun upon the last February, shewing in the first skirmishes both firm resolution of minde, and great experience in War: which opinion received of them, they did the more confirm at the Marechal *Biron's* viewing and discovering the place: for they laid an ambush of many Musketiers, secretly placed in the manner by whom *Charles Brise* the chief Canoneer, who was close by him, Captain *la Boulaye*, and two others of his own service were slain; he himself being shot upon the Target with three bullets, and beaten to the ground, was not wounded by reason of the goodnesse of his Arms; but yet he had much ado to get off, and had certainly been taken prisoner by the enemy, had not his son the Baron, who followed him very neer, had not opportunely succoured and disingaged him. The valour of the defendants was not lesse in other actions: for the Artillery having made a great breach by the third of March, the King commanded the Foot to assault the Curtine, at which fight he fought gallantly from noon to sun-set, the defendants at the last drove back the King's Forces with a very great slaughter; and following them victoriously into their trenches, slew three Captains there, and two hundred souldiers. About this time the King received seasonable assistance from many parts: for he had called unto him all the supplies of the Provinces, first of all the Marechal *d'Anmont* joyned with him, who led the Gens of Champagne, and one thousand and two hundred Rectors newly sent out of Germany by the *Sieur de Sancy*; and a while after, the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Giury* came up with two hundred Gentlemen, and three hundred Light-horsemen, at last Captain *Raulet* Governour of *Pont de l'Arche*, the Comendatory *de Chattes*, the *Sieur de l'Archant*, and other Gentlemen, brought in the Forces of Normandy: after whose arrival, the King, desirous to try the last push for the place he besieged, caused four other pieces of Canon, with great stores of Ammunition to be fetched from Meulan, where they had been left, and began to batter it afresh with very great violence.

At the news of  
the siege of  
Dreux, the  
people of Paris  
mutiny.

But the news of the besieging of Dreux being come to Paris, it is not credible how much men's mindes were affected by it, and how much the people murmured and mutinied, it, being exposed more then all others to future dangers, and to the present distresses of hunger: wherefore the Car

it, and the Spanish Ministers being very much troubled, avoured not onely by means of the Preachers to appease and cheer up the Citizens, but solicited the Duke of Mayene with frequent Letters, and resenting Messages, spurring him up with often vehement complaints, and seeming to desire, that having much a stronger Army, he should let principall Citie, on which the most secure hopes of the League were relyed, to be brought into such scarcity; that it was necessary to prevent those imminent insurrections which were daily laboured for on the King's part; that so much money had been spent, and so much pains taken, and that nothing had been done save enterprises of small or no account in the sum of affairs; and that it was evident nothing else was endeavourd, nothing else pretended, but to consume time profitably, and tyre out the patience of the Confederates; the three hundred thousand Crowns sent by the Pope being already spent, with what money would he maintain his Army for the future? with contributions of the Parisians, who had been already long blocked up, and reduced to extreme want of necessaries, were faine to pay ten crowns for a bushell of wheat, and to live upon bread alone without any other subsistence? that every one desired he would at last make tryall whether the swords of the Confederates could cut as well, as were as sharp as those of the *Bearnois* (so they called those of the King's party,) and that the Catholick King had not sent his Garisons of Flanders, to the end his souldiers should lose their time in idlenesse; that it was manifestly seen how much a mans resolution was to be valued; for the King without money, without being prop'd up by Confederates, without friends, and in a manner without any Towns, had in a few months traversed all France, taken more places and Forts than there were dayes in the yeer, and now fiercely and resolutely threatned the City of Paris it self, even in the face of the League.

The Duke of Mayene moved by these complaints earnestly troubled many times, though in his own minde he feared the expertnesse of his men, and did much esteem the valour of the Nobility that followed the King's Camp, yet was resolved to put it to a day, because the great advantage he had in number made him conceal his own opinion, and his Head of the Confederates forced him to mannage the  
War



1590

The Duke of Mayene joyns with the Spanish supplies from Flanders, and marches towards Dreux resolved to fight.

War by the directions of others, fearing many inconveniences if he should have gone about to manage it his own way. Wherefore being joyned with Count *Egmont*, who brought from Flanders fifteen hundred Lanciers, and four hundred Carabines, and having met Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* some two days after, who brought twelve hundred Horse, and two thousand German Foot out of Lorain, he began his march without further delay to raise the siege of Dreux, and come presently to the issue of a battell. The Flemish Cavalry were excellently well horsed, and gallantly set forth with silk and gold, but generally undervalued in respect of the French Gentry: on the other side, the Carabines, armed for the most part with back, breast, and pot, and mounted upon nimble horses of a middle size, being expert in all encounters, were not once esteemed by their own, but which imported more, feared by their enemies. The Germans led by *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, had been raised in the name of the *Sieur de Sancy*, who sent by the King to the Princes of Germany, and having obtained money from the Lant-Grave of Hesse, the Count of *Mombelliard*, and from the Cities of Ulme and Norembergh, had levied Horse and Foot to joyn with the Mareschall *d' Aumont* in Champagne, where the Cavalry prosperously did; who by the way of Langres (though by a various passage) came to the place appointed; but the Infantry being come neer the City of Strasbourg, was encompassed by the Duke of Lorain, and to free themselves from danger, broke their faith, and having received new money in the name of the Confederates, was come into the Camp of the League, under the command of Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*: with these Forces and the old Army, which amounted in all to the number of four thousand five hundred Horse, and little lesse then twenty thousand Foot: the Duke furnished with victual and all things necessary, reviewed his Army diligently upon the ninth of March, and having given his soldiers leave to rest all the day following, upon the eleventh in the morning he moved toward Dreux, which Town was fiercely battered and assaulted by the King.

The German Infantry raised for the King of France, turned for the League under the command of Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*.

The Army of the League being 4500 horse and 20000 Foot, march to relieve Dreux.

The King advertised of their coming raises the siege.

But the King having intelligence that the Duke of Mayene increased in strength, advanced towards him with a resolution to fight, being deceived both by the constancy of the defendants, from whom he did not think to have met with such assistance; and by the celerity of the Duke, who he did not believe

ve would so suddenly have joyned with the Supplies of Confederates, determined to raise the siege, being not resolved to fight, by reason of the inequality of Forces; intending (in case he should come to a battell) to finde the most convenient place, and most advantagious ground he could for his Army. The Artillery was drawn off Munday being the twelfth of March in the morning; but use the King would have the Baggage to go before, and the Army should march in Battalia, the day was already spent when the Camp moved, nor did they arrive at Nancourt their appointed Quarter till many hours of the day were past: at which time a mighty storm of rain falling from heaven, among terrible thunder and lightning, put the Army into a very great fright, as well because retreats are alwayes formidable to those that know not the intimate secrets of command, as by reason of the fame which was spread abroad of the powerfull Forces of the Enemy, and because the storm and the weather seemed to conspire in prejudice to that Army, which almost half drowned, marched as if they were flying under favour of the dark, though close in the ranks and files of their Divisions. The terrour of the rarer was increased by a prodigious apparition, which as the clouds eased, appeared in the midst of the skie; for there were two wonderfull great Armies, of a red bloody colour, which rushed visibly together in the air, amidst the horrible sound of the thunder, and within a while after, the event not being known, they both vanished, and were covered again with succeeding thick and most obscure clouds; which though it was diversly interpreted by many, seemed most probably to portend mischief and ruine to that Army, which inferiour in strength, and altogether void of other help then that of its own Forces, retired, as it were already conquered, while the Enemy advanced; and so much the more, because these were the very places, where in the first Civil Wars, the King's Predecessours and his Faction of the Hugonots lost the first battell against the Duke of Guise, wherein the Prince of Condé in the midst of the terrible slaughter of his men, was wounded and taken prisoner. But the Army being come to Nancourt (a Town which had been taken two dayes before) and refreshed both with great fires kindled in every place and with plenty of victual, which the Marechal de Byron

A terrible Prodigie seen by the King's souldiers.



1590

The King's  
Army 3000  
Horse, and  
8000 Foot.

Reasons moving the King  
to fight, though  
his Army was  
lesse by half  
then that of  
the League.

caused to be disposed with very good order thorow the whole quarters as well of Horse as Foot, the Souldiers recovered strength and courage: and the King being come to his lodging with the Marefchals of *Aumont* and *Byron*, began to consider whether he should venture the hazard of a Battel. One thing dissuaded him from it, which was the inequality of the number of the two Armies: for in the King's there were not above eight thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, which were about half as many as that of the League; and if he had a miracle to avoid the encounter, there was also conveniency to retreat beyond the River *Eure* into places of lower Normandy, all bounding with provisions, and all reduced to the King's obedience; where, with variety of opposition and of effects, the enemy might be hindered and kept in play. But not once the promptnesse of the King's nature inclined to generous resolutions, but also the condition of present affairs withstood the determination: for his Forces consisting in the union of the Gentry, who served upon their own charge, without pay or reward, it was necessary to make use of them in the first ardor of their courage, and not to suffer their first fury to be cooled by their expences and sufferings. To this was added the want of money, which was very great and irreparable, for the payment of the Swisses and other strangers; so that they could not be long maintained and kept together: Whereas on the other side, there was no doubt but the enemy would never want means, not onely to sustain, but also to increase their Forces to a greater number, whensoever it should please the Pope and the King of Spain: And finally, the King's foundation was wholly grounded upon franknesse of courage and resolution, it being necessary to hazard the lesser to obtain the greater: and because all other hopes were weak, necessity perswaded to the sum of affairs upon the edge of the sword; nor could it seem other then faint-heartednesse and cowardise, not to second that prosperous beginning which Fortune had favourably shewed him. To all these reasons was added the opinion of the Marechal *de Byron* (whose counsels, by reason of his wisdom and experience, were by the King observed as Oracles) who thought it not onely difficult, but in a manner altogether impossible to avoid the putting of it to a Battel, and to retreat without receiving some notable losse in passing the Rivers: so that the Duke of Mayene should follow them in the Rere: and so

jud:

ged it better advice to fight resolutely with the vigour and  
wardnesse of the Army, then to be destroyed piece-meal,  
hout the least hope of any good: Wherefore the King, be-  
determined to fight, designed the form of the Battel; and  
ing asked the counsel of the oldest souldiers about it, all of  
m approved his opinion without contradiction.

The King knew the enemies Army abounded with a great  
ber of Lanciers, who being spread at large along the field,  
e was no doubt but they would break in; and by conse-  
nce endanger the putting of his Cavalry in disorder, com-  
ed all of Gentlemen-Voluntiers; who serving upon their  
xpence without pay or obligation, had in the revoluti-  
of the Civil Wars given over the use of Lances, for their  
veniency, and as more ready, had taken Pistols in their  
ls, in imitation of the *Reiters*: Wherefore desiring by  
stry to remedy this disadvantage, which he, and the most  
rienced Commanders were wont to deplore, he divided  
Cavalry into many Squadrons, to render the encounter of  
Lances lesse effectual; in whose passage, two or three lesser  
ces might charge them on all sides, and not receive the  
ck of their front, with a firm encounter and continued or-

The King de-  
signes his form  
of Battel, and  
draws it with  
his own hand.

To every Body of Horse he joyned Squadrons of Foot,  
e end that the hail of small shot might not onely favour  
own men in the encounter, but that falling among the ene-  
e, and doing execution upon them, it might make them  
aer, and their violence the lesse united: a remedy which  
e need thereof in the difference of Arms, having often  
consulted and approved of, did that day give proof how  
nderable it was in effect. The King having invented the  
m wherein the Army was to be drawn up and embattelled,  
ve the designe thereof into the hand of the Baron de Byron  
an-Master-General; and chose Monsieur de Vincy, an old  
nel of the French Infantry; and a man of great valour  
xperience, Serjeant-Major-General, an Office for the  
mportance of it, not wont to be conferred but upon  
persons as by their approved knowledge and long pra-  
ce on remarkable occasions, had gotten the credit and repu-  
ion of Command, and consequently both knew and were  
own of all. The remainder of the night was spent in rest;  
the Drums and Trumpets, at the first peep of light, gave  
tic of the approaching day; in the beginning whereof



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Massé was celebrated in all the quarters of the Catholikes, and the Hugonots made their Prayers apart : after which, the whole Army being come forth into the field, the Carriages of provision passed without tumult or confusion thorow all the field, the Mareschal *de Byron* having care thereof, whose order of government, to the admiration of all, shewed his great experience in the discipline of War.

The Army being refreshed and fed, they began with less haste than they had done the evening before, to march towards the field of *Yvry*, appointed by the King for the place of Battle, as well because it was large and spacious on all sides, by reason of many places of advantage, which he (preventing the enemy) had designed to make himself master of. The field takes the compass of many miles in a circular form ; it is bounded on the left side (on which the King's Army came) by two great commodious Villages, one called *Fourcanville*, the other *S<sup>t</sup> André* ; and on the other side, where the Army of the League marched, a thick Wood shuts up the Plain, commonly called by the Country-people, \* *Le clos de la prairie* on the west-side, towards which both Armies marched, it ends in a deep valley, in which runs the River *Eure*, of a reasonable breadth, upon whose banks are two great Bourgs, *Anet* towards the South, and *Yvry* situated on the other side towards the North. The River under *Anet* is wont to be easily forded without danger ; but a large Bridge of planks, upon great pieces of timber, leads from the further side into *Yvry*. The field flat and open on all sides, not incumbered with hedges, nor uneven with banks and ditches, hath onely a little natural hollownesse, which extends it self a little way, almost in the midst of the plain right over against the above-named village of *Fourcanville*. The *Sieur de Vicy*, and the *Baron de Byron*, together with the *Sieur de Surene* and Captain *Favas*, who that day executed the Office of Adjutants, being all rode before into this place, drew up the Army as it came, and disposed it in such manner, that the Village of *S<sup>t</sup> André* flanked it on the right side, and *Fourcanville* on the left ; wherein, the ill weather continuing, they might quarter upon all occasions conveniently under cover : and the hollow of the Plain happened to be in the front of the Army, where the Forlorn-hope (which they call *Les Enfants perdus*) was to be placed. The Duke of Montpensier led the Van, the King commanded the Bat-

\* The hedge or inclosure of the meadow.

The manner of drawing up the King's Army for the battle in the field of *Yvry*.

the Mareſchal *de Byron* the Rere. The Cavalry of the Army was drawn into five Bodies, whereof the firſt, led by Mareſchal *d'Anmont*, with two Regiments of Firelocks by ſtood upon the left hand, in the uttermoſt part of the field. It was the ſecond, commanded by the Duke of Montſieſ, flanked on the right hand by a Squadron of Swiſſe Infantry, and on the left by another of the Germans. The third, bigger then all the reſt, in which was the King's Perſon, Prince of Conty, the Count of St Paul, and the choiceſt number of Lords and Gentlemen, was flanked by the Swiſſes on the right hand, and by thoſe of Colonel *bazar* on the left. The fourth, led by Mareſchal *de* *n*, followed on the right hand of this, and had neer it Regiments of French Fire-locks. The fifth and laſt, of man Horſe, led by Count *Theodorick* of Schombergh, led down to the houſes of the Village of St André. Two Squadrons of Horſe beſides theſe were in the front of the Army, ſome fifty paces before all the reſt; one commanded by Grand Prior and the Baron *de Ginry*, wherein were four hundred Light-horſe; and the other by the Baron *de Byron*, which were three hundred Cuiraffes: And in the miſt, between theſe two Squadrons, were placed the Artillery, commanded by *Philibert de la Guiche*, with \* fifty Harquebuſiers on Horſeback, two hundred Pioneers, and the ordinary company of Canoneers. The Forlorn-hope, led by three Colonels, *ois*, *Brignolet*, and *Parabiere*, ſome fifty paces before the Artillery and the whole Army, lay cloſe in that hollow that was in the miſt of the Plain, ſo that it could not be hurt by the Enemies Canon; and kneeling with one knee on the ground, could hardly be diſcovered by thoſe that knew not their being there. In this manner the Army, not in a round form, or ſhape of a Half-moon, but ſpreading it ſelf in a ſtraight line, had an equal front, except onely that the Grand Prior and the Baron *de Biron* with their Squadrons, and the Artillery, being advanced forwarder then the reſt, covered the main Body of the Battel. They had not yet made any thing of ordering and imbattelling the Army, when two ſeveral ſupplies from ſeveral parts came up unto the King: for the Sieurs *du Pleſſis*, *de Moüy*, and *de la Tremouille*, came out of Picardy with about two hundred Horſe; and out of Picardy the Sieur *de Humieres* with about \* fourſcore Gentlemen, ſtirred up

\* The French Translation ſays five hundred.

\* The French ſays four hundred.



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up by the report which was spread abroad that there was like to be a Battel about that time : which supplies, though small yet coming so opportunely, and being increased by fame, gave wonderful courage and assurance to every one, all being of opinion that it was clearly the mercy of Heaven in favour of the King, who unexpectedly received those helps, in so urgent a time of need : and every one more esteeming the happiness of the Omen, then the considerableness of their Force they were welcomed with loud joyful acclamations : and that they might not disturb the order of the Army, they went into the King's Squadron placed just in the middle of the Battel.

The Duke of Mayene on the other side having intelligence that the King was risen from the siege of Dreux, and that being neither stayed by any hinderance of the rain, nor by the darkness of the night, he marched with exceeding great speed towards Normandy, was of opinion that he, by reason of the equality of Forces, would have avoided the hazard of fighting, and therefore hastened the march of his Army, hoping that the usual confusion of all Retreats might afford him some opportunity (especially in the passage of so many Rivers) to break, or at least endamage the enemy : and this being not only the belief of the General, but the universal opinion of the whole Army, every one of his own accord quickened his pace, promising themselves an exceeding easie and very secure victory without losse of blood : from which haste it came to passe, that though the Army marched as close as they could in their ranks, yet were the squadrons of it something confused, and almost quite disordered, by the unequallness of the way. But going on with this diligence towards Yvry, with an intention to take the King in the passage of the River, the Sieur de Rhosne and Gessan, who led the first divisions, in the evening of the Plain discovered the King's Army ; which, drawn up in Battalia, and having taken the advantage of the field, expected the encounter of the day. This news, which passed from Van to Rere, did in great measure cool the courage of many, who already had inconsiderately promised themselves the victory without fighting, and caused the Army to make a halt to draw up and recover their order. The Army of the League was divided into two Battalions, whereof the right was led by the Duke of Nemours, and the left by the *Chevalier d'Amboise*.

The manner  
how the Army  
of the League  
was imbat-  
tled.

the point of the right Wing was the Count *d'Egmont* with Lanciers he had brought out of Flanders; next which was a Body of Swisses commanded by their Colonels, *Fifer Berling*, and flanked with the Regiments of *Ponsenac*, *Dixenx*, and *Chasteliere*. Then the Duke of Nemours his Regiment, wherein were four hundred Horse; and between them and the Swisses were placed the Artillery. In the left Wing four hundred light-Horse, Burguignons and Spaniards, and themselves in the uttermost parts to the very edge of the field, and by the side of them the Body of German Foot, commanded by the Colonel *S' Paul*, and flanked by the French Lorain Regiments of *Tremblecourt*, *Tenissay*, and *Chastaigne*; and next these was placed the Squadron of the *Chevalier male*, wherein were the Troops of the *Sieurs de Longep, de Perdriel*, and *de Fountaine Martel*. The Duke of Nemours with his Cornet and four hundred Gentlemen, which made seven hundred Horse, was in the midst between the two Wings, flanked by the Flemish Carabines; and between them were two Squadrons of Reiters led by the Duke of Brunswick, and by *Bassompier*, who were to charge, and to fall off after their wonted manner, and so passing between the two Wings, should fall as a Reserve, and rally themselves in order, that they might return more fresh into the battle.

In this order the Army marching gently toward the Plain; and by degrees turning their backs to Yvry and the banks of the River, came up to face the King's Army when the day was already almost spent: for having marched disorderly, they had been forced to waste a great deal of time to rank themselves again; whereupon the neer approaching of night, together with the constant extremity of wet weather, withheld both the Generals from giving way that the battell should be begun; and after they had stood thus some two hours, faintly skirmishing, because each was carefull not to engage their Forces; and being already shut in on every side, the King drew his Army with a great deal of conveniency into Fourcanille, and Anré, and the Duke of Mayene with as much inconvenience was fain to quarter his men as well as he could, having but very few houses, which want he supplied by the help of tents and pavillions set up within the descent of the valley toward the bank of the River. The night was full of unquietness,

The Armies face one another, but being overtaken by the night, they retire to quarters.



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etnesse, and continuall stir on both sides, kindling great fire very thick in each Camp, and Sentinels being set out all over the field, which were changed every half hour by the Colonels who went the rounds; though the King's Army, for reason of the abundance of victual, of the conveniency of houses, and because the Infantry was enclosed on all sides with barricadoes, rested more quietly, and by their ease received greater refreshment. The Duke of Mayene, a friend to peace, and cure counsels, would willingly have avoyded the encounter of a Battell, spinning out the War in length, to tire out the forwardnesse of the Nobility that followed the King, to reduce them into want of money, and in length of time to make them consume their ammunition of war, whereof he knew they had no very great store; thinking by these arts he should at last perfect his designs. But on the one side Count *mont* opposed it with fierce protestations, that he would not come to consume the Catholick King's souldiers unprofitably, who depriving his Low-Countries of their own Forces to assist Religion in France, desired the War might be ended with one manly blow. And on the other side, it was opposed (though more modestly) by *Monsignor Girolamo di Portia*, who was present in the Camp in the Legats name, and who acknowledging the wearinesse of the Confederates, and the great superiority of Forces, excited the Duke to a generous resolution: Nor was he himself without some consideration of the Parisians, whom he knew to be tired with contributions, plagued with dearth, unsatisfied with him, and ready (if they should be drawn out in length) to imbrace the opportunity of a revolt; wherefore at last he resolved he would no longer deferr the encounter. Thereupon the next morning being Wednesday, the Drums and Trumpets calling at the appearance of day, the Armies were imbattelled in the same place and manner as they had been the night before: because the Viscount *de Tavannes* who put the Horse in order, while the *Sieur de Rhosne* did the like unto the Foot, was extremely short-sighted, he placed the severall divisions so close to one another, that he not onely left no space thorough the Reiters, according to order given, might wheel about arrayally behinde the Army, but even the very Divisions themselves not having any intervals, by means whereof they were open when they moved, if they did but stir never so little.

The error of the Viscount *de Tavannes* in drawing up the Divisions of the Horse.

ed and crowded one another; a fault which not being taken notice of by any body, and being therefore left without remedy, put the Armie of the League into great confusion.

On the other side, the Kings Forces, by reason of their number being easier to put in order, were not onely set in order without confusion, but first the Marechal de By and then the King himself visited every Division with diligence, and reviewed every thing very carefully. The King was upon a great bay Courser, armed all except his face and head, and galloping up and down among all the severall Squadrons, did more by his looks and gestures than by his words, which could scarcely be heard by the multitude, recommend his own fortune and the common good unto his Army; in which his whole strength consisted, with it the height of their common hopes: and he with a daunted countenance, but sometimes with tears in his eyes, put his Commanders, and all those that heard him, in mind, that not onely the safety of the Crown of France, but the way to save each mans particular life depended upon the point of the sword, and the valour of their own arms; that there were no other Armies to be drawn together, nor other way to take up arms, or open any other way of safety then to fight stoutly to the death: and at last, standing still at the head of the main battalion, joyning his hands, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, so loud that he was heard by many. *Lord, thou knowest the intentions of my heart, and with the assistance of thy providence thou piercest into the secretest of my thoughts; if it be best for this people that I should attain the Kingdom which belongs to me by right, do thou favour and protect the success of my arms: But if thy will hath determined the contrary, if thou takest away my Kingdom, take away my life also at the same time, that I may shed my blood fighting at the head of those who put themselves in danger for my sake.* At the end of these words there arose in the front of the Battell a loud acclamation from those that heard him, with an unanimous shout of *Vive le Roy*; which being taken and redoubled from Squadron to Squadron thorow the whole Army, gave a most happy beginning to the Battell. But he having taken his helmet covered with a long gallant plume of white feathers, to mark that he might be followed, and knowing that the

The King all arm'd on horseback, visits & exhorts his souldiers with great efficacy, and at the head of his Army, lifting up his eyes to heaven, prayeth heartily.



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The signe of  
Battell given.

Count Egmont  
and his Lanci-  
ers all cut in  
pieces.

winde was against him, which would have covered and be-  
ed all his Army with the smoak of the Muskets and Can-  
began with great art to make his Divisions wheel to the  
hand, turning to gain the winde, yet moving but a very  
paces; which the Duke of Mayene seeing, who likewise  
in the front of his Battalion, and being desirous to hit  
whatsoever the King's intention was, caused presently the  
of battell to be given by the Generals Trumpet, at the se-  
whereof the Canon fired with a thundring noise, but with  
different art, care, and fortune, that the Duke's shot al-  
low, and killed not any body but a Gentleman of the Duke  
Montpensier's; and the King's, by the diligence and skill  
Monsieur *de la Guiche*, being charged and discharged the  
cond time, did with a very great slaughter disorder the  
Squadrons of Reiters which were in the front of the  
my, and also did much mischief to Count *Egmont*, who  
his Lanciers stood on the out-side of the left Wing, and  
being unwilling to stay till they should fire the third time  
utterly rout his men, was the first that gave the on-set  
ling upon the Grand Prior's light-Horse with so much ga-  
try, that they not being able to resist the violence of the  
ces, and the furious shock of stronger horses, were broke  
to, and charg'd quite thorow the very midst of their  
dron, so that the Flemings in contempt ran in, turning  
horse tails upon the King's Canon, and killing many of  
Canoneers and Pioneers which were by them; but being  
half disordered themselves by this vanity, they were at the  
same time charged with very great fury on the right hand  
the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, on the left by the Baron *de la Roche*  
and the Grand Prior with the Baron *de Ginry*, having re-  
their Horse again, being full of spite and anger, gave them  
desperate a charge in the front, that being surrounded  
these in Van, Flank, and Rere, they were all instantly  
pieces with the Count that commanded them. At the  
time the Squadrons of the Duke of Montpensier, and  
the Duke of Nemours in the Van-guard, and the Count  
*Schomberg's*, with that of the *Chevalier d'Aumale* in the  
guard, charged one another with so much valour and co-  
on both sides, that it was hard to know which would have  
advantage at the last: For the Duke of Montpensier, his  
horse was killed under him in the first encounter, and v

great care and courage of his men was mounted upon another, being encompassed by the Gentry of Normandy, fought with admirable valour : and the Duke of Nemours, very young, but of a generous spirit, raised by the advantage of the greater number of his Forces, (after the encounter of the first day) was with short weapons fallen pell-mell into the midst of the Battel. On the other side, the Count *de Schombergh* with the German Horse, not wheeling off, but charging home into the very Body of the enemy, with volleys of Pistols did execute execution upon the Squadron of the Chevalier *d' Aumale*, who, no lesse valiant then fame reported him, being seconded by a strong party of his men, made the Conflict very sharp and dangerous. But the Reiters who were placed before the Duke of Mayene, having received much damage by the Artillery, were nevertheless wheeling to make their charge : but when they came into the hollow of the field, they found the Cornet *de la Roche*, who standing up couragiously upon their feet, belomed them with a terrible storm of Musket-bullets ; by which the Duke of Brunswick, one of their chief Commanders was slain, and many others wounded & beaten to the ground, when as ever they had discharged their Pistols, they fell off according to the custom of their discipline, turning to get behind the Body of the Army, as they had received Orders from their General : but not having found the passage open, as by direction it should have been, they, by reason of the narrowness of the intervals between the squadrons, rushed upon and disorderd that great Body of Lances wherewith the Duke of Mayene followed them to charge the Battel, so that he was constrained to stop, and make his men couch their Lances, setting himself to keep off the Reiters, and disingage himself from them, lest he should have been routed by their inconsiderate violence : which the King observing, and laying hold of the opportunity that disorder of his enemies afforded him, setting up to his horse, and being boldly seconded by the flower of the Nobility that followed his Cornet, he fell in fiercely into the Battel before the Duke of Mayene could recover himself from the incumbrance of the Reiters, and make his Lances free in their carrear ; whereby they becoming uselesse, because they could not to their effect and receive their force and vigour by running, it was necessary to throw them away, and fight with their words alone, against the King's Squadron, in which all



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A Page being  
slain who wore  
a great white  
Feather like  
the King's, it  
was thought  
the King him-  
self was killed.

The Cavalry  
of the League  
being defeated,  
saved themselves  
by flight.

were Knights and Gentlemen, who besides their Tucks, were admirably well armed, and had each man a Case of Pistols in his saddle: yet did not this startle the valour of the Duke, nor make those that followed him lose courage; but after a full volley of Carabines, rushing in boldly with gallant horses, made the Victory first doubtful, and then bloody to the enemy: for in the very beginning, the *Sieur de Rodes*, a youth of great expectation, who carried the Royal white Cornet, being with a thrust thorow the sight of his Bever, and a Page fallen in the same place, who wore a great Plume like that of the King's, it was commonly believed of all that the King himself was dead: upon which mistake, the Squadron began to break, some yeelding back to the right, some to the left hand: the King's horse and plume being known afterwards, he himself fighting desperately with his sword in his hand in the front rank, and with his voice exhorting those that were near to follow him, they turned, and shut themselves close together all in the same place, and taking their second Pistols, fought with the wonted valour of the French Nobility: so that all impediments being overcome and broken to pieces, the Duke at length overthrew the enemy with an exceeding great slaughter, and made them turn their backs; and being mingled with them, pursued them, terribly wounding and killing, to the very entry of the Wood, into which the Reiters also, being ordered, first falling foul upon their Canon, and then sometimes upon one Squadron, sometimes upon another, were treated, without ever turning their faces, to their own infinite dishonour, and the no lesse prejudice of their Army. At the same instant, the Duke of Montpensier, relieved by the *Mareschal d'Aumont*, who fell in upon the flank, had routed the Vanguard of the Duke of Nemours; and the Count of Schombergh, relieved by the *Baron de Byron*, had likewise beaten the Rereguard of the *Chevalier d'Annale*; and the Count of Prior, having rallied his Light-horse, had broken and done great execution upon those of the Spaniards and Bourguignons, who shut up the Rereguard in the very uttermost part of the Army: so that all the Cavalry of the League being disordered and put to flight, had left the field free unto the enemy; and fleeing with all speed, made toward Yvry, to save themselves by passing the River.

But the Victory was neither secure nor pleasing in the King's

Ca



mp, because they did not yet see the King's Person ; and the news of his death that was dispersed , was yet believed by many : nor would there have been any joy in the Army if he had not appeared at the head of his Squadron, where he had routed and pursued the enemies : But at his appearance, who had put off his Helmet to be the better known, joyful cry of *Vive le Roy* was reiterated, which in the beginning had given a happy Omen of the end of the Battel. Infantry of the League remained untouched, but invaded on all sides by the King's Forces. The Swisles made as if they would defend themselves ; but seeing that the French were bringing up to rake thorow and break them, they had a resolution to yeeld ; which the King seeing, because he would not exasperate that Nation, whose friendship was very to be valued, as soon as they had laid down their Colours and Arms upon the ground, they were received, and quarter given them by the Marechal *de Biron*. The Germans ought to have done the like ; but being the same who having raised with the King's money, had revolted to the Duke of Brain, and with a mercenary spirit had born Arms in favour of the League, after they had ordered their Pikes, and taken down their Colours, were by the King's command all cut to peeces for a punishment of their perfidiousnesse. The English Infantry that yeelded, had their lives given them : for the King from the very beginning of the Victory, having, to shew the general love, cried out aloud oftentimes, that the vanquished should be put to the sword, but the French saved at the same voice being taken up by the whole Army, thorow all parts of the field : and every one, even in the fury of the Battel, enjoying the benefit of this remarkable clemency, the French that yeelded themselves were received without any penalty. These things being dispatched with very great speed and the Army remaining master of the whole field, the King rallying his men in order, followed toward Yvry, where the enemy was gotten ; in which place the tumult was dreadful, and the confusion miserable : for the Duke of Burgoyne having passed the Bridge, had caused it to be broken down, that the enemy might not have means to follow him : whereupon a great number of Runaways crowding and stopping one another, by reason of the narrownesse of the place, and the deep dirt that was in the Town, did in that terrible hurly-

The Swisles  
have quarter  
given them.

The Dutch  
that had been  
raised by the  
King, and had  
taken Arms for  
the League,  
are put to the  
sword.

The King's  
clemency to-  
wards the  
French.



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The Reiters of  
the League be-  
ing reduced to  
necessity, fight  
till they are all  
destroyed.

hurly-burly delay and hinder their own flight ; in which order the King's Infantry being come up, who flesh'd with the slaughter of the Germans, pursued fiercely to destroy the enemies, many precipitated with fear, resolved to venture treading over the River, which being deep of it self, and swelled by the abundance of rain, the greater part of them were miserably drowned. But the Reiters not having the heart to hazard themselves in the water, cut off their horses legs, that they might serve them for a Brest-work, and resolved now to give that proof of their valour and courage, which they should much more fitly have done in the Battel. This execution, rather then fight, lasted above an hour : for the Muskets playing upon them on all sides from the higher grounds and places of advantage, destroyed those reliques in such manner, that very few of them remained alive ; but not without much blood ; for many of the Conquerours, by their too hasty desire of getting to them, were either choaked in the mud, or slain by the slaughter of dead bodies, or slain by the Reiters with their Pistols. The Duke of Nemours, the Chevalier d'Aumont, Bassompierre, Rhosne, the Viscount de Tavannes, and others took a different way, and passing by the Wood side, with a longer, but more secure journey, retired to Chartres without being followed. The Duke, Colonel S' Paul, Montsignori di Portia, and a great many Gentlemen who escaped from the Battel, having fled seven leagues with very great speed, came to Mante, into which Town they were received the same evening, though the people at first wavered in their resolution. The King omitted not to prosecute them in the heat ; but not being able to passe at the Bridge of Yvry, which was already broken and beaten down ; to avoid the danger of whirlpools, he was forced to go about, and soord the river neer Anet ; by which delay having lost above two hours time, he could not possibly overtake the enemy, but quartered in a Village called Rhosny, a league from Mante, where the Marechal d'Aumont, the Grand Prior, and the Duke of Montpensier arrived also ; the Marechal de Biron staying behinde with the Infantry and the remainder of the Army.

Six thousand  
of the League  
slain.

There died that day, what by the sword, what in the passage of the river, above 6000 of the Army of the League, among which the Count d'Egmont, the Duke of Brunswick, and

ur de la Chastaigneraye. There were taken the Sieur de Cyne, who carried the Duke's white Cornet, the Count of frist a German, the Marquess de Magnelay, the Sieurs Bois-dauphin, de Medavid, de Long-champ, de Flandre, de untaine Martel, and there Colonels, Tenissay, Disemieux, and asteliere. The Conquerors took twenty Cornets of Horse, Standard of the Flemish Lances, the Banner of the Colonel the Reiters, four and twenty Ensignes of the Swisses, sixty nch Colours, eight pieces of Canon, with all the Baggage l Ammunition which followed the Camp. The number the dead on the King's side were not above five hundred, ong which the Sieur de Clermont Captain of his Guards, e of the German Colonels, the Sieur de Crenay, who car- the Duke of Montpensiers Cornet, the Sieur de Loncan- a Norman Gentleman, who being threescore and twelve rs old, died fighting in the fury of the Battel, and the Mar- lle de Nesle, who being left wounded upon the ground, d within a little while after. Among the wounded, who ll were not full two hundred, were the Baron de Byron, Counts of Choyssy and Lude, Maximilian de Bethune Sieur Rosny, and the Sieurs de Montluet, d'O, and de Lavargne, of ch hurts they were cured within a few dayes without any rger.

Two hundred  
and four En-  
signes & Cor-  
nets taken by  
the King, with  
all their Canon  
and Baggage:  
On his side but  
500 slain.

This was the Battell fought in the field of Yvry upon the urteenth day of March; wherein, as the King's valour ap- ered eminent, and his prudence wonderfull, so there was oloubt but that after him, the first praises belonged to the Meschal d'Aumont, the Baron de Byron, and the Duke of Montpensier; since that the first two in the beginning of the fighting gallantly, repelled the violence of the Flemish aces, who were victoriously come up to their very Canon, in the later end they defeated the Carabines, who having ore much mischief to the King's Squadron, roving after- ds up and down, and wheeling about the field, did furi- uly infest, and hinder all the other Squadrons of the Victory: an the Duke of Montpensier charging the Enemies right Vig, wherein was the flower of their youth, though his ole were killed under him, he being fain to fight despe- ately in very great danger to get upon another, and that be- ore his eyes the Sieur de Crenay was slain who carried his Cor- et which he was fain to recover with much hazard; yet fought



1590 fought he with so great courage, that the enemies being routed and scattered, he was one of the first that followed the King in the pursuit of those that fled.

But in all the revolutions of the Battell, which was for the most part between the Cavalry on both sides, the bravery of the French Gentry appeared very singular, who fighting for no other reward, save onely honour, being excellently well armed, and gallantly mounted, had still the victory in all encounters, though fighting often with Swords and Pistols against the violence of Lances; they also did sometimes find the disadvantage of those weapons, which their own convenience, not the direction or discipline of their Commanders had taught them to make use of. On the other side, the error of the Viscount *de Tavannes* was very remarkable, placing the Divisions so neer and close together, that they could not turn without falling foul upon one another; so that not onely the Reiters, who were much feared, became useless; but even the Duke of Mayene, who with great conduct disengaged himself from that so great disorder, was afterwards to lose the effect and vigour of his Lances: which notable example teaches, That in matters of war, prudence and bravery of courage ought in a Commander to be also accompanied with a strong and perfect constitution of body, free from all defects. Nor was the vanity of the Flemmings lesse considerable; who out of a pride to turn their horse tails upon the Canon, disordered themselves in such manner, that it was very easie to break into them, and beat them back: for if with the same fury wherewith they charged thorow the Grand Marquis's Squadron, they had rush'd upon the Duke of Montpensier who followed him, and had been back'd by the Duke of Nemours, who should presently have given him a second charge, the Victory might very easily by that means have inclined in favour of the League. At the same time the King's justice and clemency, worthy of eternall glory, appeared likewise; who with an example of memorable severity, commanded that the Germans who had broken their faith should all be put to the sword to the last man: and on the other side, with exceeding great benignity, he received not onely those who yielded voluntarily, but even those also who fighting constantly were taken prisoners. His wisdom also and politic Government was noted by many; for knowing how much

Gentry love the Gentry which are like themselves, and  
 neerly those very men are linked, either in bloud or friend-  
 who in Civil Wars charge one another in a hostile man-  
 he shewed a very great and anxious care, even to the com-  
 ding with a hoarse voyce, and crying aloud thorow the  
 every moment, that the French Gentry should be spared;  
 h act was so plausible and popular, that it gain'd him the  
 small love of his own souldiers, and no small praise from  
 every enemies; every one confessing him to be a worthy  
 ing, and a worthy Father, who with so much affection spa-  
 he blood of his Subjects and Sons, though they were dis-  
 obedient and rebellious. His familiarity likewise gave great  
 satisfaction; for supping in publick at Rosny the same night,  
 ould needs have his Commanders sit with him at the same  
 , adding these memorable words, *That those who had*  
*partakers of the same dangers, ought worthily also to be par-*  
*akers of the same conveniencies and honours:* and while Sup-  
 rasted, calling all those that were present by their names,  
 ing, cherishing, and thanking even the meanest souldier,  
 demonstrations (in his present weaknesse) of a full gra-  
 dle of minde in time to come, he filled all men with won-  
 all great hope, and infinite desire to follow him: Arts,  
 y truth, admirably well suted to the narrownesse of his  
 ent condition, and to the urgent need he had of the help of  
 ey particular man.

After the Vic-  
 tory, the King  
 made his Com-  
 manders sup  
 with him at  
 Rosny famili-  
 arly speaking  
 to every one,  
 and praising  
 even the mean-  
 est souldiers

The news of this defeat came the next day to Paris,  
 brought by the *Sieur de Tremblay*, who being a prisoner upon  
 his parole, had not been engaged in the Battell, and had had  
 opportunity to retire with the first: which news being told  
 him to the Arch-bishop of Lyons, deputed Chancellour,  
 head of the Councell of the League, was afterward com-  
 municated to the Legat, and the Spanish Ambassadors, every  
 one of which being exceedingly dismayed, feared with reason  
 that this news would make the people rise, and very  
 much disturb the City of Paris, which expecting every hour  
 to be eased of its distresses by the successe of a victory, being  
 deprived of all hope to free it self of the streightnesse of  
 its present condition by the way of arms and force, would  
 insist of doing it by way of composition and agreement; hun-  
 dreds being the quickest and sharpest spur that can stir up an  
 affection among the common people, who not withheld

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with



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with the bridle of decency, is alwayes most prone to follow their present profit; wherefore desirous to remedy that inconvenience as much as possibly they could, after long deliberation, they determined that the Preachers (in whom the people had a wonderfull great faith) should be the relaters of the news of this battel in their Sermons, endeavouring with the wonted effects of eloquence to confirm their courages, and perswade them stoutly to resist the crofnesse of their present fortune. The first of them that executed this charge, was

Father *Christino de Nizza* tells the Parisians in the Pulpit of the defeat, and makes them resolve to endure any thing for the Catholick Religion, taking an occasion to discourse of these words; *Those whom I love, I rebuke and chasten.*

*Christino de Nizza*, who preaching to the people upon the sixteenth day of March being Friday, in the first part of his discourse, took an occasion to bring in these words, *Quos amo, arguo & castigo*; upon which he enlarged himself, fortelling, that God would not fail to prove the faith and constancie of the Parisians, as by infinite examples of Scripture he gave cleer testimonie, that he was wont to try the courage of his children; and then in the second part, being come to the pulpit, with Letters in his hand, which seem'd to be delivered to him at that instant, he lamented that he had not that day done the office of a Preacher, but of a Prophet; and that God had been pleased by his mouth to advertise the people of Paris of that temptation which was to fall upon them, as now it troubled him to relate; since that the Catholick Army having fought with the enemy two dayes before, was come off with the worst; to which news he with the force of his eloquence added so many, and so effectually prayers and hortations, that the people who hearkened to him, did not only not stir in the least manner whatsoever, but shew themselves most ready to persevere in the defence of themselves, and of Religion, without fearing the heavie trials of a future siege or famine. The same did *Guilliaume Rose*, Preacher, *Prevost*, and all the other Preachers; and last of all, *signor Francesco Panigarola*, who though he preached in the Italian Tongue, was neverthelesse continually followed by a bundance of persons, by reason of the fame of his eloquence.

The Duke of Mayene came three dayes after; but having the heart to appear in sight of the Parisians, and fearing those tragicall accidents which of late yeeres had been seen very frequent among the people, he stay'd at *S<sup>t</sup> Denis* whither the Cardinal-Legat, the Ambassadour *Mendoza*,

Comm

commendatory Morreo, the Archbishop of Lyons, and the  
*sur de Villeroy* came to him : and at last, the principal De-  
 ties of the Parisians, by whom (but much more by his  
 er Madame de Montpensier, who by the quicknesse of  
 wit upheld the affairs of the League exceedingly) ha-  
 g understood the good inclination of the people to per-  
 ere constantly in their defence, first praising so gene-  
 s a resolution, he afterwards discoursed with them a-  
 it the state of present matters, shewing, That the  
 e of the Battel having proceeded rather from the disor-  
 of the Reiters, and several accidental chances, then from  
 great Forces of the enemy ; and his Army, especially the  
 valry, being rather routed then defeated, he hoped within  
 ort time to draw together a Body of men more powerful  
 n the former : That he could not doubt either the Pope or  
 Catholike King would be wanting to Religion, and to the  
 ervation of the State ; and so much the rather, by how  
 ch the need appeared to be more urgent ; and that thereby  
 ey should within a few weeks see a greater Army on foot,  
 in which, fresh, and entire in strength, he doubted not to  
 blue the wearied and tired Troops of the *Navarrois* : That  
 onfisted in opposing the first on-set, and in valiantly sup-  
 porting the first brunt of the siege which he was confident was  
 roaring against Paris ; for the defence whereof, he would  
 willingly have shut himself up in the City, and by his exam-  
 ple have taught them how to endure hunger, (for as for any  
 other danger, there was nothing to be feared from the enemy)  
 that it was generally much more profitable for all, and par-  
 ticularly for the relief of the Parisians, that he should march  
 to the confines of Picardy, to gather an Army with all speed,  
 and receive supplies from Flanders and Lorain, and thence  
 with sufficient Forces to return and raise the siege ; which he  
 was certain, if they had but patience to suffer a little incon-  
 veniency, would in the end prove vain and fruitlesse : That in-  
 stead, he would leave his brother the Duke of *Nemours*, a  
 youth of wonderful high courage, and his cousin the Cheva-  
 lier *Annale*, to command the Souldiers, and have care of the  
 Military part of their defence ; and for other things, the Car-  
 dinal-Legat, and the ministers of the Catholike King be-  
 ing here, and seconded by the ardent zeal of the Councel  
 of *sixteen*, he could not doubt but all things would be ma-



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naged with that prudence which need required : That to shew how little he feared the City could fall into the enemies hands, and for a pledge of the speedy relief which he meant to make ready for them, he would leave his Mother, Wife, Sister, and Children in the City, to bear part in that fortune which the Citizens should run : That finally, there being nothing requisite, but to perswade the people, and resist the greedinesse of the belly, he could not doubt of a happie issue, with the exaltation of the League, and total subversion of his enemies. All of them commended his advice, and the Heads of the people promised to keep united and constant in defending the place to the last man ; beseeching him onely to use all speed he could possibly, to prevent the extremities of the peoples sufferings, who for Religion, and in hope of his promise, disposed themselves boldly to meet all those many weighty dangers which they saw hang over their heads. The next day the Duke departed toward Picardy to meet with the Duke of Parma General for the Catholike King in the Low-Country, knowing that to be the principal point ; and that if the Spaniards lent not their assistance in a considerable manner to him, it would be a very difficult businesse to get a sufficient Army to raise the siege and relieve Paris : and in the City they began with infinite diligence to repair the walls, to scower the moats, to cast up Works, to dispose their Artillery, to arm the people, and principally to provide whatsoever they possibly could against the imminent necessity of hunger.

In the mean time Mante and Vernon had yeelded themselves to the King since the Victory, in which places he was constrained to stay longer then he intended : for the extremity of ill weather, and continual abundance of rain, had not only overflowed the fields, and made the ways exceeding deep, but had made it impossible to lie in the field, or march with Cannon and Baggage ; for men and horses could hardly save themselves and be secure within the shelter of houses. In which time notice came to the King of another encounter which had happened in the Province of Auvergne, neer the walls of Illoud, where the Sieurs *de Florat* and *Chaseron*, who were for him, had routed and slain the Count of Randan, who commanded for the League ; and with the death of about two hundred of the enemy, had made themselves masters of the place. It was not long before other news came from the Country of

Maye

yne, where *Guy de Lansac*, who commanded the party of League, and the *Sieur d'Hertré* Governour of Alancón, ad of the King's Forces, charging one another, had not alled the wonted event of things; but *Lansac*, three hundred his men being slain, and the rest dispersed, was fain to save himself by flight, leaving the King's Forces master of the field hofe parts.

These several disasters, the news whereof came to Paris one on the neck of another, did much perplex the thoughts of se that governed; but above all, of the Cardinal-Legat, on whose shoulders lay the weight of all present affairs, everyone thinking that he, as one that represented the Pope's son, should, in a cause wherein Religion was the principal ect, give supplies both of men and money for the relief of a adversity which the League was in at that time: and the ke of Mayene complained publikely concerning it, and te freely to the Pope, that his backwardnesse to help so essary a Cause, was the principal occasion of all those e-

The Spanish Ministers made the same lamentations, beg of opinion that the Legat was the cause the Catholike ig was not satisfied in his demands; and that while he, neglecting his own businesses, succoured the danger of Religion in men and money, the Pope keeping his purse close, and brishing ambiguous thoughts in his minde, did neither send oe necessary supplies which he had often promised, nor rent to the satisfaction of the Catholike King, who, if his demands had been yeilded to, would have employed his trost Forces for the common benefit. Nor were the Pa- sins backwarder in complaints then the rest, who groaning nor their present necessities, and the extraordinary scarcity of provisions, did importunately beg to be assisted by the ect, and relieved by the Pope, since they did all, and suffered all for the Catholike Faith, and for the service of the ol Church: so that the Legat being surrounded by these oules, was in wonderful great anxiety of minde; which as augmented to the extremity, when he understood that by the Duke of Luxembourg's arrival and negotiation, the Pope as almost utterly withdrawn from the designes of the eaue; and moreover, that he seemed ill satisfied at his being one on to Paris, and that he had not rather stayed in a neutral place, as a disinterested Mediatour between both



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both parties, and as a labourer for such a Peace as might be effected without danger or damage to the Catholike Religion.

The Duke of Luxembourg was gone to Rome with the name of Ambassadour from the Catholikes that followed the King, but indeed to see if he could reconcile the King himself to the Pope, and to the Church, and to take away those opinions which, being spread abroad by those of the League, were generally believed of him, that he was an obdurate Heretic, a persecutor of the Catholikes, obstinate, and disobedient to the Apostolike See, and a perverse enemy to the Church. Wherefore having first made a little stay at Venice, to determine with that Senate what manner of proceeding was to be held; all things being resolved on with most prudent advice, he continued on his way boldly to Rome; where having in his first audiences, by the dexterousnesse of his carriage, introduced the Cause of the Catholikes into his discourse, he excused them for following the King, attributing it to be an advantage to the Catholike Religion, not to abandon the lawful King in the hands of the Hugonots, but to hold him on with protestations of service, and win him by modest seasonable instances to return into the bosome of the Church; which would absolutely have been despaired of, if being forsaken by them, he had been necessitated to have cast himself as a prey to Hereticks; he began afterwards to let the Pope know the interests which, under a cloke of Piety, and under the name of Religion, did sway and govern the Lords of the League, that under that pretence, they sought to rob the lawful Successor of the Crown, to bring it into the power of stranger-Princes, or to divide it into many parts, and so Canton the Kingdom; which as in it self it was unjust by all Laws, both divine and humane, so would it prove exceeding prejudicial to Religion it self, and to the See of Rome, which would come to that Crown that had ever held the protection of the Church, and bring it into the hands of many weak impotent Princes and Tyrants, or else unite it with the too great power of the Spaniards, to the general ruine: That it was much more, much more easie, and much more profitable for the benefit of Christendom, to invite and perswade the King to his conversion, which he not onely shewed himself inclined to, but those means that were suitable and convenient for his

ur, and which befitted a King of France, but to which he  
s also brought by the necessity of his affairs, finding  
ly how little he could promise himself from the Hugonots  
ward the attaining of the Crown, since that in all his most  
ghty occurrences he had for the most part been attended  
followed by the Forces of the Catholick Lords, who  
uld fall off from him at last, if he should not resolve to re-  
into the Church; which considerations accompanied  
h all their circumstances, set forth and amplified by the  
ke's eloquence, made a deep impression in the Pope; to  
ch another motive of the Ambassadors being added, that  
Holiness should not think the Catholicks that followed  
King to be few and weak, but the best, foundest, and most  
nderable part of France, and that with the League there  
rurred very few of the Gentry, but a rabble of mean, dis-  
rly common people; and that not onely men of better  
ity, but also in a manner all the chiefeſt Prelats of the  
ydom followed the King's party, upon caution of the  
nife he had made to turn Catholick, and forsake the rites  
Calvinisme, stirred up in the Pope's consideration, besides  
ear of losing the Kingdom of France, and increasing the  
enneſſe of the Spaniard, this other weighty respect also,  
to exasperate so much Catholick Nobility united toge-  
er which it was most difficult to overcome by force; but  
seek by milde remedies and gentle wayes to win the King,  
procure the union of the Kingdom by the means of peace;  
the Ambassadour having affirmed unto him that the Car-  
ns of Bourbon, Lenon-court, and Gondy, together with  
arch-bishop of Bourges, and other Prelats had offered the  
considerations to the Legat, praying and exhorting him  
and neutrall, till matters being come to the knowledge  
h Holiness, he might have been able to have given him  
Commissions as he should have thought most conveni-  
t: The Pope began to suspect no lesse then others, that  
ardinal Gaetano was too much enclined to favour the designs  
de Spaniards, and therefore did no longer give that be-  
which was requisite unto his Letters, and with-held his  
and from furnishing them with more money; wherefore  
e legat being encompassed with many difficulties, either  
take off that suspicion that lay upon him, of his depending  
o much upon the King of Spain, or seeking to recover that  
name

Pope Sixtus  
quintus grows  
jealous that  
Cardinal Gae-  
tano is inclined  
to favour the  
Spanish de-  
signes.



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name of Neutral, and disinteressed, which perchance he might more wisely have maintained from the beginning : or endeavouring to hinder the siege of Paris (as he affirm'd and told the Spanish Ministers) invited the Mareschal *de Byron* to a meeting with him at Noisy a Castle of Cardinal Gondy's, a day's journey from Paris, to finde out some remedy to put an end to the present miseries, which not displeasing the King, whom it was by all meanes good to shew an affection to the Apostolick See, and that he was not backward to do what lay in him to put an end to the war, the interview was agreed upon and perform'd within a very few days.

The Cardinal-Legat meets with the Mareschal *de Byron* ; diverse things are treated of without any conclusion.

There met on the Kings side the Mareschal *de Byron*, Baron *de Giury*, Secretary *Revol*, the Sieur *Liancourt*, and *la Verriere* : and on the other, the Cardinal-Legat, the Sieur *de Villeroy*, the Marquesse of *Belin*, and other Lords of the League. Their reception was very honorable on both sides, but the event fruitlesse : for the Legat trying either to persuade the Catholicks to forsake the King, or without any foundation of peace to delay the siege of Paris, which was already set in a way ; and on the other side, the Mareschal labouring to get the Cardinal-Legat to come to the King and exhort him to turn to the Catholick Religion, with security to bring all his Subjects unto their obedience, who had alienated themselves for respect of Religion ; intention on both diverse could not agree, and the wisdom of both parts did suffer the one to make it self superiour to the other, so they parted again without fruit or conclusion, the Legat having neither obtained the name of Neutral, nor the revolt of the Catholicks from the King, nor the diverting of the siege, which perhaps was his principal aim in the procuring of that meeting. Yet neither was all treating utterly broken off by their parting ; for the Sieur *de Villeroy*, either with a hope of concluding a good Accommodation, or for the same end of delaying the Kings coming, did with the Duke of Mayene's consent introduce a Treaty of this businesse with the Sieur *Plessis Mornay*, a great Confident, and ancient servant of the King's, but being a Hugonot, very improper for the present businesse.

But the King not losing time, for all the Treaty of peace, and knowing that by how much more the enemy was straitened, so much more advantagious would be the conditions

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reement, was wholly intent upon taking in those places heer  
the Citie, and upon making himself master of all those passes  
which provisions were brought thither, in shutting up the  
flages of the Rivers, and cutting off the wayes into the  
country, by this meansto obtain that by the necessity of hun-  
ger, which was in a manner impossible for him to imagine could  
be done by force of arms. To which end, marching with his  
army from Mante upon the twenty ninth of March, he pos-  
t himself without difficulty of Cheureuse, Montl'hery,  
Ligny, and Corbeil, all places proper to block up the City :  
and upon the fifth of April sate down before Melun. Melun  
a little Town, but well fortified, seven Leagues distant from  
Paris, thorow which run two currents of the River Seine,  
and therefore is divided into three parts by the stream, and  
only joyned together by bridges. Monsieur de Forone was in  
with sixty Horse, and five hundred Foot, but little provision  
of things necessary for their defence, and by terrour of the Vi-  
sary not of too resolute a courage : yet made they a shew as  
they would stand out, and the rather, because five hundred  
Townsmen well armed and experienced were joyn'd with  
him : but the Raveline of the gate being battered with seven  
pieces of Canon, and two very great Culverines, the King's  
not (now accustomed to master great difficulties) assaulted  
with so much fury, that though the breach was very nar-  
row, and high from the ground, yet entered they both the Ra-  
veline and the Gate, killing above sixty of the defendants,  
who retiring into the further part beyond the second bridge,  
and opposite to the Town, set fire on the place they quitted,  
to keep the assailants, who were at their heels, from being able  
to follow them ; many houses were burned, and the rest fu-  
riously sacked by the violence of the souldiers. But the o-  
ther part of the Town whither the defendants were retired, be-  
ing altogether deprived of the means of making resistance,  
agreed to yeeld (as it did) if within two dayes there came no  
relief.

Melun stands  
upon the Seine  
above Paris.

The siege and  
taking of Me-  
lun by the  
King's Army.

The King being lodged there personally in the Suburbs,  
the Sieur de Villeroy having a safe conduct, came unto him,  
and perceiving that the Sieur du Plessis, for fear the King  
should change his Religion, did not go on heartily in the trea-  
ty of Agreement, he had obtained leave by the means of the  
Sieur de la Verriere to have admittance to the King himself,

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and



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The Sieur de  
Villeroy being  
come to Me-  
lun to treat an  
Agreement  
with the King,  
perswades him  
by many rea-  
sons to turn  
Catholick, and  
propounds a  
Cessation of  
Arms.

and to that end was come thither unto him. The Duke of Mayene, who was already gotten to Soissons, had refused to first to give way that *Villeroy* should enter into this Treaty, thinking it might be ascribed to want of courage in their present fortune; but afterward, whether he sought by making the Spaniards jealous of a peace, to stir them up to the giving of greater and more resolute supplies, or that he hoped to lay the siege of Paris by the hope of an Accommodation, that he sought by this means to penetrate into the King's designs and intentions, or that all these ends moved him together, he permitted *Villeroy* to meet, and to introduce that negotiation; for which purpose being come to Melun, and kindly received by the King, he began (with his wonted efficacy, not accompanied with very deep learning, but natural copious and powerfull in speech) to represent unto him, how being anxious for the danger and calamity of his Country, and desirous to see it out of those ruinous distractions wherein it perished miserably, he had obtained leave from the Duke of Mayene, Head of the party of the League, to come unto his Majesty to see if any remedy could be found, whereby records being composed and buried, a happy peace might be procured; that he hoped (nay was certain) that his Majesty would have no lesse desire to end the Civill Wars, and restore the former quiet and tranquillity to that Kingdom which God, nature, and his valour had destined to him; that the only means to attain so great a good was very easie, and depended wholly upon his own will; for the summe consisting only in the point of Religion, the Duke of Mayene professed to acknowledge and obey him, as soon as he at the petition of the Catholicks (not at all for fear, or for their threatening) should resolve to return into the bosome of the holy Church: wherefore upon his will depended not only the settling peace in the Kingdom; but also the making himself the most flourishing, most powerfull, most obeyed, and most revered Prince that France had seen of many yeers; that the present conjuncture of time was very seasonable for that resolution; for having conquered and overcome his enemies with the sword, it could not be said, that his conversion was caused by fear, or that he embraced the Catholick Religion by force, but that good would be attributed to his own will, his own conscience, and his own election: That this opportune and

wholesome

holesome effect would make his Victory twice as fruitful and  
ppie, as his vertue had made it glorious and magnificent; and  
might thereby attain that true end which ought to be pro-  
r to all Victories (especially those in Civil Wars) which is  
e enjoying of Peace: for that goodnesse of his would bring  
ore Cities under his subjection in one day, then he could take  
the force of his Arms (though victorious) in the course of his  
ole life: That by prosecuting Victory with the sword, would  
ue an infinite number of mischiefs, and lamentable calamities;  
the ruining of Fortresses, sacking of Cities, slaughters  
men, desolation of Countries; which all redounded to his  
yn losse, who naturally was the master of them: but the War  
ding by this conversion, the Victory would redound to the  
neral security, tranquillity, safety, and happinesse, which  
ght to be more dear to him, being a lawful Prince, then all  
Victories that could be imagined in the world: That his  
 Majesty ought to consider, though his Victory had been great  
nd signal, yet had it neither dismayed the Cities, nor terrified  
adherents of the League in such manner that any of them  
a been moved by it to forsake their party, and yeeld them-  
es up to his devotion; the reason whereof was onely the  
wer and command which Religion hath in the hearts of  
n, which perswaded every one to suffer all the calamities  
ich could be presented to imagination, rather then put their  
ol and conscience in danger: but if the common people of  
hir side, perswaded by this respect, were so constant, he might  
hik by consequence, that the Duke of Mayene, and the other  
Hds of that party, the Pope, and the Catholike King, would  
o much more constant, being resolved to employ all their  
oces for the securing of Religion: That he knew well, and had  
ofn had experience of it in his Hugonots, that the respect  
of Religion is so great, that it makes mens mindes invinci-  
le and can neither be tamed by Arms nor force: That it  
ould be a prudent consideration, to foresee how much use  
trngers might make of this pretence of Religion for their  
dvantage; which if in former times it had perswaded the  
Hugonots to make Agreements with the English, it would be  
owonder if the urgency of present necessity should force the  
Catholikes to consent unto the demands of the Spaniards:  
That this danger ought to be foreseen and prevented by secu-  
ing men's consciences, and not reducing them to utter despe-



1590 ration : That his Majesty should set before his eyes how many Cities he must of necessity assault, how many Provinces he must subdue, how many other Armies he must conquer, how many Fortresses he must take in, before he could settle himself King in peace by means of War ; and that he might overcome all those difficulties in one day, by satisfying his subjects in point of Religion : That his Victory had been great, but that it was necessary to secure it from the inconstancy of Fortune ; which he might do, not by hazarding new enterprise but by moderation, and the satisfaction of his subjects : The time and opportunity invited him to that worthy and holy resolution, and not to stay till the Duke and the other Heads of the League should be so neerly engaged and interested with the Catholike King ( whose assistance was necessary while the War continued ) that they would no longer have power to dispose of themselves : in conclusion, That both duty and profit were joyned together in this resolution : for having received so great a blessing from God, it was no longer time to defer his conversion, since now by the favour of his Divine Majesty he might do it with reputation and glory, and without suspicion of baseness or minde, or meanness of spirit.

The King's  
Answer to the  
Sieur de Villeroy.  
707.

The King answered graciously, That he commended the Sieur de Villeroy's intention to endeavour the peace of the Kingdom, and was glad to hear that the Duke of Mayene was well disposed to it : That he acknowledged the Victory he had obtained, first from the hand of God, and then from his Nobility : That God, the Protector of Justice and Right, had protected his Cause ; and that those invincible Lords and Gentlemen that followed him, had been the instruments of his Divine mercy : That the Kingdom appertained to him by right, by a direct and natural succession, and by a lawful way known to all ; so that forraign Princes were most manifestly to blame for disturbing him in the possession of it, and much more his Subjects, for denying him their due obedience : That he had never offended any, nor deserved so unjust an opposition as was made against him : That he had always moderately and modestly defended himself, and had done neither violence nor injury to forraign Princes, nor to the Subjects of the Crown, for which they now had any reason to revenge themselves ; but that when he called to minde the miraculous power and merciful favour of God, wherewith he had preser-

him in the times of his weaknesse and miseries, and had defended him from so many and so long persecutions, when the world seemed to have conspired against him, he could believe his Divine Majesty would leave so great a work perfect, but was assured in himself that he would look up to the justice of his Cause, and those Prayers which he to that day always made unto him from the bottom of his heart; and before he neither feared the Arms of Spain, nor the Forces of Rebels, but trusted in God, and the faithfulness of his fidelity, that he should ruine and defeat them: That he well, modesty and moderation were more profitable in any, then at another time; but he neither pretended to oppress nor wrong any body, but onely to make himself be right-ly obeyed by those who by nature were his Subjects, and put his authority: That his aim was to be King indeed, as he was by right; and that the end of the Duke of Mayene and that followed him, ought to be, to live in peace, security, and honour, under the obedience of that King which God had appointed for them by lawful succession: That he was ready to give them all security, and all satisfaction to afford them a gracious share in his favour, without calling to memory what was past: That he desired to conquer rather by pardon, benignity, and liberality, then by the sword, as well because it was the shorter way, as because it was agreeable to his genius and nature, averse from blood and revenge, and inclined to do good unto his Subjects, and to pacify the troubles of his Kingdom: That it belonged to him to give the Law unto his Subjects, and not to receive Conditions from them; yet neverthelesse, if, jealous of their consciences and Religion, they desired to secure it any way, he would give them all convenient satisfaction; and that the candour and honesty of his Faith was already known to every one by many proofs; which having never broken for the time past, he was most fully resolved never to break for the time to come: That the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen that followed him, were much more numerous then those that followed the Duke, had contented themselves with the promise he had made them, and with the security he had given them, that they should live peacefully, in their conscience, liberty and Religion, and that therefore the others ought to be contented with the same; and being secured in their own particulars, ought

Moderation  
more profitable  
in Victory  
then at another  
time.



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to permit him to think of his own salvation, by those means which it should please the Lord to inspire into him, in a reasonable time, and a fitting convenient manner. Then he asked the *Sieur de Villeroy* if he had seen his Promise and Declaration made after the death of the late King : who answered him that he had, and that the Duke of Mayene and the other Lords of his party had seen it likewise ; but that they all believed they could not in conscience, upon any condition whatsoever, obey a King that was not a Catholike, but of a different Religion from that which they held by succession from their ancestours. To which the King replied, that he was neither Infidel, Pagan, nor Idolater ; that he adored and served the true God with the Catholikes ; and that he esteemed the Religion in which he had been bred up, not to be incompatible with the Roman : That in such a case as concerned his conscience and salvation, God was to work, and not men : That it ought to be done by kinde gentle instructions, and not with Sword and Pistoll. That if he had not yeilded to turn in the late King's time, when he saw his ruine and destruction before his face, neither lesse would he do it at the request of those that rebelled against him, now that by the favour of God he had the upper hand. That he was not obstinate, but would yeeld to the truth, when he be informed and instructed in it ; yet that he would satisfie his conscience in it : and if he left freedom of belief unto his Subjects, it was not fit that he should be constrained by them to do that in a rash humour, which ought to be done with maturity of deliberation, and in the time prefixed by God's divine will and pleasure : That he was a man of conscience, and that he esteemed more the salvation of his soul, then all earthly things ; and therefore he would go very circumspectly about that businesse, with due and convenient cautions. The *Sieur de Villeroy* replied, That because he was by all accounts a consciencious Prince, affectionate to his Religion, every man doubted so much the more, that being settled in his Kingdome he would not tolerate his Subjects to live in a Religion different from his, and which he held to be false and damnable : That he had ever heard say, and even by *Theodore Beza* himself, at the Conference at Poissy, that the belief of the one is far from the other, then heaven is from earth ; but that those disputes were not to be made with Arms : That his Majesty had always said he would cause himself to be instructed, but never

to the act of that instruction; That there wanted not  
 ats and Doctors who in a short time might certifie him of  
 ruth; That it was not good to foment War any lon-  
 and let discords run on without end, but by the obser-  
 on of his promises to comfort all his Subjects, as well those  
 had gotten the Victory, as the others who for the zeal  
 religion stood alienated from him: finally, That it could  
 nger be said, that either contumacious or seditious per-  
 were cause of the War, things being now reduced to that  
 it, that it was in his Majesties power to give peace by his  
 nersion; which if he should not do after so many promi-  
 ll future evils and calamities would be imputed to him,  
 o no other body. These last words pierced the King's  
 ne to the very quick, who answered, that he would take  
 pinion of his good and faithfull servants that followed  
 n and that therefore he would confer with them about it,  
 ve his resolution the day following: at which time he be-  
 ready upon the point of his departure from Melun, sent  
 te *Sieur de Villeroy*, and bade him return to the Duke of  
 yne, and tell him, that he took in good part what had  
 delivered from him, that he desired to be reconciled,  
 o good to every one, and particularly to the Duke of  
 yne, and all the rest of his Family, if by them he should be  
 ffd to settle peace in the Kingdom, as they might easily  
 nd that in it he would give them all reasonable satisfac-  
 or; That for the point of Religion, he had already con-  
 t those Catholicks that followed him, who were many,  
 great extraction, of exceeding great strength, and of pro-  
 ut wisdom, to whose determination he thought all the  
 t might accommodate themselves; That if they desired to  
 venore security and caution for the preservation of their  
 eligion, and safety of their consciences, he was ready to give  
 mst fully, having taken into consideration all that he had  
 oriented to him; but that he could not proceed to treat  
 th with him, having no power nor authority at all from  
 e Duke of Mayene to conclude any thing; but if Deputies  
 d Commissioners should be sent unto him with sufficient  
 wr, he would willingly admit them, use them well, and  
 devour to give the Duke's party the greatest and most com-  
 atisfaction that might be, out of his great desire to free  
 e people from the afflictions and calamities of Civill War.

The



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The *Sieur de Villaroy* answered, That his Majesties conclusion of not treating, but with such as had power to conclude was very prudent and reasonable; but that he should remember, the Duke of Mayene was not absolute Master, but of his party, which hath relation to all the other men without whose consent he could not acknowledge his Justitie to be King of France, nor determine in point of Religion. That it was necessary for him to confer with them, and that they should resolve together; how his Majestie having so many yeers Head of his party, had by his own experience found, that that could not be done without delaying time, being needfull to unite those that were interessed from many severall distant Provinces; That while the War was so long it was impossible to make that Assembly; wherefore a Cessation of arms was necessary, or at least a sufficient number of passes, to draw those together who were to deliberate on the summ of affairs. At the naming a Cessation of arms the King replied suddenly, that that was not to be spoken of, for he would not by any delay lose the fruit of his Victory, nor slacken the progresse of his arms, having had experience how great importance that was to the whole businesse, that for the manner of assembling his party, he left the matter to the Duke of Mayene, being resolved not to forbear the prosecution of his arms, no not for a moment: With this answer, and such like discourses had with the Marechal de *Villaroy* departed without any conclusion either of Peace or Truce, and all the endeavours used to divert the siege of Paris proved inefficall.

The *Sieur de Villaroy* is distressed without conclusion, the King being resolved not to grant a Cessation of arms.

Wherefore the King (to whom Cressy and Moret (two places) had surrendred themselves, and Provins, a rich Town but not strong, though chief of the Province of Brie, and about twenty leagues from the City of Paris) marched to Nogent where having reunited his army, which had been divided to regain these places, he advanced upon the fifteenth day of August to take other Towns which might streighten and block up Paris; Montereau, Bray, Comte-Robert, and Nogent on the Seine yeelded without resistance; but Mery, a little place having had the boldnesse to stand out, was by the violence of the souldiers most furiously taken and sacked. There remained on that side, the Citie Sens, a great Town, and affeccionate to the League, seated upon the Confines of Brie and Burgundy.

gne, wherein were the *Sieur de Chanvalon*, and the *Mar-  
salle Fortunato Malvicino*, but they agreed not well toge-  
; for *Chanvalon* sought an opportunity to go over to the  
g, and to make his peace by giving up the City into his  
ds; but the *Marquessie* on the other side would defend it,  
is honour obliged him, having (as a stranger) no other  
e but to shew himselfe a gallant souldier, and to do service  
he Duke of Nemours, being Lieutenant of his Troop of  
s *d'armes*; wherefore *Chanvalon* having treated secretly  
n the *Mareschal d'Aumont*, and exhorted the King to come  
ore the Town, siege was laid unto it, the Canon planted,  
they began to batter, with hopes that some tumult might  
among the Citizens in favour of the King; but having  
y the constancy of the defendants made an assault, which  
e *Marquessie* and those of the Town resisted valiantly, the  
g not willing to lose time about that place, which was not  
necessary, and interrupt his designe upon Paris, wherein  
sisted the summ of his affairs, rais'd the siege without  
ly, and minded the taking and fortifying of those o-  
places, which might cut off the passage of provisions to

n the mean time the Cardinal-Legat, anxious and solici-  
t both for his own danger, and the imminent siege of the  
rsians, had caused a new treaty of Agreement to be intro-  
d between the Bishop of Ceneda and the *Mareschal de*  
yn, for which purpose the Bishop came to Bray, to conferr  
in the *Mareschal*; and as one who because he was a Vene-  
at and so of a Country favourable to the King's affairs, had  
ed accesse then any other, he treated with a great deal of li-  
ery about his conversion; and afterwards descended to  
et about a Cessation of arms, by means whereof they might  
ave leasure to negotiate peace maturely on either side: but  
is attempt was no lesse vain then the rest, the King being re-  
solv'd not to delay the progresse of his arms; and by how much  
e more the Eenemy laboured for it, so much the more un-  
willing was he to allow them any space to take breath; and  
e more he saw the Lords of the League intent upon gaining  
m to get Armies and Supplies, the more did he enter into a  
cure hope within a while to obtain the City of Paris by  
means of a siege, without danger, and without blood. Where-  
orell things proving contrary to the Bishop's designe, he

*Marc' Antonio  
Mocenigo Bi-  
shop of Cene-  
da treats with  
the Mareschal  
de Byron, and  
propounds a  
Cessation of  
arms; but it is  
not accepted.*



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The Bishop of Ceneda confers with the King, prayes him to grant a Truce; the King absolutely denies it, complaining of the Cardinal-Legat.

procured to conferr personally with the King, but in such manner, as it might seem to have happened by chance, and not to have been sought by him; which having spoken of to the Abbot *del Bene*, he brought to passe that the King should go forth betimes in the morning a hunting, and that the Bishop should depart a little later to return to Paris, so that they met as it were accidentally upon the way; which incounter began with kind salutations, and then riding together a good part of the way, the Bishop entered into the discourse which he had intended to make, exhorting the King to his conversion, and to turn into the bosome of the Church, to which the King living made his wonted answers, that he was not obstinate, but would be made capable of the truth by those circumstances of times, persons, and places which were fitting; nor would he be driven by force, or the threatnings of his enemies, but be drawn by the grace and inspiration of God. The Bishop replied, that the best means for that would be a truce, wherein the communications of mens minds, kindled by the exercise of arms, ceasing, might have opportunity to receive instruction, and to do what honour and deliberation whatsoever was needfull; but as soon as the King heard him motion a Truce, he answered with a loud voice, that if he had been a good Venetian, he would not have given him that counsell; but that these were the devices of Cardinal *Gaetano*, who shewed himself a much better Spaniard then a Church-man: and here he began to complain very much of him, that carrying himself differently from the Pope's Commission, he had declared himself his enemy, and his entry into the Kingdom, and made his residence in the City which was head of the contrary party; whereas it had been fit for him that represented the Apostolick See, to have stood neutrall, and to have endeavoured and procured a peace by his good counsell, and by actions conformable to right, and his profession, which then would have had more credit; but that now terrified by the present danger, or else cooperating with the designes of the Spaniards, he sought not to introduce peace, but to frustrate the effects of his labours, and the fruits of his Victories, while the League might have time to recover strength; and that therefore hee was not disposed to give any ear unto it: with which words they parted, and the Bishop return'd with this finall answer to Paris.

But at his return all hope of truce failing, they set their  
 mindes with so much the more sollicitousnesse to make necessa-  
 provisions to sustain the strict siege which the Enemy was  
 preparing. The people was already disposed by the long ex-  
 hortations of their Preachers, and the earnest negotiation of  
 those that governed, to endure the siege, and hazard their lives  
 rather then their consciences; being wrought upon by the fre-  
 quent Decrees of the Sorbonne, and by the Declarations and  
 protestations of the Cardinal-Legat, that an Agreement could  
 not be treated with the Hereticks without damnation, and that  
 the King of a different Religion, obstinate in his opinion, a per-  
 secutor of the Church, and an enemy to the Apostolike See,  
 was not to be received. By these opinions, which every hour  
 were thundered out of the Pulpits, and discoursed of in meet-  
 ings, mens mindes were so effectually moved and confirmed,  
 that they were not onely ready to suffer constantly the danger  
 and toil of bearing Arms, and that which was much more evi-  
 dent, and more terrible, the extreme misery of an enraged  
 hunger; but moreover, they could not so much as endure any  
 one that durst hold or affirm the contrary: so that many who let  
 out some words, that it was better to make an Accommodation  
 then starve for hunger, and that Peace was better then a Siege,  
 were by the fury of the people either executed in publike, or  
 cast headlong into the River, as damned persons, enemies of  
 the Catholike Faith, and infected with the poison of Heresie.  
 This constancy was augmented by the presence of the Cardi-  
 nal-Legat, the residence of the Dutchesse of Nemours, Mont-  
 posier, and Mayene, the forwardnesse and vigour of the Duke  
 of Nemours, and *Chevalier d'Annale*, and much more by the  
 most certain hopes which the Duke of Mayene gave them eve-  
 ry day by effectual Letters, that he would relieve the City  
 speedily within a few weeks. The Heads being desirous to  
 increase and confirm this inclination of the people, by some  
 outward circumstances, a great solemn Procession was made  
 by order from the Cardinal-Legat, to implore God's assistance  
 in those present necessities: in which Procession the Prelats,  
 Priests and Monks of the several religious Orders, walked all  
 in their accustomed habits; but besides them, armed openly  
 with Corsets, Guns, Swords, Partezans, and all kinde of Arms  
 offensive and defensive, making at once a double shew, both of  
 devotion, and constancy of heart prepared to defend them-  
 selves:

Some are put  
 to death by the  
 fury of the peo-  
 ple, for saying  
 it was better to  
 make Peace  
 with the Kings  
 then starve  
 with hunger.

A solemn Pro-  
 cession, in  
 which the Ec-  
 clestiaical Or-  
 ders appear in  
 their religious  
 habits; and not  
 onely so, but  
 armed as Soul-  
 diers.



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selves : which Ceremony, though to many it seemed undecent and ridiculous, was yet of great use to augment and confirm the courage of the common people, who saw the same man that exhorted them with words to stand it out, prepared and armed to hazard the same dangers, and unanimously to undergo the same sufferings. Thus sometimes even the vainest and lightest things, help forward the most weighty important thoughts and designs.

A solemn Oath  
taken by the  
Magistrates.

After this Procession, they made another of all the Magistrates of the City ; and among the Ceremonies of it, the Duke of Nemours their Governour, and other Commanders of the Souldiers, and the Magistrates of the people, swore publicly in the great Church, to defend the City to the last man, nor ever to incline to yeeld, or make an Agreement with an Heretick Prince, for any calamity, danger, sufferance or necessity whatsoever that should fall upon them. There were in the City two hundred chosen Horse commanded by the Sieur *de Vitry*, the Duke of Nemours his Company of *Carabins*, and that of *Chevalier d'Annale* ; one hundred *Houquebusiers* on horseback, and eight hundred French Foot, part whereof had been in Melun with the Sieur *de Forone* ; four hundred Swisses, and one thousand and two hundred of the German Foot that were levied by the Count *de Collalto*, commanded by the Baron of *Erbeſtein* : But the foundation of their defence consisted in the union and constancy of the people, which infinitely numerous, and now by long use accustomed to Arms, being disposed under their Magistrates, and divided into several Bands, according to the division of the Quarters, presented themselves voluntarily, and ready for all encounters ; and by the example of the Priests and Friars, who went armed up to the Works, and engaged themselves in all things with admirable constancy, failed not in any duty that was necessary for their defence. Double Chains were drawn acrosse the Rivers, where it enters, and where it goes out of the City ; the Walls and Brest-works were repaired in those places where they seemed to be decayed ; Platforms were made in convenient places, and *parapets* made upon some new places of the wall : the Artillery was disposed of orderly to the most dangerous Posts ; and the readinesse of the Citizens appeared wonderful in every businesse. But this troubled not those that bore the sway in the Government : for every one was

cert



ain that the King would never attempt to take the City by  
e, defended, in so great a number of Citizens, rather by  
bodies of men, then by the strength of their Bulwarks;  
that he would strive to tame it by Famine; which seemed  
be very easie, by reason there were so many people ac-  
omed to live in plenty and abundance, who now were in  
reat necessity, that being deprived of all other sustenance,  
y were forced at an extraordinary rate to feed onely upon  
d: and there was no doubt but if relief were delayed, and  
the King should straiten the siege closer, the City would  
reduced to the last intolerable calamities of want;  
ch they foreseeing, most earnestly solicited the Duke of  
ene to draw Forces together for their relief; and the  
dinal-Legat dispatched his nephew *Pietro Gaetano* into  
ders, to exhort the Duke of Parma, according to the Ca-  
ike King's order, with all haste to send speedy supplies:  
he *Commendatory Morreo*, Pay-master and Commisary of  
King of Spain's Forces in France, was gone thither for the  
n purpose. To these provisions abroad, were added also  
rs within: for the Governours in chief being intent to re-  
the necessity of the people as much as they could, did  
t very great care cause that corn that was found in the City  
e divided; the price whereof being infinitely beyond the  
inary rate, and the common people not having means to  
p themselves, Cardinal *Gondy* Bishop of Paris, not out of  
ynclination he had to favour the League, but out of pity  
for the poor wretches perish who had not money to relieve  
eselves, all Trading being quite left off in the City, gave  
ay that all the Silver and Plate that had been offered to the  
vell Churches, should be taken out and turned into mo-  
e to feed the poor, with an Obligation to restore them as  
as the present necessity was over. The Cardinal-Legat  
ret upon the same, distributed among the poor fifty thou-  
nd crowns extorted from the Pope with much ado; and cau-  
g his own Plate to be melted and coined, did with a great  
elf praise give it among those that stood in need. The  
miffadour *Mendoza* promised sixscore crowns a day in  
rea: and the Dutcheffes and the richest Lords helped to the  
utmost of their abilities, selling their household-stuff, jewels  
nd ornaments for the so miserable necessity of the common  
ope. But these provisions began already to be very scarce,

The City be-  
ing blockt up  
on every side,  
is in great fear  
city for want  
of Victual.

The Bishop of  
Paris gives  
way that the  
Church-plate  
should be turn-  
ed into money  
for the relief  
of the poor.



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in respect of the infinite number of mouthes, and the continuing wasting of corn : for the King advancing, by the taking in of the neighbouring Towns, did straiten the siege every day more and more : nor was there any kinde of Viſual at all brought into the City by the Rivers : for Lagny, S<sup>t</sup> Maur, and the bridge of Charenton (the care of which places was committed to the Baron *de Giury*) shut up the passage of the River *Marne* : *Montereau*, where there was a strong Garison under the command of *Monſieur de Chanliot*, shut up the passage of the River *Yonne* : the Garisons of *Moret*, *Melun*, *Bray*, and *Corbeil*, stopt up the *Seine* from above : and from belowe, *Mareschal d'Aumont* quartered at the Bridge of S<sup>t</sup> Cloud, a league from the City ; and *Poissy* and *Conflans*, well garisoned, did wholly interrupt the passage up the River ; as *Beaumont* strongly guarded, hindered all Boats from moving upon the River *Oyse*. So that the Rivers which are commonly called the Nurces of the people of Paris being shut up, there remained only that little which could be gotten thither secretly by labour to cut off which, the King having passed the *Seine*, and begun to come into the Plains neer the City, spread his Army from the *Porte S<sup>t</sup> Anthoine*, which looks toward the East, to the *Porte de Mont Martre*, which stands towards the West ; and making use of the advantage of ground, caused two Pieces of Canon to be planted upon the hill of *Mont faulcon*, and two other at *Mont Martre*, enclosing them with Trenches, and guarding the place with a strong Guard : and the next day, which was the ninth of May, he caused his Horse to make incursions even to the very gates of the *Fauxbourgs S<sup>t</sup> Martin* and *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*, which stand between the two aforesaid Gates, and to burn and destroy the Wind-mills everywhere : yet could they not get into the *Faux-bourgs*, because they were fortified with trenches, banks, and barrels full of earth : which day, while they were smartly skirmishing with the *Sieur de Vitry's* Horse which sallied out of the *Porte S<sup>t</sup> Martin*, with some Companies of Foot-souldiers and Citizens, the *Sieur de la Noüe*, in whose conduct and courage every one trusted very much, was according to his wonted misfortune wounded with a Musket shot.

The King had made choice to quarter his Army on the East side, for two principal reasons : one, because the *Bois de Vincennes*, seated on the East side neer the River, and the Town

*S' Denis* on the West side holding still for the League, he might not onely send out parties of Horse, and cut off the wayes conveniently, so that there might be no passage from these places to the Citie; but he also besieged them in such manner, that he hoped to take them within a little time: the other reason was, that relief being expected out of Champagne and Picardy, hee was quartered just upon the great Highway which leads from those Provinces to the Citie of Paris, so that he was ready to turn his Army thither where he should see the Enemy appear. Thus the Army being removed from the banks of the River *Marne*, to the lower part of the *Seine*, the whole field was obstructed with continuall skirmishes, and there were every hour great skirmishes with the Citizens of the Citie, who being streightned with want, strove to catch either corn, roots, or other victuall, even to the very dead horses that lay there, which they could very seldom get: and at the very same time *S' Denis*, and the *Bois de Vincennes* (a very strong Castle) were closely besieged, and the Count *Montleury* having passed the *Seine*, had laid siege to *Stammartin*, a Town belonging to the Lords of *Montmorency* seven leagues distant from the City, into which there was gotten a great deal of provision; so that the Parisians being shut up on all sides, began already to feel the extremity of their situation, and onely sustained the bitterness of their present sorrow by the constancy of their courage.

While the siege and defence of the City of Paris is thus labour'd with infinite contention on each side, the *Cardinall of Bourbon* burdened with yeers, and wasted by the tediousness of his imprisonment, departed this life at *Fontenay*, whose death gave evident proof to all the world, that his imprisonment had onely served for a cloak to cover the passions and interests of those that were most powerful; for it caused no alteration at all in the party of the League, but both the Parisians continued their constancy with new Decrees of *Sorbonne*, That no King of a different Religion could not be accepted of; and the Duke of Mayene setting forth a *Manifest* to invite the Deputies of the Provinces to meet at *Meaux*, for the electing a King with the common consent, kept the same title of Lieutenant-Generall of the State and Crown of France, and continued in the same manner to make war, the end whereof at present was wholly set upon the way of relieving the City of

The *Cardinall of Bourbon* dies at *Fontenay*, which produceth no alteration at all; only the Duke of Mayene invites the Deputies of the Provinces to *Meaux* to chuse another King.



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of Paris, which being not to be done without powerful assistance from the Catholike King, the Duke of Mayene, both agree upon the means, and to hasten the execution, went to Condé, a place upon the confines, to confer with *Alessandro Farnese* Duke of Parma, under whose Government were the Spanish Forces.

The interests  
and designs of  
the King of  
Spain.

The intention of King *Philip* was, that the League should be relieved, and the people of Paris delivered from the present danger, but with such moderation, that so many summes of money profusely spent, and so great Forces as were employed in that enterprize might not prove vain and unprofitable to his proper interests: for he foresaw, that if the Duke of Mayene and the League should agree to acknowledge the King of Navar, he should reap no other benefit from so many labours, but the gaining of a powerfull enemy; and likewise if the Crown should fall to the Duke of Mayene, or any other of the House of Lorain, he knew he should advantage himself but little more, since the interests of State would in a short time make his enemy, whosoever should be elected and sole possessor of the Crown; weighty present interests having more power with men, then the remembrance of past obligations: Wherefore he being to spend vast summes of money for the bringing a powerfull Army into France, and in the mean time leave the affairs of *Flanders* in great danger, where the States of the United Provinces under the command of *Grave Maurice of Nassau*, not finding the wonted obstacles, were like to make very great progresse, he desired that at least things should be composed in such manner, that the benefit might in good measure redound to him, which should succeed from his charges, dangers, labours, indeavours, and from his Armies; which by reason of the nature of the French, and the present state of affairs, was most difficult to be brought to passe: for the Duke of Mayene, Head of the League, and absolute Master of the Forces, did not onely pretend to obtain the Kingdom for himself, but was also firmly resolved not to consent that any Member, Province, or City that belonged to the Crown should be alienated from it; and the major part of the people being naturally enemies to the Spaniards, and made their adherents now onely by necessity, would never endure to be commanded by them, and though it should suffice the King of Spain to be cryed up for the

Protector

ector and Defender of the Catholick Religion, and that King who should be established should assist him to sub- the Provinces of of the Low-Countries, without pretend- any other benefit from that principall relief which he to the common cause. Wherefore it was very hard to e a middle way among so many difficulties, and almost possible to keep such light uncertain mindes from incli- to acknowledge and take part with King *Henry*, a home- , naturall Prince; and therefore it was necessary to go- that designe with huge expences, great industry, long yes, and infinite patience, which among so many suspi- s, and so many difficult businesses appear'd to be of great and detriment, without much hope of proportionable ntage. For this cause the Duke of Parma, a prudent wa- ince, and an enemy to light adventuring upon the arbi- tent of fortune, thought it pernicious counsell to leave his businesses of Flanders, to imploy all his Forces in so un- in an enterprize wholly founded upon the instability of e French, and had endeavoured to divert the Catholick n from such a thought; but the Council of Spain, either ous to augment their glory in the defence of Religion, rchance too much allured by future hopes, having judged e wise, and order being come from the King that he d apply his minde principally to the affairs of France, he ight that might more easily be brought to passe which was ed in Spain, if avoyding the necessity of venturing whole ries, and hazarding all their reputation at one clap, the racting of the war, and the spinning of it out with slow eedings were endeavoured; by which means the party e League no lesse wearied out then the King's, it would e end remain in the King of Spain's power to dispose of e affairs of France and Religion his own way; and there- ere was not so ready to give aid, as the urgent need of the rians required, and as the Duke of Mayene would have d him, who being come to Condé, and having met him er, endeavoured by most effectual perswasions to move him mch without delay to the relief of Paris: But he confi- ring that the reputation of the Catholick King, and the m of affairs ought not without convenient Forces to be at a danger against a valiant and expert Souldier, and a- in a victorious Army, shewed that the provisions that

The Duke of  
Parma's opini-  
on.



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The Duke of Mayene having met the Duke of Parma at Condé, & not being able to perswade him to go into France, obtains some supplies for the relief of Paris.

were requisite could not be got together so suddenly, neither could he so soon give order, as well for the drawing of the army into a Body, as for the defence of their own businesse in Flanders, and concluded finally, that he could not be in France before the beginning of the month of August, at which which seemed wonderfull long to the Duke of Mayene; and doubting, or rather thinking for certain, that the Parisians could not hold out so long, he desired him in the meantime to let him have some number of men, with which, added to his own, he might attempt some way to put victuals into the Citie: With that the Duke of Parma was contented, it being a proposition sutable to his own thought, which was to keep the war alive with slow proceedings; on the one side by little and little to consume the King's Forces; and on the other, by length of time to tire out and break the constant resolution of the Duke of Mayene and his adherents not to admit a stranger to the Crown, nor to dismember any part of the Kingdom: and therefore he willingly granted him fifteen hundred Spanish Foot, who had been out in a plundering mutiny, and being now entered again into service, were commanded by *Don Antonio Quiroga*, twelve hundred Italian Foot led by *Camillo Capizuchia* a Roman, and eight hundred Flemish and Bourguignon Horse; with which Forces, the Duke not losing any longer time, marched with all speed toward Picardy.

The Spanish Ministers deal with some Governours of places, to deliver them up into the hands of the King of Spain.

But at the same time the designes of the Duke of Parma had like to have been ruined, and the minds of the French had been stirred up to some commotion by the counsel of the Ambassadour *Mendoza*, and the other Spanish Ministers that were in France, who being more intent upon present benefit, then the greatnesse of the future designe, and not being well acquainted with the secret intentions of the Duke, began to deal with some Governours of places in Picardy, to the end, that being well rewarded for their pains, they might deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards; which artifices would not onely have expressly shown the Catholic King's intentions to be different from the outward appearance, but would also have so moved the hasty fiery minds of the French, that without any regard they would have agreed to acknowledge the King, that they might not be deceived by the suspected arts of the Spaniards, and would have smothered

the way to the revolt of the Parisians, who with so much art and patience were kept firm in their resolutions. But the Duke of Parma, as soon as he came to the knowledge of it, instantly cut off all those Treaties, and laboured to make appear that it had been the inclination of those Governours, but neither the will of the Catholike King nor the practice of his Ministers, being most averse from any other interest save that of Religion: and yet the Duke of Mayene, deeply moved at those Treaties, was fain to lengthen his journey, tarrying in his return by all those places that were suspected, and making some stay in each of them, caused the Governours to promise, and take a solemn Oath not to go off from that party, nor to hold any private Treaty with any Prince: but not trusting wholly to this, he strove to secure these Fortresses with all possible provisions; and it being necessary to leave strong Garisons of his own men in every place, he was constrained to diminish his Forces in such manner, that they were not sufficient to give any considerable relief to the Siege of Paris: yet because he would not fail in any thing that was possible, he advanced upon the way that leads to Paris, with an intent either to raise the King from the siege, or at least to weaken it in some part; which was not altogether without success: for the King being advertised of the Duke's advance with his Forces, went from the siege with one thousand and two hundred Cuirassiers, five hundred Reiters, and one thousand and two hundred Harquebusiers on horseback; and having marched eighteen leagues in one day, met him neer unto Paris upon the fifth day of June, and arrived so unexpectedly, that the Duke, not being in a condition to fight, was constrained to retire apace into the Suburbs of the Town, and there to quarter his men under favour of the Walls and Canon, that he might not be forced to a Battel. The skirmish was hot and furious the next day, *Quiroga's* Spaniards coming on very boldly, encouraged with the spoil they had gotten while they were out in mutiny, armed with excellent Arms, and wonderful gallantry to boot. But the Baron *de Biron* having made the Harquebusiers alight from their horses, and two Troops of Reiters to advance one upon each flank, they retired without much discouragement, leaving a greater opinion of their vain ostentation, than of their valour and Military discipline, which ill agrees with the license of plunderings; so that the Italian *Tertius*,  
made



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made up of old well-disciplined souldiers, was fain to secon the skirmish, in which those of the League, neither suffering themselves to be beaten off from their place of advantage, nor from the shelter of the Town, it continued till the evening without coming to a Battel.

The Sieur de  
S. Paul puts in  
relief into  
Paris.

But while the Forces skirmish thus at *Laon*, the *Sieur de S' Paul* (who from the beginning had separated himself from the Duke of Mayene with that intention) being with eight hundred Horse and great store of Victual advanced by the way of Champagne, came safe to *Meaux*, and from thence along the bank of the River *Marne* (having avoided the Guards of the King's Army, which, because their number was diminished, could not scowre the ways with their wonted diligence) entered safe into Paris, where having put in the provision, he retired without having received any prejudice: which being come to the King's knowledge, both because he might not leave open the passage for other succours, and because he saw that his staying to face the Duke of Mayene (safely intrenched in the Suburbs of *Laon*, and well furnished with Victual) was no way advantageous, he returned upon the ninth of June to his old quarters, where he was more careful in the besieging of *S' Denis*, and in cutting off all passages to the City; in which businesse he himself spending many hours both of the day and night, and by his example the other Commanders doing the like, and particularly the Baron *de Biron*, a young man in the full strength of his yeers, and unwearied in all toil and labour, all attempts proved vain which were used by the besieged, or by the Provinces bordering upon them, to get any quantity of Victual (though never so little) into the City: but how exact soever the diligence of the King's Commanders was, yet was it no more then was necessary in the present occasion: for a bushel of Wheat being sold in the City at one hundred and twenty crowns, and all other things at a sutable rate, not onely the friends and confederates of the League, but even their enemies also, and some of the King's side, moved by the greatnesse of the profit, endeavoured to get some small quantity of corn and flesh to passe secretly into the City; which notwithstanding, by reason of the multitude of those that scowred the ways, happened but very seldom, and was in a manner but an insensible help to the Parisians, who afflicted by extreme necessities, onely sustained themselves by constancy of courage;

neer hope of relief ; which that it might be kept alive, the Duke of Mayene who was without, and the Lords were within, used marvellous art and industry, in making ours to be spread, sometimes that the Forces were upon march from Flanders to raise the siege ; sometimes that vision of Victual was making ready to supply the City ; sometimes that some favourable accident had befallen their way : so that Letters and Messages arriving every day, and telling true things with false, both published in the Pulpits, divulged upon the Guards, fed the people with hopes for a few days : But the necessity increasing daily, these arts at became unwelcome to the ears of men of understanding ; soleful voices being heard, and many signes of discontent spread thorow the whole City. The month of July was nearly begun, and the corn of the City was quite spent, nor any thing left for the people to live upon but oats, of which a little quantity remained ; and that being ground in the mills that stood in the stream of the River within the City, sometimes was turned into bread, sometimes cooked into potage which the French call *bouillie* ; and for dainties, sometimes a little flesh, either of horses, dogs, asses, or mules, kept no other horses alive, but those which were made use of in the War ; the rest being publicly sold, to keep the families of the greatest Lords. But this manner of living was tolerable, and to be wished for, in respect of the common people, who having no profit at all from their Trades, and being reduced to extremity of misery, without money, and without bread, to sustain, like brute beasts, to feed upon those herbs which they found in the yards, and streets, and along the *ramparts* ; and yet not being sufficient for so great a multitude, and either giving little nourishment, because they were dried up with heat, or else by their poisonous qualities producing vomits and fluxes, the miserable people were often seen to fall suddenly dead in the streets ; which was so sad and lamentable spectacle, as would have caused horror in any heart, how cruel soever. Yet notwithstanding all this, the Heads of the Faction, and those that governed the people, the Legat, the Ambassadour *Mendoza*, and the Princes, were so constant and firm, that they never so much as entertained a thought of yielding, but with exceeding great severity caused one and the *Procureur* of the *Chastelet*, and some other of his

The description of the misery the people suffered in the siege.

accom-



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Renard the  
Procureur of  
the Chasteler,  
with some o-  
thers, executed  
for having cri-  
ed in the face  
of the Council  
*Bread or Peace.*  
\* *Bread or*  
*Peace.*

An Insurrec-  
tion appeased  
with the death  
of divers of  
those that  
made it.

accomplices to be executed ; who desiring to free themselves from so great danger, had had the boldness one day when Council was assembled, to cry out with a loud voice, \* *On Paix* : and even the common people, in the midst of so great straits, and the expectation of present death, rejoiced to suffer and endure their misery, being fully persuaded that it was a kinde of true and glorious Martyrdom, for the safety of their consciences, and the maintenance of Religion. But that some, more compassionate of themselves, or of weaker spirit, or perchance not so constant in matter of Faith, sought and contrived to make some uproar, either to introduce a Treaty of Agreement, or to open a way for the King to be deceived by the people, and went so far stirring men up, by the apparent terrour of unavoidable death, and the most cruel torment of hunger, that some having made an Agreement among themselves, resolved to meet one morning and seize upon the Heads of the Government, who assembled themselves in Council in the Palace of Justice : but the business being secretly come to the ear of *Don Christino de Nizza*, one of the chief Preachers that laboured to make the people hold out the siege, he caused the Princes and Legat to be informed of it, who having put all the *Militia* in Arms, divided the care of the City, and ordered that the Duke of Nemours should ride armed that day and night thorow all the Wards of the City, and that the *Chevalier d' Aumale* should stay constantly to guard the Palace : yet nevertheless they of the Plot came in great numbers at the time appointed, crying *Bread or Peace*, and threatening to cut the Council in pieces if some course were not taken ; when one of the City-Captains, whose name was *Goix*, in consideration going about to oppose them, was shot and killed by one of them with a Pistol which he carried privately. The *Chevalier d' Aumale* having caused the gates of the Palace to be shut, and the Duke of Nemours and the Ambassador *Mendoza* coming suddenly with the *Militia* in Arms, he that had discharged the Pistol was thrown down from the gallery of the Palace ; and some other of the chief of them, who could not escape, being taken and executed the same day, the tumult dissolved of it self, leaving the City free from danger, but the Heads from fear that hunger would cause many of those commotions ; the state of things still growing worse, and no certain hope of relief appearing. The excessive heats vint

year followed the excessive rains, as they made the sufferings more grievous, so did they hasten the ripeness of corn in the field, which being seen by the besieged, who watched night and day upon the walls, was a cause that they went out arm'd and unarm'd in divers companies, sometimes Horse, sometimes Foot, with sickles and other reaping instruments, hoping to catch some part of it: but the diligence of the King's Army was great in running to beat back the besieged often as they came forth, burning up the corn, and with it driving those women and children in again that came out armed to get some by stealth: so that the whole field became full of burnings and bloody incursions on all sides, the Christians could not furnish themselves with any fruits out of the field, save those that grew within shot of their walls, which was so little as sufficed not to keep them above 5 or 6 days, after which the famine grew more miserable & deadly then ever; they being fain from meal and oat-pottage to come to the eating of noysome things, and even to the grinding of dead-mens bones to make bread; a food not onely loathsome and abominable, but also so unwholsom and pestiferous, that the poor people died wonderfully fast. They likewise wanted wood for burning so much, that they ate the flesh they got almost raw; and the skins and hides tann'd for shoes and for mens cloathing were boyl'd and devoured by those, who pulling down their own houses or other mens, could finde wherewithall to make fire; nor was there any kind of nourishment so strange, but it came into mens fancies to make use of, being become desperate by necessity, which forced them to invent wayes to keep themselves alive; and that which gave the greatest relief was, that by reason of the infinite number that were killed and fled away secretly, some streets, especially those of the Suburbs, being not frequented, brought forth grasse, which gave marvellous reliefe to those poor famished wretches.

The Parisians  
made bread of  
dead mens  
bones.

But even this small help was likewise quickly taken away: for the Prince of Conty, the *Sieur de Chastillon*, the *Duke de la Tremouille*, the *Marquesse Pisani*, the *Duke of Nemours*, and other Lords of Normandy, Anjou, Poictou, Gascony and Languedoc being come unto the Army, which was by that means much increased in number, the King caused the siege to be more neerly streightned, and the Suburbs to be there-



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Upon S. James  
his day the  
King assaults  
and takes the  
Fauxbourgs of  
Paris.]

therefore assaulted and taken ; to which end, upon the fourth and twentieth day of July at night, being the Eve of S<sup>t</sup> James the Apostle, the whole Army being disposed in severall places under their Commanders, as the clock struck three, the *Fauxbourgs* were assaulted at one time, clapping a great number of scaling ladders against the works. The Baron *Biron* assaulted the *Fauxbourg S<sup>t</sup> Martin*, the *Sieur de Ferques* that of *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*, Monsieur *de S<sup>t</sup> Luc* fell on that of *Montmartre*, the Marefchall *de Biron* at *S<sup>t</sup> Honoré*, the Marefchall *d'Aumont* at *S<sup>t</sup> Germain*, Monsieur *de Lavardin* neer the *Port de Bussy* and *Nesle*, Monsieur *de Chastillon* assaulted *S<sup>t</sup> Michel* and *S<sup>t</sup> Jacques*, the Prince of Conty and Duke *de la Tremoille* did the like at *S<sup>t</sup> Marceau* and *S<sup>t</sup> Victoire*, in such manner, that being attacqued and stormed all at the same time, the defendants strove but in vain with their Canon and Musket from the walls of the City ; for all the Suburbs were taken by the Army, and the City and people thereby much more incommodated and streightened.

The Town of *S<sup>t</sup> Denis* was taken before this upon the seventh of July ; in which siege the defendants having felt the same calamities, capitulated at last to yeeld, if within the next dayes they received not relief from Paris, or some other place ; which not being come to passe by reason of the weakness of the Parisians, and the places neer adjacent, and because the King had obstructed all the avenues, sitting on horse-back himself forty hours together, they in the end gave up the Town, marching out with their arms and baggage : and the same did they who held the Castle of *Dammartin* on the lower part of the River. So the whole Army being now set to streighten the City, which had before been divided to besiege those two places, the evill proved now without remedy ; there coming no certain news from any part that the Forces were upon their march to relieve them. Wherefore though formerly they had refused to answer many of the King's Letters, in which promising them their lives, and security for their consciences, he exhorted them to desist from so great stubbornesse, and yeelding up themselves, to acknowledge and obey him for their natural King : yet now some messages having passed between the Legat and the Marquesse of *Pisani*, who had been Ambassador at Rome, they were content at last to yeeld to some treaty of peace, but more with an intention to

The King at  
the siege of S.  
*Denis* sits on  
his horse back  
forty hours together.

satisfi

suffice the people, or to slacken the siege in some measure, with a thought of concluding any thing. Wherefore security being given and received, the Legat and Cardinal of Gondy went to the *Hostel of Girolamo Gondy* in the *Fauxbourg S' Germain*, whither a while after came the Marquisse of Pisani, with others from the Camp: but after a long discourse nothing was concluded; for the Legat insisted to have the whole businesse remitted to the Pope's arbitrement; that there might be a Cessation of arms till the decision came from Rome; and the Marquesse demanded to have the Spaniards submit themselves unto the King's obedience, who should afterwards give the Pope due satisfaction in point of Religion; which things being so distant, and so general, could produce no conclusion at all of agreement. The Legats returned into the City without effect, deluded the peoples expectation, and every one being afflicted at it, increased the consideration of their present misery, and of the certainty that they should lose their lives within a few dayes: so that the cries and groans of the people not onely filled all the streets, but did also multiply the number of those, who being overcome by the sharpnesse of their sufferings, called out for Peace, or *Peace*, cries most frequent in the City, especially at night. This beginning of insurrection was increased by the *Sieur d'Andelot*, brother to *Chastillon*, and some other gentlemen of the King's party; who being taken by the beatings in the skirmishes, which were most frequent every day near the walls, and having liberty given them to go abroad upon their *parole*, divulged among their friends and acquaintances the King's clemency, his readinesse to pardon; the liberty and security wherewith the Catholicks lived under his protection, the respect he shewed toward the Catholick Religion, his great strength, which increased more and more every day, wherewith he was resolved to meet their Succours with might, having assured hopes to beat them, and to give the same facility he had done in the battell of Yvry, wherein the Forces of the League, though intire and united; were utterly dissipated; by which instigations, many already despairing of relief, and drawn by their necessity, inclined to the so much commended clemency and faith of the Conquerour. Whereupon there was like to be a very great insurrection of the people to force the Princes to a resolution of

A Treaty proposed, the Legat & Cardinal Gondy meet the Marquesse of Pisani in the Fauxbourg, but return without concluding any thing.



1590 yeelding, and to make themselves masters of some gate, and let in the King's Army, which if it should have come to passe the forces of the Souldiers and Citizens were so weakened by famine, that it was thought they would have been able to make little resistance against the fury of the enemy: Wherefore the Parliament and Councell being joyntly assembled in the Hall of *S<sup>t</sup> Lewis*, they resolved to appoint two Deputies that should go to treat with the King, and if he permitted, should passe on to the Duke of Mayene, and to take care not to yeeld up the City; but if it were possible, to include the particular agreement of the City, in the union of the generall Peace.

For fear of an Insurrection, the Councell of Paris chuseth two Deputies, the Cardinall Gondy & Arch-Bishop of Lyons to treat with the King.

For this imployment they chose Cardinall Gondy and the Arch-bishop of Lyons, being assured that neither of them would treat any thing that should be prejudiciall to Religion; and yet the Duke of Nemours rose up almost angry from the Councell, attesting he would maintain what he had sworn in the beginning of the siege, and that he had resolved rather to die, then yeeld the Citie into any other hands then his Lord's who had trusted him with it. Nor did the Cardinall Legat seem altogether pleased, but said he permitted their counsell by necessity, but that he approved not of it, and having done and suffered so much, they ought to have patience for a few days, and expect the coming and issue of his relief which was ready to appear every hour. But yet the Deputies went forth with safe conduct to the Abbey of *S<sup>t</sup> Innocent* *thoine des Champs*, half a mile without that gate which is called; where they found the King with a great many Princes and Lords, and among the rest the High-Chancellour *Chiverny*, who having lived retired from the time that King Henry the Third dismissed him from the Court, had a few years before been recalled by the King to execute his wonted office in keeping the Seals. The Deputies told the King, that the Councell and Inhabitants of Paris, moved to compassionate the miseries of the people of France, which were the consequences of an obstinate Civil War, had given them commission to come and treat with him, and from thence to go to the Duke of Mayene the Head of the Catholick party, to see if they could finde out some way of accommodation; and therefore they who had willingly undertaken so honourable an imployment for the generall good and safety, exhorted

The High-Chancellour *Chiverny* recalled to the execution of his Office by Henry the Fourth.

The Speech of the City-Deputies unto the King.

his Majesty to hearken to those Conditions which were fit for the security of Religion, and the common peace of the Kingdom ; but that he should not think that for any suffering or danger in the world, the Parisians would ever accept of any agreement which should in the least manner be prejudicial to their conscience and Religion, being resolved rather to die a corporal death, then injure or blemish the spiritual life of the soul, for which they were ready to suffer any kinde of Martyrdom ; which yet they did not fear, being certain to be powerfully relieved within a few days. Here Cardinal *Gondy* (though in himself affectionate to the King's party) added any other things, to make it be believed, that not driven by necessity, but moved with a charitable zeal of universal Concord, they were chosen Deputies by the City and Council of Paris, to finde out a way to the quiet of the Kingdom. Which things being spoken in publike, and amidst a great concourse of souldierly Nobility, did so disgust every one that heard him, that the respect of the King could not so restrain the French impatience, but that it broke forth sometimes into laughter, sometimes in words of disdain; bearing a Message more proper for a disinterested, or a conquering people, then a City reduced to the last inevitable calamities of hunger. And the King, either through his own spirit, or excited by the general resentment, which had as it were prescribed him the tenour of his Answer, replied readily, That he knew very well the common people of Paris had the knife at their throat ; and that howsoever the true meaning of the Embassie were palliated, yet were the Deputies come indeed to finde some remedy for the extremity of the condition they were brought to; but that the contents of their Message was very different from what it ought to have been: That if the Senate of Venice, a State not depending upon any body but it self, by its ancient resolution always a Mediatour of Peace among Christian Princes, had interposed to conclude a Peace between him and the Duke of Mayene, it would not have seemed strange to him, and he should have taken it in good part ; but that the common people of one of his own Subject Cities, who having forgot their natural duty, had shewed themselves contumacious and rebellious against him, should dare to usurp the name of a Council, and presume to be the Mediatours of Peace and Concord, was a thing so ridiculous

The King's  
Answer.



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lous on the one side, and so worthy of scorn and punishment on the other, that it would be no small matter, if from his clemency they should be able to obtain Pardon for themselves, without meddling any further in the businesse. And here with many expressions (wherein he was naturally very happy) desiring also to give satisfaction to the Nobility that heard him, he said divers other things, to shew that he desired Peace out of his own goodnesse and clemency, and for the preservation of the people which God had committed to his Government; but that he neither feared the War, nor the powerful succours which the Parisians fancied in their own imaginations: and finally concluded, that he would be contented to lose one finger from his hand, upon condition the War between him and his enemies and Rebels might be ended with the sword the day following; but that he would gladly give two, that by the way of peace every one would acknowledge their own duty.

The opinion  
of the High-  
Chancellour  
*Chiverny*.

After which words, the Deputies were led forth into a room prepared for them, and the King retired to advise with his Council. The High-Chancellour *Chiverny* shewed, that the King's Answer had been very sharp and high, and that though that scornful resolute behaviour seemed fit in publike, yet not in consulting the matter calmly, that style was to be altered, not to lose that end which had till then been endeavoured with so many labours: That the King's aim was to bring the City of Paris under obedience, but not with the desolation of the Citizens, nor with force of Arms; but that the way of siege had been chosen, as well by reason of the strength of the people united for their defence, as not to destroy the greatest and richest City of the whole Kingdom: wherefore, now that the Parisians being tamed by hunger, began to treat of an Agreement, reason perswaded to use them gently, and not to stand upon any Conditions; but, provided they would but yield, the most large and honourable capitulation that could be, as to be accepted of: and that if the desire of saving Paris induced the Duke of Mayene and others of his party to embrace an Agreement, it was not a thing to be contemned, but rather to be wished for: Wherefore he was plainly of opinion, that the Deputies should be moderately treated with in private touching an Accommodation, and also that they should be permitted to go on to the Duke of Mayene, to see if they could

cav

him to consent to Peace. The Marechal de Biron approved the first part of the High-Chancellours counsels, which to give any Conditions whatsoever to the Parisians, provided they would submit to the King's obedience; so much the more, because by long watchings and continual sufferings, the men of the Army were much tired and lessened, and diseases, regard of the season, began already to be very ripe in the camp: but he was not of opinion that the Deputies should leave granted them to go on to the Duke of Mayene, saying that that was a prolonging of the time, till the relief should arrive out of Flanders: That the negotiating of a general Peace was a thing that required long time, and much security, which could not stand with the present business: that it was good to strike the iron while it was hot, and to lighten the Parisians till hunger forced them to think of their safety: for Paris being subdued, the foundation of the siege was taken away, and it would afterward be most easie to make an agreement with the Duke of Mayene and the rest of the party. All the rest concurred in this opinion; and therefore the Deputies being called, after many discourses, this was the conclusion, That if Paris would yeeld, the King would give them full satisfaction in the securities and other matters desired of him; but that he would not receive Laws from him in what concerned his conscience and conversion, which was reserved to his own freedom, and to the inspirations of God; neither would he give way that they should go treat with the Duke of Mayene, he being resolved not to treat with any agreement, except concerning the City of Paris: and finally, he caused a Writing to be given unto them, penned by Secretary Revol, wherein he declared the same things with very gentle words, and proffers of all possible security and satisfaction. He added also private kinde letters to the Duke of Nemours, the Dutchesse his mother, and to Madame de Guise, pressing each of them to Peace, and assuring them all, that they should receive more from his favour then they knew how to desire. With this Answer the Deputies returned: but the Duke of Nemours, being averse from Peace, by the counsel of the Legat and the Ambassadour Mendozza, would not give out that the Writing should be read unto the people, but that the Deputies should tell them onely that the King would have no other Agreement, but that the City should put it self into his

The Marechal de Biron's opinion, to which the King's Counsellours assent.

The Deputies return with the King's Answer: all thought of Peace is laid aside.



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his power, without the assent of, and without including Duke of Mayene and the other Lords of the League ; which being contrary to the sense of the major part, especially those of the Councel ( for the City would by no means separate themselves from the Duke of Mayene, but run the same fortune with him to the uttermost ) the thought of Peace being laid aside, they returned to the care of their defence.

In the mean time, the Duke of Parma ( notwithstanding that he had made his opinion fully known in Spain ) had received a new absolute order from the Catholike King to march personally with the whole Army into France to relieve the Confederates, and to raise the siege of Paris ; the Councel believing that enterprise so honourable, so important, and of so lively hopes, that it was without doubt to be preferred before the interests of the affairs of Flanders, which were thought to be reduced into such a condition, that they could receive but little or no damage by the absence of the Duke with his Army for a few months : and therefore approving that and of the Duke of Parma's opinion which was to nourish and prolong the War, to obtain that from the weaknesse and the wearinesse of the French, which at first seemed impossible to be effected, they had nevertheless determined that Paris should be powerfully relieved, purposely not to suffer the League to be so soon subdued, and the King to remain Conquerour of whom, that City being once taken, all other things would become easie, and quickly be dispatched : besides, that the Monarchy, even from the weaknesse of its beginnings, had been accustomed ever to unite its own ends with the so favourable and plausible pretence of Religion, it could not neglect this important occasion disunite those interests so neerly joined, without taking off that glorious reputation which they so much boasted of, that they never had other enemies but the enemies of the Church it self : therefore they had caused a commandment to be given the Duke, that having strengthened those Garisons of Flanders as much as he could, which were frontiers towards the confederate States, he should not depart to relieve the City of Paris with all his Force ; which being delivered and freed from the siege, he should not care to proceed, or do any thing further. But the Duke, as soon as he received this last so absolute order, was in much trouble how to way to execute it : for on the one side, he could not leave

The Duke of Parma hath expressed order from Spain to go and relieve Paris.

Cities of Flanders so well garison'd, but that some great losse  
 vs to be feared, which in Spain (where he saw the opinion  
 r this businesse was very different from truth) would be im-  
 ted to his carelesnesse, and not to the necessity of things,  
 d the Orders he had received: and on the other side, he  
 ould not march into France without the strength of the  
 my, being to make a War wherein there was little to be  
 ted to from his friends, and much to be feared from a  
 ve, valiant, unwearied Enemy, bred up in war, and guard-  
 w with almost an invincible Body of French Nobility; and so  
 ch the more, because it was necessary to go and find him  
 ome in the midst of all his Forces. Moreover the straight-  
 e of time troubled him very much, because he knew Paris  
 already reduced to the extremest necessity of hunger, & yet  
 r to furnish Flanders with what was requisite, and then to go  
 to France with that order, and those provisions which were fit  
 he greatnes of the enterprize, it was necessary to spend some  
 re; so that it was infinitely to be doubted, the Parisians  
 ould not be able to hold out so long. But as a Prince of  
 courage, who to maturity of resolution joyned celerity  
 execution, judging this (as indeed it was) the most weigh-  
 nd difficult enterprize that had ever fallen within his con-  
 at, he proposed to himself to overcome all difficulties, and  
 effect it with that glory which he had gained in his other  
 ons: and therefore having disposed the order of all things  
 is mind, he betook himself to the effecting of them with so  
 th diligence, that he hoped to be able to relieve Paris by the  
 ist of August; wherefore desiring neither to deceive, nor be  
 eived, as he had told the Duke of Mayene before, so he  
 r a Letter to the besieged, about the end of July, wherein  
 ing them account of his expedition, he assured them that  
 ould be in France by the midst of the next month, and  
 orted them to overcome all difficulties, and arm them-  
 es with patience to expect that time, within which he ho-  
 ecertainly he should be able to free them from all trouble.  
 The Letter came to Paris upon the first of August, and be-  
 gread by the Magistrates, and communicated to the people,  
 d every one with wonderfull great despair, the time seem-  
 o long to them, that they believed they should never be  
 to hold it out with life; wherefore the Souldiers began  
 ealth to forsake their Colours, and fly away by night:  
 and

At the coming  
 of the Duke of  
 Parma's Let-  
 ters, which pro-  
 mised relief  
 within 15 days,  
 the souldiers &  
 people despair-  
 ing, strive to  
 flye away from  
 the City.



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The German  
souldiers in  
Paris having  
no other food,  
kill little chil-  
dren to eat.

The Duke of  
Mayene to give  
hope to the Pa-  
risians, advan-  
ces with his  
Army as far as  
Meaux.

and the poor of the Citie being destitute of sustenance, sought to get out of the siege and escape some whither else, the Governours in chief not forbidding them, who from the beginning had given leave to all to depart freely. But the King, as he willingly suffered the run-away souldiers to passe, so had he given strict orders that the townsmen should be driven back, and forced to return into the Citie, knowing that the besieged sought to unburthen themselves; which order being punctually executed by the guards, was the cause that very few of them could escape by stealth. Among the greatest difficulties that the Governours had, was the restraining of the Germans, who having lived in all kinde of liberty, and without regard destroy'd fair houses and gardens to sell the wood and get money; now that every thing was consumed, had given themselves over to all manner of villany, so that they might but get any nourishment by it; and many have reported, that they secretly killed all the children they could get into their hands, to feed upon their flesh; and notwithstanding all this they began to mutiny, and desire to disband, though both the Duke of Nemours and the *Chevalier d'Anmale* did use all possible means to keep them together. The besieged finding themselves in this streight, writ to the Duke of Mayene (or a finall resolution) that if they were not relieved within ten dayes, it would be impossible for them to hold out, and having done all that was possible, they should be excused before God and man, if they took care of their own safety: and the Dutchesse of Mayene wrote to her Husband to the same purpose, conjuring him by his affection to their children, that he should not suffer them to fall into the hands of so bitter an Enemy. Which Letters being received by the Duke, and being in no lesse perplexity of minde then the Parisians, he united all his Forces together and advanced to *Meaux*, ten leagues instant from Paris, and dispatched the Marquesse *Alessandro Malaspina* to let the Duke of Parma know, that if he might not haste with his Army, all their labour would be lost, the besieged not being able to hold out any longer, and for assurance of it, sent him the same Letters he had received. There were with the Duke of Mayene besides *Quiroga's* mutineers, *Capizucchi's Tertia*, and the Walloon Horse the Duke of Parma had given him, six hundred Lanciers of the Duke of Lorain's, commanded by the Count *de Chaligny*, Brother to

Queen-Dowager of France, the French Infantry under Colonel *S' Paul*, the Duke of Aumale with the Troops of Hardy, the Marquess *de Menelay*, Monsieur *de Balagny* Governour of Cambray, and the Sieur *de Rosne*, and *de la Châ* with their Regiments and Attendants, which in all amount to the number of ten thousand Foot, and two thousand and four hundred Horse. With these Forces though he advanced as far as Meaux, to be ready upon any occasion that should be offered, and to put courage in the besieged by being so near, yet did he not think them sufficient to be able to relieve victuall Paris, because he knew the King by the addition of many supplies, had under his Colours six and twenty thousand Foot, and more then seven thousand Horse, among which five thousand were Gentlemen, who bearing arms onely for honour; being well attended and gallantly mounted, were esteemed by him both for their number and quality without comparison superiour; and therefore he dispatched Letters and Messengers every hour to the *Vice-Seneschal de Monteli-*, who resided for him neer the Duke of Parma, to the end that he might with all diligence sollicite his coming, without which he thought it impossible to relieve the besieged.

The Duke of *Parma* having called a Councel of war upon the first of August, told them the order he had received from the Catholick King to march with the whole Army into France, and said that that resolution was contrary to his opinion, alledging the reasons for which he esteem'd the enterprise to be of great danger, and little advantage: but since it had pleased the King their Master to command it so, as he was resolv'd in that Expedition to imploy all those abilities God had given him, so he pray'd all the rest to apply their indeavours, to the end that the Offices committed to their care might be discharged to the praise of God, the King's satisfaction, and to their own honour: and there having given every one his charge, he commanded that the Army, already drawn down together, should be ready to march by the fourth of that month. He writ to the Duke of Mayenne the certainty and time of his coming, and gave the Parisians notice of the same, attesting to them, that for the onely purpose of relieving them, and for the maintenance of Religion, the Catholick King neglecting his own affairs, sparing neither bloud nor money, and without those securities of strong Towns for Magazines of arms,

The Duke of Parma declares that he had never been of opinion that the King of Spain should send his Army into France to serve the League.



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The Duke of  
Parma moves  
with his Army  
from Valenci-  
ennes to re-  
lieve Paris.

The Duke of  
Parma's man-  
ner of conduct  
in his march-  
ing thorow  
France.

and places of retreat upon the Confines, which are wont to be demanded and granted, to the end that every one might know his candor in proceeding to be more lively, and more reall, undertook that weighty enterprize; which nevertheless he hoped, by the help of God and the justice of the cause, to bring to an happy conclusion; and with this resolution his Army moved upon the fourth of August toward *Valen-  
ennes*. The *Marquesse de Ranti* led the *Van*; in the *Battell* with the *Duke* were the Princes of *Ascoli*, *Chasteau-bertrand* and *Chimay*, the Count *de Barlemont*, the Count of *Aramberg*, and many other Flemish, Italian, and Spanish Lords. The *Sieur de la Mothe* Governor of *Graveling* commanded the *Re-  
in* which there were twenty pieces of Canon, two bridges to be made upon boats, and all those other warlike instruments, which are wont to be carried along in Royall Armies. The Duke of Parma's Armies had ever been very well disciplined, ready, and accustomed to hardship, punctual in obedience to commands, and no wayes given to pillage or plunder in a friends Country: and now knowing he was to enter into a Kingdom where the name of a Spaniard was generally hated by the people, and that he was no lesse to govern suspicious mindes, ready to rise upon every slight occasion, then to meet war with a victorious Army, and a wary compleat Souldier, he was more carefull then ever, and strove with all possible diligence to keep his Souldiers from doing any injury, using no violence, or giving any cause of complaint unto the French. He encamped alwayes as if the Enemies Army had been close by him, kept all his men together from straggling, and orderly in their Quarters; he made carefull discoveries, and marched without confusion or tumult; he came into Quarters betime in the evening, & while they were disposed of & made defensive, he caused the greater part of the Army to stand to their arms; he ordered strong Convoys to attend the victuall, where he had made, and did still make exceeding great provisions, not yeelding the honour and advantage in all things to the French, strove to gain the love of the Nation, to which end he had lived in Flanders among the Spaniards with retirednesse and gravity, equall to the humour of those with whom he conversed, now being come into France, he laid aside the State, Ante-chambers, and the strict keeping of doors, ate in publick, kept a Table for the French Gentlemen, and both

wrote

ords and actions shewed himself wonderful affable and familiar. And because in that multitude of Officers of note that were about him, he resolved onely to trust himself, he would personally hear the relations of those parties that had been abroad to discover and scowre the ways, himself would talk with Spies, dispose the order of the Guards, and hearken to all things appertaining to the discipline of his Army: for which purpose watching all the night, he onely gave those few hours to sleep, which past between the beating of the *Reveille* and the marching of his Army. With this diligence marching gently, not to tire out his men, he came to Meaux, ten leagues from Paris, upon the three and twentieth of August; and having as he marched met the Duke of Mayene in the field, they joyned their Armies together in that very place.

The Duke of Parma's arrival at Meaux, where he joyns with the Duke of Mayene.

There the Archbishop of *Lyons* and President *Vetus* arrived; who having newly been with the King to introduce someverture of Agreement, and now with his Safe-Conduct (for the drawing neer of the Spanish Army, he had yeelded something from his former stiffnesse) were come to negotiate with the Duke of Mayene, by whom being brought into the Council, they related in what extremity the Parisians were, that they could not hold out above four days longer: whereupon they earnestly desired, if within that space they could not be relieved, that an Agreement might be made, whereby the City might be freed from the certainty of that danger wherein it was. The Duke of Parma, with modest and grave expressions, made known that he was come by the Catholike King's command, with order onely to relieve the City, and to provide against the danger of Religion, and that he had no Commission to treat of any Accommodation; nor did his conscience dictate to him any thought of making an Agreement with a Prince that was an heretick, and an enemy to the Church; but that the Parisians having with infinite honour, and with an heroick example of Christian fortitude suffered so much, they should endure yet the delay of a few days; some hoped, by the help of God, and the strength of that Army that they should very easily be delivered; and that therefore they should return to the City, and perswade them to that due patience. The Deputies returned to the King, where they had left Cardinal *Gondy*, and declared that in the Army

An Accommodation is against propounded; but the Duke of Parma saying he had only order from the King to relieve Paris, and not to treat, the Deputies returned.



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there was no intention of lending an ear to Peace, and the Duke of Parma had dismissed them with assurance of speedy and infallible relief: whereupon, being likewise dismissed by the King, the thoughts on both sides were turned wholly upon matters of War.

The Abbot del Bene dies.

The King was in great perplexity of minde: for besides the diminution of his Army caused by diseases, whereof many had died (and among the rest the Abbot *Pietro del Bene*, a man of great ability in State-affairs) many various and different resolutions represented themselves unto his thoughts. It seemed hard unto him to rise without fruit from that siege, after so many labours and so many dangers, and after having reduced the City to the last degrees of despair; and therefore he was inclined to a desire of leaving part of the Army to make good the passes, and to advance with the other to meet the relief. On the other side, he thought the Duke of Parma's strength to be exceeding great, and that it would be requisite to use all his Forces to oppose and resist him; and therefore durst not hazard to go against him with onely a part of his Army, which he believed not able to withstand him. Thus doubtful and uncertain in his minde, he called a Council of all his Commanders, in which the principal were the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Nevers, the Mareschals of Aumont and Biron, the Marquis his son, *Philibert de la Guiche*, the Sieurs de Lavardin, *Guitry*, and *de la Noüe*, the Viscount of Turenne, the Duke of *la Tremouille*, and *Monsieur de Chastillon*; who not having their mindes possessed with passion, concurred all in the same opinion, that to divide the Army was a pernicious counsel; or that way the siege would neither be maintained, nor the relief hindered: That this was not the first siege which after many experiments had been quitted by famous souldiers; and that if they could but effect the designe either of defeating the Duke of Parma, or making him return, the provisions which the Parisians could get in in the mean time from places near adjacent, would be so inconsiderable, that at their return the City would in a few days be brought to the same necessity. Which after it was determined in the Council, the King having given such Orders as were fitting, that they might be ready time enough to oppose the enemy, raised the siege upon the thirtieth of August, and marched with his whole Army to quarter in *Chelles*, a Town three leagues from Paris, and in full

Upon the 30 of August the King rises from the siege of Paris, and marches to Chelles to hinder the relief.

from the Army of the League. Chelles is a spacious  
 seated in a fenny Plain, and overflowed with the water  
 little rivulet, which stands in pools round about it : It  
 on both sides a large Campagne; and before it two hills;  
 whose ascent is the great high-way that leads straight from  
 to Paris. Here the Army (wherein were seven thou-  
 Horse, and between eighteen and twenty thousand Foot)  
 disposed in such manner, that the Light-horse backed by  
 Foot of the *Vanguard*, possessed the bottoms of the hills,  
 the passage of the high-way : the body of the *Main-Battel*  
 under cover in the houses of the Bourg; and the Cavalry  
 the *Rereguard*, sheltering the back of the Army, lay at the  
 of the Plain that leads towards Paris. On the right  
 of the Bourg the Swisses were quartered, and the *Sieur de*  
*Millon* with four French Regiments; and on the left, the  
 menans with five Regiments of Fire-locks, and with the  
*de Lavardin* : and on both sides were placed the Ar-  
 tillery.

The manner,  
 how the King's  
 Army was dis-  
 posed at  
 Chelles.

The King's Army was hardly quartered, when upon the  
 of the hills the Italian and Bourguinion Horse of the  
 appeared, who began to skirmish at the front of the  
 waters; and in the mean time the Dukes of Parma and May-  
 with few in company riding everywhere about, discover-  
 the strength and disposition of the Army distinctly; which  
 coming to them admirably well ordered, they retired to their  
 Quarter, which was in the bottoms beyond the hills, and  
 careful to fortifie it with a broad Trench and a high Brest-  
 work, which flanked round about with Bulwarks and Half-  
 moons, upon which the Artillery were planted, made their  
 secure from the fury of any sudden assault whatsoever.  
 The Armies lay still on this manner for the space of four days:

The Dukes of  
 Mayene and  
 Parma, while  
 their Horse  
 skirmish, go to  
 discover the si-  
 tuation and  
 strength of the  
 Army.

The Duke of Parma knowing that the Parisians going out  
 the City, had both from the places neer adjacent, and by  
 of things that had been left by the Army, furnished them-  
 with sufficient provisions for some few days; did not  
 the very much, nor would he precipitate his counsels: and  
 the King, though desirous to fight, and full of hopes of the  
 victory, thought it an extreme rashness to assault an enemy  
 sooner than himself in its own Quarters. In the mean time  
 they skirmished very often, proved the valour of all the several  
 arms, and tried all sorts of Arms; the Horse often charging  
 Foot,

While the two  
 Armies lie still  
 observing  
 one another,  
 the Parisians  
 make some  
 provision of  
 Victual.



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The King  
sends a Trum-  
pet to the Duke  
of Mayene,  
challenging  
him to battel.

The Duke of  
Mayene sends  
him to the  
Duke of  
Parma, who  
returns a no-  
table Answer  
to the King.

Foot, and the Cuirassiers somtimes Light horse and Carabieers somtimes Lanciers, wherewith the Army of the League abounded very much : in which time the King, anxious of that decay and fearful lest the late sufferings and want of money should make his men disband, or at least that his Army should decrease, it being full of dangerous diseases, resolved to try the courage of the enemies, by sending a Trumpet to let the Duke of Mayene know, That at last the time was come of settling the differences, and putting an end to the miseries of this War, and that therefore rising forth of his den, where he lay rather like a Fox then a Lion, he should bring his Army into the open field, where the valour and courage of either might presently decide the future Victory. The Duke of Mayene sent the Trumpet to the Duke of Parma as superiour, who smiling answered, That he knew very well what was fit for him to do, for the attaining of his own ends, and was not content so far to take counsel from his enemy : That he saw clearly enough that his way of proceeding displeated the King ; and that if he were so great a Souldier as fame reported him to be, he should shew his skill in forcing him to a Battel against his will, for he would never put that willingly into the arbitrement of Fortune, which he had already safe in his own hands. But by that time the affairs of Paris began to presse : for that little booty consumed which they had been able to catch, the City returned to its former exigency ; and it was necessary to open the passages to the end that Victuals might go in : wherefore the Duke of Parma, having in these days tried the King's souldiers, discovered the Country exactly, and maturely deliberated what he should do, gave out that he would fight in the open field, and having drawn up his Army in Battalia upon the fifth of September in the morning, he advanced very early toward the enemy. In the Van he placed two great Squadrons of Light-horse and all the Light-horse of the Army, and gave the Command of them to the Marquesse *de Ranty*, giving him order that as soon as he was out of the woody place which was upon the ascent of the hills, and was come to the top, where the hills enlarged it self, he should cover and take up the space of the hills as much as possibly he could, by spreading his Light-horse out at length, commanded by the Prince of *Chimay* and *Georges Basta*, and by making two great wings of the Light-horse, and then marching toward the enemy, should begin to defend

very softly, to go into the open field, making many  
ands, and staying to expect his orders. To the Duke of  
yene he gave the charge of the Battell, in which he put all  
strength of the Italian and Spanish Foot, together with  
nty pieces of Canon; and the Rere was led by the Sieur  
a Mothe, with the Bourguignon Lances, and the Walloon  
ntry. In the Flank of the Battell, but separated on the  
it and left hand, he put the Sieur de la Chastre, and Colo-  
S<sup>t</sup> Paul with the French Horse and Foot; and he himself  
ained free to ride every-where up and down, having with  
Count *Alessandro Sforza*, *Nicolo Cesis*, and *Appio Conti*,  
nely 100 Horse.

As soon as the Army of the League was seen to march re-  
tely toward the Enemy along the great high-way, it was  
generall opinion of both sides that they should certainly  
t that day; and the King full of courage, his eys sparkling  
ery joy, having with admirable celerity and exact dili-  
re drawn up his Army in the same manner as it lay quar-  
d before, waited with a longing desire till the Enemy  
ng down into the open field, should give him opportu-  
to fight with equall advantage. The King's Squadrons  
already all in order, with the Artillery placed ready to  
e, and the Marquessie de *Ranty* stretching forth his Body of  
es as far as ever he could, already leaving the Hill, de-  
nded, but very gently, toward the Plain, when the Duke  
Parma seeing all the field covered with his Van-guard, and  
the King's Army stood intently expecting him, with a  
ought to fight, set spurs to his horse, and galloped up to  
e head of the Battel, where having stayed the Duke of May-  
e who was still marching toward the Enemy, he made him  
suddenly toward *Lagny*, which stands upon the left hand,  
d having changed his order, so that the Battell became the  
an and the Rere the Battell, he marched speedily to pos-  
the Suburbs of that Town. *Lagny* is seated upon the  
Marne, in such manner, that the Suburbs, though but  
a few houses, stand upon the bank on the right side, on  
in both the Armies were, and the Town is built upon the  
the passage between is by a large bridge over the Ri-  
er, which being the principall that brings victuall to Paris,  
as so one of the chief passes that was to be opened. Mon-  
de la *Fin* was in *Lagny* with fifteen Colours of French

Foot,

The Duke of  
Parma draws  
his Army into  
battalia, march-  
es toward the  
Enemy, makes  
shew as if hee  
would give  
battell; then  
turning sud-  
denly, goes to  
*Lagny*, and de-  
ceives the  
King, who,  
thinking to  
fight, had dis-  
posed his Army  
in a readines;



Foot, who (contrary to his expectation) seeing the whole Army of the League turned against him, and not thinking he could defend the Suburbs, which stood beyond the River on that side the Enemy was coming, having broken and thrown down the Bridge to the end they might not so easily pass over, he retired with his men to defend the circuit of the Town which before they could assault it was necessary to passe the River. The Duke of Parma having taken and possessed the Suburbs without resistance, presently quartered the French Infantry there, and about half a mile from them he encamped in the field of Pompone with the rest of the Army, endeavouring with infinite diligence, and with trenches, breast-works, redoubts, and half-moons to secure the Camp, and to hinder and obstruct the passages of all the Country round about.

The Marquesse *de Ranty*, after he had with the Vanguards held the King's Army for many hours in suspense with all possibility of fighting, towards the evening began likewise to march toward Lagny, leaving the King very doubtfull what the Enemies designe should be; for he thought it necessary for them to passe the River, if they would take that Town, which he believed they could not do without great danger of losing at least their Rere-guard, if nothing else; and it seemed to him much more difficult to believe that the Duke of Parma would assault any place before his face; but most difficult of all he would march toward Paris on that side, leaving the City of Lagny behinde him, because so he should have shut himself up in the middle, and depriving himself of the concurrence of provisions, would have besieged his own Army himself, wherefore being doubtfull in his minde, and not knowing what to resolve on, to try what the Enemies intent was he sent forth the Baron *de Biron*, the Grand Prior, and Monsieur *de la Noüe* to follow the Marquesse *de Ranty*, and to begin a skirmish as they could, to take some conjecture of the designs and proceedings of the Enemy; but the Carabuziers (who were got into the woody places that were thereabouts) having received the encounter very valiantly, and *Georgio Basta* advancing with four hundred Lances to support them, the skirmish was various till night, which parted them so that without further action they retired both to their Quarters. The Duke still busie in taking and fortifying the posts that were between both the Armies, to defend

if he should be assaulted in the Rere, caused the Artillery  
be planted against Lagny that very night, though with the  
ever between, and the next morning by break of day be-  
to batter the wall with eleven pieces of Canon. *La Fin*  
first despised the Duke's battery, seeing the River between  
on, and that though a breach should be made, they could  
by no means come to assault it, by reason of the River;  
he found himself much deceived, when he saw that the  
having caused a bridge of boats to be cast over it two  
agues above, had commanded *Capizucchi's Tertia* of Itali-  
to passe over, with *Berlotte's Tertia* of Walloons, and *Geor-*  
*Basta's* eight hundred Horse, that they might be ready  
in it should be time to storm the wall, which weak, and not  
with earth, was like within a few hours to afford sufficient  
age for the assault.

In the interim the King at last suspecting what the Ene-  
was about to do (but at the time when the Quarter of the  
ague was already well enough fortified, and all the passage  
up with *Corps-de-Garde*, which the Duke of Parma had  
ed on every side) sent forth divers Troops, and severall  
to relieve the \* besieged, which all entered without re- \* *In Lagny.*  
nce; for the Duke cared not, nor valued that relief, so  
as the whole Army marched not: but the King could  
no way that was not most difficult and dangerous; for if  
moved not, Lagny was certainly lost, and the passage was  
to victuall the City on that side; and if moving to re-  
it he should passe the River, the Duke leaving Lagny,  
od march with the victuall he had brought the straight way  
Fris; for which cause he staying, as it were unmoveable,  
he he was, not being able to take any resolution, consult-  
verthelesse what was best to be done. The Mareschal  
iron was of opinion, that following the same way by  
in the Marquesse *de Ranty* was retired, and forcing two  
*de-Garde* that were on that side, he should assault the  
the's Camp on the left hand toward Meaux, where it was  
fortified then in the other places. Monsieur *de la Noüe*  
as of opinion, that it was better to passe the River, and  
lacing themselves behind Lagny, to re-inforce and refresh  
e Carison every moment, hoping that being so relieved, it  
t hold out against the violence of the Enemy. To both  
the King answered, that either way the Duke had free  
Ffffff passage



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passage left him to Paris; for by turning towards Meaux, his way by Chelles was left open, and by passing the River the same way would be neither more nor lesse free to him.

In the mean time the Duke of Parma being resolved not to lose a minute, and assured of the solidnesse of his designe, caused a furious assault to be given to the walls of Lagny though the breach was not very wide; where while they are fighting stoutly on both sides, the King drawn by necessity to see all his past toyls and labours lost, could not contain himself from advancing that way with his whole Army in battalia, but not with any settled resolution what to do. The Duke of Parma on the other side, not stirring out of the compass of his works, put his Army likewise in order within the circuit of his Camp, facing toward the Enemy, and leaving the appointed Forces without impediment to prosecute the assault, which having at first been happily repulsed by those within, a disorder gave the victory to the enemies: on being about to change and relieve those that had ended the assault, they did it not file by file, as the good rule of defence directeth; but either for haste, or want of experience, would needs do it all at once, from whence tumult and confusion arising, the assailants not losing the opportunity redoubled the assault with so much readinesse, that the defenders being beaten off, who before were half disordered by themselves, they entered the Castle, and took *la Fin* prisoner and the King, to the greater increase of his affliction was only

The Duke of Parma takes Lagny before the face of the King's Army, whereby the passage of the river Marne being freed, upon the sixth of September great store of victuall enters Paris.

spectator of the slaughter of his men, who being encompassed by the Walloons and Italians (who had given the assault with great emulation of each other) were without mercy put to the sword. Wherefore there being no more possibility of doing any thing about Lagny, neither to defend it nor recover it, he was constrained, full of most bitter grief, and without fruit at all, to return the same evening to his old Quarters. Lagny being taken, and the passage of the River opened, the victuall already gathered together for that purpose, was conveyed from the far side of the River abundantly into Paris, the Citie opening their gates with joy and welcome to their deliverers, whereas six days before they thought they should have been forced with utter ruine and desolation to have set themselves open to the Enemy. But the King seeing Lagny taken before his own eyes, and the hunger of the Parisians relieved,

means, resolved to withdraw from the enemy, because it is certain that the Duke of Parma having effected his design, would not fight any more of his own accord; and to keep him in his quarters, strongly intrenched, and abounding in all manner of provisions, was not a thing to be thought of; whereas on the other side, his Army, consumed by the continual toil and duty of the whole Summer, and therefore full of various diseases which increased daily, began also to suffer want of victuals, the whole Country behinde him being taken up; and the impatiency of the Nobility, the want of money, the nature of the French, who having lost the hope of saving Paris, and of coming to a Battel with the enemy, could no longer endure the sufferings and hardship of Arms, perswaded him to that willingly, which within a few hours, not days, would have been necessitated to do by force: Whereupon, the next day, which was the seventh of September, having put his Army in Battalia, he stood firm a while defying the enemy in Battel, and none appearing, no not so much as to skirmish, the field remaining free, he marched away, retiring to the walls of *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*.

The King withdraws his Army from the enemy, and marches toward *S. Denis*.

But being exceedingly troubled and afflicted for the unprosperous successe of his affairs, and desirous to do something that might recover the spirit and credit of his Arms, it came in his mind to give an unexpected Scalado that night to the City of Paris it self, attempting to get that suddenly by force, which he had not been able to obtain by so long a siege, and by so great an extremity of famine: nor was it without much reason that he fell into this thought: for the strictness of the siege being over, many of the Citizens not well assured of the safety, had taken refuge in the Country; and those that remained in the City suffering in their great weakness with excess of meat, which their hunger made them greedily devour, were so faint and sickly, that for the most part they lay unfit for service: besides, many of the Souldiers were gone forth to spoil the Victuals which were brought from *Chartres* and other places, and to guard them from the King's Garisons which were nearer on every side: and, which imported most of all, it was incredible that the neighbourhood of so great an Army of soldiers, which they knew waited close upon the King's, would make men already tired out and spent with hard duty and suffering, more negligent in their wonted Guards and sitting



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Watches to keep and make good so great a circuit of ground. Now the King being resolved to attempt that enterprize, gave order that all should meet as at a general Rendezvous in the Plain of *Bondy*, not far from the City; and having put the Scaling-ladders together, which for that use were carried with

\* The Italian says *Su le due hore della notte*; but their account of hours beginning from sunset, & so to 24, which end at sunset again, it is plain the Authour meant 2 hours within night, which according to the time of sunset there in that season of the year, must needs be before 9 a clock; for after 2 they could not have had time enough before day light to march so far, & to make several attempts to scale the City.

The King marches towards *S. Denis*; but in the midst of the night gives a scalado to the walls of Paris: yet the vigilancy of the Duke of Nemours makes it ineffectual.

The King's soldiers return at break of day to scale the walls again; & ladders are set up: but being discovered, they are repulsed, with the death of the first that went up.

Army, he took his way toward Paris about \* between eight and nine of the clock at night. The *Mareschal d'Aumont* led a fleeing Squadron with its ladders; the *Baron de Biron* led another; and a third, in the same order, was brought up by the *Sieur de Lavardin*. The King followed with all the Princes and Commanders, and with the Cavalry drawn up ready to fight; and having passed the *Seine*, went toward that part of the City which, as being furthest from danger, they thought would be least guarded. The Scaling-ladders were presented to the gates and walls of *S' Germain* by the *Mareschal d'Aumont*; at *S' Michel* by *Biron*; and by *Lavardin*, between *S' Jacques* and *S' Marceau*. But they found the defendants ready and vigilant everywhere: for the Duke of Nemours, who called the ways to be diligently scowred, had had an inclining of drawing together at *Bondy*, and of their marching toward Paris, and therefore had carefully disposed and visited the Guards in every place: whereupon, the foundation of the succeeding failing, which was negligence and the small Guards of the citizens, the Commanders, without much obstinacy, broke off their ladders, and returned to the place where the King was with the Cavalry tarried for them; who facing about with an easie pace, drew off the same way he came: but not being able to withhold himself from trying to effect something, he was thinking that the defendants, having beaten off his men, would perchance after that nights watch be more negligent and sleep in the morning, having caused his Cavalry to make an halcyon turn about again to lead up the three fleeing squadrons to the Trenches of the Gate and Curtine of *S' Merceau*, but being resolved there to make his last attempt: nor was his opinion altogether deceitful: for the Towns-men already wearied with long watching, were retired to sleep; by which means the ladders were set up with great silence, so that none either heard the noise, or stirred to hinder them; but a Jesuite who stood sentinel without the *Corps de Garde*, which was kept by two Fathers, and *Nicholas Nivelle* a Book-seller, who was likewise upon the Gate, though farther off, hearing the noise, gave

Alm



arm, and running presently to that place with the halberds they had in their hands, overturned one of the ladders, which being too long, reached above the wall, and made so good resistance at the head of the other, that the *Sieur de Cremonville* and *Parabiere's* Lieutenant being killed, who were neer getting on the Brest-work, gave time for the coming of help: for the noise of *Arm, arm*, and the cry of the Sentinels, the guards who were asleep drew forth armed, and a great number of Citizens running from all parts, before whom, the Duke of Normours was come, who with singular diligence had rode round the walls all that night: wherefore, the second attempt being also vain, the King retiring with all his Forces when it was broad day, marched off to the walls of *S' Denis*.

Many were of opinion, that in this occasion the King failed much in point of art and Military discipline: for if, leaving the principal posts neer Paris well guarded with part of his Army, he had advanced with the rest as far as *Claye*, a much more strong, and a much more defensible place than *Chelles*, and had there fortified and intrenched himself, keeping that place diligently, he might perchance have held the Duke of Parma's Army so long in play, which could passe no other way to Paris; the City being reduced to extreme necessity, would have been forced to yeeld, since the Duke of Parma would not have been able to have forced that passage, kept by such a strength, if it had been fitly intrenched and fortified. Nor could he have had passage to have got to *Lagny*, if the King had been encamped on that way. Many others considered the King being resolved to fight, and being risen from Paris with that intent, he ought in the first encounter to have fallen boldly upon the Duke of Parma, before he had time to intrench himself: for though the time from night to morning was but short, yet the Duke's souldiers accustomed to labour, brought with so much order and industry, that in lesse then 24 hours they finished their Trenches; wherein the Commanders and Gentlemen working no lesse then the common souldiers, the Duke himself assisted likewise, making the Engineers draw forth and divide the work in his presence. Some others taxed the impatiency of the King's Army, which had not so great constancy in the common Trades-men and the very women that were shut up in Paris, that after so many months of desperate hunger, they held out stoutly nevertheless

Errours imputed to the King and his Army.



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lesse to the uttermost ; and yet that so many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen whereof that Army was composed, had not had the courage to endure, no not so much as the suspicion of hunger, but after a short stay, and in a manner no opposition, except onely the shew of a desire to fight, left the field free and the honour of the Victory to the enemy : whereupon on the one side, the Duke of Parma's art and discipline was praised to admiration ; and on the other, the French humour and impatiency was much blamed, having lightly believed that a Souldier of so great fame, would rashly put that into the hands of Fortune, which might securely be obtained by solid counsel, and upon this belief had neglected those things which the commodiousnesse of their ground afforded.

Excuses in favour of the King.

Others excused the King, and said ( perhaps with as good reason ) that the leaving of weak Guards about Paris, would have been but a giving of them up to be cut in pieces by the Citizens and Souldiers, who would have sallied desperately out of the City in great abundance ; and that to assault the Duke's Army, much superiour in number, so without consideration of their first coming, would have been a rash and ruinous device : for though he were not absolutely fortified, yet was he already lodged ; and that they should not have had to do with a tumultuary inexpert Body of men gathered together in haste, which might have been frightened with an assault, or disordered by being put into a confusion, but with an old Army, led by Commanders of exceeding great valour and experience, who would have known how to make use of their own advantage, and the temerity of the assailants. They likewise excused their retiring so soon, and ascribed it not to the impatiency of the French humour, but to a wise well-grounded counsel, for Armies are not to be adventured, nor put to endure certain hardship, unlesse a benefit equal to their suffering and danger might result from them : but the neernesse of the King's army could no ways incommode the Duke of *Parma*, who was intrenched in his Quarters, and had the passage of the River open behind him, nor could it hinder the carriage of Victuals to Paris ; wherefore that it was prudently done to withdraw the Nobility from the danger of diseases, which increased very fast, and from other sufferings, being sure of hunger, and to reserve it for a better use and a fitter occasion.

However it was, the King, being come to S<sup>t</sup> Denis, sent

the diseases increase, and not having money either in publick, particular to maintain his Army, resolved to separate his Camp, and providing for the security of the Provinces, onely keep a flying Army neer himself, wherewith he might hinder the Duke of Parma from making any greater progresse. He therefore sent the Prince of Conty into Tourain, the Duke of Montpensier into Normandy, the Duke of Longueville into Picardy, the Duke of Nevers into Champagne, the Mareschall d'Amont into Bourgongne, he left Monsieur de la Noüe in Brie, and he himself with the Mareschal and Baron de Biron (having finished and strengthened those Garisons he held neer about Paris) marched with a Body of men more expert then numerous, into the most rich and fertil places that are along the river Seine, to refresh his souldiers after so many sufferings: and being come to Clermont (a Town which, because it was reasonably well garison'd, had the boldnesse to shut its gates against him) he fell to batter it with so much violence, that the wals being beaten down, it was taken the third day, and sacked with a very great slaughter, and the next day after the Castle yeelded it to him without resistance; whereupon remaining Master of the whole Country round about (for Senlis and Compeigne were already at his devotion) he had conveniency to quarter at Senlis, and refresh the Army he had with him; at which time the Sieurs de la Guiche and Sippierre having left the Camp to return to their own houses with a good number of Horse, met with the Viscount de Tavannes, and the Sieur de Falandre, who were conveying victual from Dreux to Paris, and without having time to discover one another, they charg'd at the first encounter with exceeding great valour on both sides; but after a sharp fight for two hours, the King's party had the better; Tavannes and Falandre leaving their victual and carriages, saved themselves in the Town by flight.

The City of Troyes about that time was in great danger of being surprized by Monsieur de Tinteville the King's Lieutenant in Champagne; for he having held a treaty with some of the Citizens, it succeeded so fortunately, that being entered the Town, he was already come up to the Market-place, when Claude de Lorain Prince of Jainville (Son to the late Duke of Guise, a youth in valour and courage not unlike his Father) who was then in the Town, having drawn his men together, charg'd the assailants with so much gallantry, that being repul-

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The King being come to S. Denis without money or victual, separates his Army, which was oppressed with many diseases.

The King assaults and batters Clermont so violently, that upon the third day he takes and sacks it.

Claude Prince of Jainville defends Troyes, and bears back Monsieur de Tinteville, who had like to have surprized it by intelligence with some of the Citizens;

pulled



1590 pulsed with a very great slaughter, they had much adoe to save themselves.

The Duke of Parma against his own will layes siege to Corbeil.

In the mean time the Duke of Parma, after the dissolution of the King's Army, having taken *S' Maur*, and the Bridge of *Charanton*, minded the facilitating of the passage of victuals to Paris; and being spurr'd on by the frequent intreaties of the Duke of Mayene and the Parisians, upon the 22<sup>d</sup> of September, laid siege to *Corbeil*, to free the passage of the river *Seine* on that side also. The Duke had consented unwillingly to undertake himself upon that enterprize; for *Corbeil* was sufficiently manned and fortified; wherefore though the Town was little, and of small account, he saw it was neverthelesse ready to hold out the siege, so that the Duke having but few Canon to batter the walls; and which imported more, small store of powder and bullet, doubted that to the lessening of his own reputation, and the credit of his Army, it would prove very difficult for him to take it. Moreover he feared lest the discipline of his Army (which then constantly observed) should be broken: For the French of the League not making those provisions of victual which with wonderfull order was wont to make, to keep plenty all in his Camp; but on the contrary, the provisions of the Army often failing through their negligence, he was forced to suffer his souldiers to run about the Country, and his Troopers scattered themselves, plundering far abroad, a thing which beyond measure troubling his mind (averse from oppressing or destroying a friends Country, and from suffering his men to pillage licentiously) now made him take the greater thought about this siege, wherein he saw (if it should last many dayes) the faults, disorders, and necessities would be multiplyed. It did the event deceive his expectation; for having laid siege to *Corbeil*, defended by *Rigant* the Governour, it resisted so constantly, that for want of victuals the Spaniards and Italians, and much more the Walloons were faine to spoil all the Country, sacking even those places which the King in the long siege of Paris had left untouched; whereupon the French of the League, though the fault proceeded from themselves, murmured neverthelesse against the Duke's souldiers, and hated them no lesse then formerly they hated and murmured against the Hugonots. But the siege of *Corbeil* also, through many defects proceeded slowly, not being furnished with those things that are necessary for the taking of strong places; and parti-

The French of the League begin to hate the Duke of Parma's souldiers

ly, there being such small store of great shot, that it was necessary to send for some, though but a few, from Orleans and Montoyse; and yet the Duke endeavouring with industry to supply those so important wants, renewed the battery in many severall places, and with so many experiments, that on the sixteenth of October, after they had fought four days together with wonderfull obstinacy, the Spaniards, Italians and Walloons entered pell-mell into the Town, *Rigaut* with the greater part of the defendants being slain, *la Grange* taken prisoner, and the Town sacked with infinite violence.

The Duke of Parma takes Corbeil: *Rigaut* the Governour is slain, with most of the defendants, and the place sacked.

In the mean time the King was moved from Clermont with eight hundred Horse to try if he could put some relief into Corbeil; but having heard it was lost, in his return back he fell upon a Quarter of two Troops of light-Horse, which lay apart from the rest, and having defeated them in a moment, and taken the Captains, he put most of the souldiers to the sword.

Corbeil being taken, the disgusts between the Duke of Parma and the French heads of the League increased; for the Duke thought it convenient to put a garison of Walloons or Italians into it, which might be sufficient to keep what he had taken; and the Duke of Mayene and the Parisians grew jealous that the Spaniards, under shew of helping them, would make themselves Masters of that place, and many others, and supply for themselves whatsoever acquisitions they should make. Wherefore the Duke of Parma having found what the French intended, and being again returned to his first designs of prolonging the Warr out in length, to consume the forces, and break the humour of both parties, and knowing that mens sides were not yet disposed to receive that form which the Catholick King's affairs required, he resolved to depart, and march back again into Flanders, where there was exceeding great need of him and his Army. Many other circumstances persuaded him to the same resolution; the wasting of his Forces, which by reason of diseases diminished every moment, want of money, and scarceness of provisions, which were causes that he could not maintain the discipline of his Army; the unfavourable season, which hindered him from making any further progresse; whereupon he doubted, that by lying still his reputation would decrease, and the valour of his souldiers degenerate; the necessary redoubled instances which from all parts were insatiably made unto him for moneys, every



1590

one having perswaded himself, that he to satisfie the covetousnesse of them all had brought mountains of gold along with him ; and finally, the suspicions of many, who already rather murmure, then give him thanks for the relief he had given them in so great necessity, and in so evident danger. For these causes, having put *Corbeil* into the hands of the Duke of Mayene, and having left *Lagny* entire, which before he had determined to dismantell, he gave the Duke and the Parisians to understand, that the necessity of the affairs of Flanders call'd him back, and that having obeyed the Catholick King's command in raising the siege of Paris, and opening the passages that were convenient for victuals, he could not to stay longer in so contrary a season, and so unfit for a campaign, but return to take order for his own affairs, which to relieve his friends, had been left in danger and confusion.

This resolution did much trouble those of the League ; who having conceived hope that the Spanish Army should not forsake them till the enterprize were fully perfected, and that the Duke of Parma with his men and the Catholick King's money, should totally assist their party, did now see all those designs fall in one instant, and their party remain destitute of those necessary supplies of men and money. Whereupon both the Duke of Mayene in person, and the Deputies of Paris, and *Monsignor Sega* Bishop of *Piacenza* (whom the Cardinal-Legat, departing suddenly by reason of the Pope's death, had substituted Vice-Legat) urged the Duke of Parma with earnest reiterated intreaties and considerations, to change that resolution : and when they saw words prevailed not, and as the Duke was still setting his Army in order to depart, the Duke of Mayene, by the means of Monsieur *de Villeroy*, began a new Treaty of Accommodation with the King, to winne a jealousie in the Spaniards, and make them believe that if their Forces were once gone, the Peace would immediately be concluded, and by consequence, that all the expences and paines they had already undergone would be utterly lost : but whether did this move the Duke of Parma from his determination, knowing the Duke of Mayene would not easily bring him to minde to lay aside his present hopes, and to submit himself to the power of his enemies ; and that though he should do so, the businesse consisted not in him alone, but it was necessary that so many others, who were far off, divided, and drawn to different

The death of  
*Sixtus Quintus*.

The Duke of  
Parma, though  
earnestly in-  
treated to stay  
in France, pre-  
pares neverthe-  
less for his de-  
parture.

ferent interests, must consent unto it : That before they could conclude any thing, he might have leisure to return, and do whatsoever should be agreed upon in the mean time. At lest the affairs of the League should grow desperate, he pressed them, as soon as he came to *Brusselles*, to pay down two hundred and thirty thousand Ducats, for the payment of the Foreign Forces, and to leave a convenient number of Horse and Foot under the Duke of Mayene's Command, to uphold and continue the War. But that sum of money seemed very small, to those who had fancied to themselves that all the treasures of the Indies should be poured down upon them : and the men he left were indeed sufficient to maintain the War, but not to make an end of it : Whereupon every one (but especially the Parisians, who had suffered so much before the coming, and had conceived so great hopes after the arrival of the Spanish Army) was reduced into wonderful great perplexity of mind, which was increased by the departure of Cardinal *Retano*, and because they knew not what might be expected from the new Pope *Urbane* the seventh, and after him (who lived but twelve days) from *Gregory* the fourteenth, who succeeded him in the Apostolike Chair.

*Urban VII* created Pope after *Sixtus V* : he lived but 12 days, and is succeeded by *Gregory XIV* a *Milanese*.

But the Duke, firm in his resolution, after twenty days after which he had given the Army to refresh it self, marched toward *Champagne*, to hold the enemy in doubt which way he would bend his course, and by that means to keep his passage clear from Ambuscadoes. He divided his Army into four parts; the Vanguard led by the Marquess of *Ranty*; the first Battalion by the *Sieur de la Mothe*, the second Battalion he commanded himself, and the Rereguard was led by *Georgio Basti*. All the several Divisions marched always drawn up in Battalia, and with their Carriages of Baggage on each side, which shut them up and inclosed them like a Trench, and were so near, that they might help one another mutually in a short time. Provisions of Victual were made : and marching thorow fertile plentiful Countries, they were not necessitated to enlarge themselves; except the Light-horse, who scoured the neighboring Ways, to discover the Country : neither did they go far off; for the Army being always ready and disposed to fight, feared not to be catch'd, and assaulted unaware.

The ordering of the Spanish Army in their return into *Flanders*.

But he was scarcely gone, drawing toward *Chasteau-Thierry* in *Champagne*, when the Baron *de Giury*, who was at *Melun*,



1590 assaulted and took *Corbeil*, which the Parisians had negligently and weakly garison'd, and with the same fortune returned, and recovered *Lagny*, which, contrary to the Duke of Parma's advice, had not been slighted : at which the Parisians, much moved and troubled, were exceeding earnest with the Vice-Legat *Saga* to procure the stay of the Spanish Army, until such time as those places, so necessary for the bringing in of provisions, were recovered. The Vice-Legat dispatched the *Notary Carracciolo* to the Duke, to present unto him the earnest desires and the necessity of the City of Paris : and the Duke of Mayene, who was in the Army, laboured with all possible efficacy to perswade him to stay : But the Duke of Parma excusing himself, That his Army was much diminished by sickness, That the season was so contrary, nothing could be done, and that the Low-Countries solicited his presence, continued on his march, having some hope to obtain *Chasteau-Thierry* by a Treaty which he held with Viscount *Pinart* Governor of that Town.

But the King, who was departed from *Compeigne*, accompanied by the Baron *de Byron* and the Duke of Longueval, with a select number of men, followed the track of the Spanish Army, to hinder it from getting those places that held of his party, and to watch some opportunity of doing it some mischief : and having had some suspicion of the Treaty, he caused the *Sieur de la Noüe*, with three hundred Horse, and six hundred Foot, to enter into *Chasteau-Thierry* ; by which means the Duke of Parma, deprived of that hope, bending on the other hand, took the straight way to return in *Flanders*. The King followed, and marching speedily, was sometimes before him, sometimes quartered besides him, sometimes pressed him to the Rere ; and by giving frequent Alarms, and bold skirmishes, did both day and night molest and surround the Army. The Duke of Parma proceeded with no lesse order and circumspection ; and keeping all parts of his Army under the same discipline, was quick and ready to turn which way soever the enemy should presse or shew himself. But having marched in this manner from the thirteenth to the five and twentieth of November, the King, desirous to see some effect of so much diligence, and of so many labours, having drawn the Cavalry into five Bodies, advanced upon the same way by which the Army of the League was to passe, making shew that he would charge,

ge them as they marched. The Carabines, who were re-  
 or all assaults, received the skirmish very fiercely ; and com-  
 forth of the Barricadoes of their Carriages, wheeling, gi-  
 fire, and falling in again, did no small harm to the King's  
 alry : wherefore the Baron *de Biron*, thinking to rout  
 , and ease himself of that trouble, charged up more boldly  
 considerately, with fourscore Cuirassiers, hoping to chase  
 back and disorder them : but the Carabines giving way,  
 rding to their custom, to retire behinde the Squadrons of  
 Army, the Baron advanced so far in pursuit of them, and  
 so deeply engaged between two squadrons of Lances of  
 Vanguard, that his horse being killed under him, he was in  
 ifest danger to be taken prisoner ; which being perceived  
 Count *de Tillieres*, who was on the right hand with a Body  
 Cuirassiers, and by the *Sieur d'Humieres*, who was on the  
 and with ninety Horse, they advanced no lesse couragi-  
 then he, to disingage him : but being charged by the  
 Cavalry of the Vanguard, and the other Battalions com-  
 ne after another, who knowing by the ratling of the shot  
 he skirmish was begun, had hastened their march, they  
 r fain (leaving the field) to retire, fleeing full speed, with  
 nt hazard of being all cut off, if the King himself, and the  
 of Longueville, with the other two Squadrons, had not  
 aced to make the retreat ; wherein having disengaged *Bi-*  
 nd with much ado set him again on horseback, who at the  
 f a bank, with two companions, had defended himself a  
 while against the enemy : they were followed by them  
 as a Village called *Longueval*, where night coming on,  
 n end to the fight, and gave the King a convenient op-  
 nity to retire. He quartered with all his Forces at *Port-*  
 where they stood all night in Arms ; nor did the enemy  
 ore quietly : for the King's celerity and courage kept  
 their Quarters in great jealousy ; and so much the rather,  
 ase the rout of the two Squadrons had been with more ter-  
 und danger then losse, there not being above five men  
 and onely twenty wounded. The next day the Duke of  
 vs joyned with the King with the Forces of *Champagne*,  
 likewise the *Sieurs de Ginry* and *Parabiere* ; who having ta-  
 orbeil, and put a Garison into it, were come with all dili-  
 ge to finde him again ; by which means being increased in  
 erth, he began with more boldnesse then before to molest  
 the

The Spanish  
 Army march-  
 ing towards  
 Flanders, and  
 the King's Ar-  
 my following,  
 they skirmish-  
 ed many days ; but  
 upon the 25 of  
 November, the  
 King, making  
 shew that he  
 would fight,  
 the Baron *de*  
*Biron* engageth  
 himself so far,  
 that being re-  
 lieved by his  
 friends, he had  
 much ado to e-  
 scape with the  
 help of night.



1590

the Duke's Army; who intent upon his journey, not stopping for any cause whatsoever out of his ranks, nor out of the shelter of his Carriages, marched on commodiously before.

The King assaults the Spanish Army again; and his Horse having encompassed the enemies Reregard, would have cut it in pieces, if *Georgio Basti*, a famous Captain of those times, had not disengaged them with his Lancers.

But upon the nine and twentieth day, the Army came towards Guise, and the King being resolved to attempt something, with all his Cavalry fell upon their Reregard, which having made a halt, and put their Arms in a readinesse to fight, the Carabines failed not with their wonted courage to fight the skirmish; but the King's Cavalry, which being for that purpose divided into little squadrons, and had order to charge home, and not give them time to do hurt with their shot, inclosed them in such manner, that they all had been cut off in the place, if *Georgio Basti*, with one thousand and two hundred Lances, had not disengaged them. The squadron of *Basti* rush'd upon the small Troops of the French Cavalry, which ordered to repress the Carabines; but not being able to receive the shock of so many Lances, the Baron of *Biron* was obliged to retire half in disorder. But being sustain'd by the King himself, who with the rest of his Horse and a thousand Foot of *Parabiere's* old Regiment mounted behinde them, advanced to re-enforce the Battel; *Basti* not having order to fight, retired under the shelter of his Squadrons in very good order, and could he not do it with so great circumspection, but that the French remained masters of some carriages, which by chance were separated from the rest. But the King being come to the Rere-guard, where *Pietro Gaetano* was making himself ready to oppose him, with the Foot drawn up in order, encompassed with his Carriages; and the Duke of Parma, who had faced about, and chang'd the order of his march, coming up with the second Battalion, he resolved to retire without attempting any further, by reason the Enemy was in so soul-like order, and that their forces were so exceedingly unequal. This was the last day that the King molested the Spanish Army in its march. The Duke of Parma being arrived at the frontiers, took leave of the Duke of Mayene, striving with expressions to confirm his courage, and to persuade him that within a little while he should receive powerfull assistance of men and money; and that he might not leave him so weak, that he should be forced to make an agreement with the Enemy, he commanded the Italian Tertia of *Pietro Gaetano*

The Duke of Parma takes leave of the Duke of Mayene, leaving him a Tertia of Italians, and another of Spaniards, and 500 Horse.

And the Spanish one of *Alfonso Idiaques* to stay in France, and  
solutely to obey the Duke, with whom he also left four  
hundred Horse and one hundred Walloon Carabines; which  
supplies added to the German *Tertia* of *Collalto* paid by the  
King, and to the other French forces, he thought a suffici-  
ent Body to uphold the affairs of the League, especially in  
time when the King having divided his Army for want  
of money, and because of the past misfortunes, was mani-  
festly declining.

*The end of the Eleventh Book.*







THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Twelfth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**He Twelfth Book relates the various turbulencies in several parts of the Kingdom; the progresse of the Duke of Mercœur in Bretagne, and of the Duke of Savoy in Provence and Dauphiné. The King takes Corbie; he is troubled in 1624 by reason of the contrary importunities of the Catholicks and Hugonots of his own party. He sends the Viscount de Arrenne into England and Germany, who raises a great Army to bring it into France the Spring following. The Duke of Mayenne also is no lesse troubled then the King. The Parisians attempt to surprize S' Denis, but effect it not, and the Chevalier d'Aumale is killed there. The King on the other hand attempts to surprize Paris, and that designe likewise prove vain. Pope Sixtus Quintus being dead, Gregory the Fourteenth succeeds, who declares himself favourable to the affairs of the League; and dispatches his Nephew the Duke of Montemarciano into France with strong Supplies. The King in the mean time besieges and takes the City of Charle-

the Duke of Mayene not having strength to relieve that place, marches towards Champagne, takes Chasteau-Thierry, and goes to Rheims to confer with the Duke of Lorain. Marsilio Landriano the Pope's Nuncio arrives there, he publishes a monitory against those that follow the King, from whence divers alterations do arise. The young Cardinall of Bourbon goes to form a third party of Catholicks to bring himself to the Crown; the King advertised of it, applies divers remedies to that important accident. The Duke of Mayene makes an attempt upon Mante, which takes not effect. The King besieges Noyon, and after many encounters, it not being relieved, takes it. The Popish and Spanish Forces passe the mountains, they assist the Duke of Savoy, and there happen several encounters. The Duke of Guise escapes from his imprisonment at Tours. The King and the Duke of Mayene advance; the King to receive, the Duke to oppose the Viscount of Turenne and the Germans in Lorain. The Armies draw near to one another at Verdun: The King having received the Viscount with the Supplies, retires. The Councell of Sixteen make an insurrection in the Citie of Paris, and cause the first President of the Parliament, and other Counsellours to be executed: the Duke of Mayene hastes thither, brings the City into obedience, and punishes the delinquents. The King marches into Normandy, layes siege to the City of Roüen, defended by Monsieur de Villars, and a great number of choice souldiers and Commanders; the various accidents of that siege are related. The Duke of Parma with the Spanish Army marches to relieve that place: the King with part of his Army goes to meet him; they encounter one another, and fight at Amale; the King is wounded, his men routed, and he has much adoe to save himself. Villars sallying out of Roüen, enters the trenches, and gains the Artillery. The Duke of Parma advances; but finding the Citie secured by that sally, resolves to retire and watch his opportunity. The King returns to Roüen, and resumes the siege: The Duke of Parma also returns to bring relief; and the King (his forces being wasted) rises from the siege, and marches to the banks of the River Seine.



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Men's mindes were no lesse inflamed, nor the evolutions of the War lesse bloody in the other parts of the Kingdom then they were in those places where the chief Armies lay ; for the affections of Religion, mingled in their hearts with particular interests, and with the already inveterate animosities of the Factions, every one forward of himself, as in his own cause, and as in a controversie that concerned him, did with all his power apply thoughts to the exercise of arms. Wherefore the War was made both by the Heads and Governours of the two parties, and by private persons of their own voluntary accord, with the same contention thorough every Province, but with various successes and different fortune on both sides.

The principall and most dangerous commotions were in Bretagne, a great and rich Province, well peopled, full of Gentry, considerable for the greatnesse of its Cities, and convenient for the benefit of the Ocean-Sea, along the coasts whereof it extends it self towards the North. *Henry of Bourbon* Prince of *Dombes*, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, a youth of exceeding high courage, was for the King, and had the name of Governour for him ; but there were so few Towns under his obedience, that if it had not been for the help of *Lorraine* (which, confining with that Province, held of the King's party, and was governed by the Duke his Father) he would either have been driven out of the Province, or easily suppressed by the greater forces of the League. On the other side, *Emanuel of Lorraine*, Duke of *Mercoeur* governed the party of the *Union*, who had not onely from the beginning been (as Governour of the Province) in possession of the best Cities and strongest holds, but also pretending that the Dutchy of Bretagne it self belonged to his Wife *Mary of Luxembourg* Countesse of *Ponthieure*, he had a wonderfull great dependence of all those, who rather desired a Prince of their own then the union with the Crown of France, which was not very pleasing to them ; and longing above measure to establish himself in that possession with the opportunity of present affairs, he had negotiated secretly in Spain by the means of *Lorenzo Tarnabuoni*, a Gentleman of his who was sent by him unto that Court, and had obtain'd that the Catholick King

The Duke of  
Mercoeur's pre-  
tensions to the  
Dutchy of Bre-  
tagne.

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ould send and pay four thousand Foot for his assistance, upon condition that Blavet should be assigned to him for his security; a place as then not considerable, but which with the benefit of a very large Port fortified and improved by the Spaniards, came by little and little to be of exceeding great consequence, not only to the affairs of that Province, but also of the whole Kingdom: which as soon as it was known to the Prince of Dombes (though his Forces were but weak, so that till then he had only exercised himself in actions of small importance, to keep the King's name alive in that Province; yet now, helping with him in so great need) he turned himself to oppose the entrance of strangers: and having routed three hundred of the Duke of Mercœur's Light-horse, which were going to joyn themselves with his Army, he assaulted Annebont suddenly, a place near Blavet; and having easily taken it, began with infinite industry to build a Fort by the Sea side, which might command and hinder the entry of Ships that should come unto that Port, and bestirred himself in such manner, that he would have brought to perfection the service he had in designe, if (the Duke of Mercœur's Army, still increasing, which was advanced to Vannes, seven leagues from Blavet) he had not been constrained (though the Fort were not yet quite finished) to retreat to the places of his own party. Neverthelesse having left a strong Guard in the Fort, with six Pieces of Canon; and having sent eight hundred Foot into Annebont, he hoped that those places might be able to hinder the entering and settling of the enemy. The Spanish Fleet arrived at Blavet with six and thirty Sail of Ships, and four Gallions, and with so prosperous success, that notwithstanding the shot from Fort Dombes, redoubled with infinite fury by the defendants, it entered the Port without receiving much harm, and landed four thousand and five hundred Foot commanded by *Don Juan de l'Aquila*, who, to free the Port from all impediments, set himself without delay to take in Fort Dombes: which not being brought to perfection, and having no hopes of relief from any place, yeelded itself the fifth day of the siege, and was presently demolished by the Spaniards: after which enterprize, being joyned with the Duke of Mercœur, they recovered Annebont and the other neighbouring places, with the same facility, and at last, under favour of the Fleet, began to fortifie Blavet, securing it no lesse with two Forts Royal, built at the entry of the Haven for convenience

The Prince of Dombes, Governour for the King in Bretagne, opposes the Duke of Mercœur's designs, and causes Fort Dombes to be built, which is demolished by the Spaniards.



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veniency of bringing in relief by Sea ; then they strengthened it with moats, *Bastions*, and all other kindes of Military Fortifications on the land-side. But the King, and the Prince of Dombes, knowing that they could not resist the power of the Duke and the Spaniards with the Forces they had in that Province, sought for assistance from England ; which lying over against it, hath conveniency of giving relief to that coast, lesse then Spain : and having obtained six thousand Foot from the Queen, they expected their landing at *S' Lo*, the best Port of lower Normandy.

With the like variety, and as great danger, did the War rage on the other side of the Kingdom : for Dauphiné and Provence (Provinces bordering upon the Duke of Savoy, and spread in length to the very foot of the Alps) wavered with various fortune in the management of Arms. The Duke of Savoy, from the very beginning of the War, had applied the greatnesse of his minde to divers, and those not ill grounded hopes : for the affairs of *Piedmont* being secured, by seizing upon the Marquessate, and lying conveniently for the affairs of Dauphiné by the neer adjoyning of Savoy, he hoped by fomenting the League, in some sort to enlarge his confines. On the other side, being interessed in *Provence* by the Towns he holds there, he had an eye set upon getting the whole, which of already he possessed a part : so that he held intelligence in both Provinces, and with Money and Arms endeavoured to advantage the course of his designs. Nor did his hopes stay there, but seeing the Kingdom in so great distraction, and ready to break the Salique Law, and to cut off the legitimate Succession of the Royal Family in the King of Navar, there arose a certain conceit in him, that the States might perhaps incline to make choice of him, as being born of a daughter of France ; which he thought would prove so much the more easie to him, by how much more his name was famous in Arms, and by how much greater merit he should acquire with the Catholike party, and in the opinion of the Pope, the principal mover (in respect of Religion) in the determination of the affairs of France. Nor did he forget (whatsoever event these designs should have) that the opportunity of present affairs, gave him an occasion of subduing the inhabitants of *Geneva*, now that the King of France, being busied by himself, could not afford them any present relief. With this

he h

ght of hopes, which increased his courage, having sent his  
ents to treat with the Duke of Mayene; and having con-  
ted a reciprocal intelligence with him, he had raised a great  
ly of Horse and Foot, and had sent forth Count *Francesco*  
*stinengo* General of his Army into Provence, and his bro-  
Don *Amadeo* of Savoy against *Geneva*; and by means of  
Governours of his Garisons, he gave help and assistance to  
Forces of the League in Dauphiné. Nor was the begin-  
g unlike the greatnesse of his designe: for the *Sieur de Vins*,  
the Countesse *de Seaux* (a Lady of more then manly spirit)  
both held for the League in Provence, finding themselves  
riour in strength to Monsieur *de la Valette* the King's Lieu-  
nt, not onely willingly received supplies and assistance  
on the Duke, but began also to treat of giving him the do-  
ion of that Province, and to put themselves under his pro-  
on and superiority: which being treated and concluded  
he Duke, he went in person to his Army, carrying with him  
addition of Horse and Foot, which by Commission from  
an he had obtained from the Governour of Milan. At his  
ial, the King's party, inferiour in strength, going down the  
le (though *Les Dignieres* being come out of Dauphiné  
that Province, did labour marvellously, with his wonted  
ur and celerity (which were singular) the affairs of the  
ague grew up to such a height, that his Arms already gave  
law to the whole Country. Wherefore the Duke being  
into the City of *Aix*, where the Parliament of Provence  
ot reside, and being received with those pomps and solemn-  
ies which are wont to be given to Sovereign Princes (though  
mitating the Duke of Mayene, refused to use the cloth of  
at) he was in the Parliament declared Head of the War,  
of the Civil Government in that Province, to preserve it  
the Union of the Catholikes, and under the obedience and  
oyl State of the Crown of France.

The *Sieur de Vins* and the Countesse *de Seaux* conclude to give the superiority of Provence to the Duke of Savoy; he goes to *Aix*, and is by the Parliament declared Head of the Politick and Military Government.

This businesse displeased the Duke of Mayene no lesse  
ne did the King; thinking not onely that the Duke of Sa-  
y bought after and usurped that Authority which the gene-  
content had conferr'd upon him, but also that he had an aim  
dimember Provence, and with the help of *Nizza* and his  
he Towns, by little and little to make himself master of it:  
hefore he wrote sharp resenting Letters, not onely to the  
ment, but also to the *Sieur de Vins*, and to the Countesse,  
shewing

The Duke of Mayene writes resentingly to the Parliament of *Aix*, and to the *Sieur de Vins*, who, repenting himself, begins to disavow the Duke of Savoy's designs.



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shewing them the fault they committed in separating themselves from the rest of the *Union*, and in putting themselves in danger to alienate so great and so important a portion of the Crown. These Letters wrought a very great effect in *Sieur de Vins*, an old dependent upon the House of Lorraine, and he began to shew himself more backward in complying with the designs and forwarding the progresse of the Duke of Savoy : By whose example the City of *Marseilles*, which (following the footsteps of the Parliament) had with a readiness in the people called the Duke before, began now to repent themselves, and to mutiny.

On the other side, the King (grieved to see foreign Forces brought into that Province) had given order to *Les Dignieres*, that leaving the City of *Grenoble* in Dauphiné besieged as well as he might, he should march with the greatest number of men he possibly could, to meet Monsieur *de la Motte* in Provence : whereupon, *Les Dignieres*, accustomed from his youth to fight with the difficulties and ambiguities of Fortune, having left the posts about *Grenoble* well guarded, to continue the siege already begun many months before, with four hundred Horse and two thousand Foot in relief of the *Provençals*, and kept the Duke of Savoy in trouble and disquiet, who half forsaken by the Catholikes of the Province, and but slenderly supplied by the Spaniards, who were not so well pleased with his proceedings, went spinning out the time in petty encounters, having dispatched Monsieur *de Ligny* into Spain, to set his affairs in order with the Catholike King ; and the *Sieur de la Croix* to the Duke of Mayene, to excuse what was past, and to confer about the manner of carrying him off for the time to come.

His affairs were much more prosperous in the Territories of Geneva, where having to do with the Forces of those Citizens, which were not very powerful, and with Commanders of small fame and experience, *Don Amadeo* had often routed the enemies in the field, beaten up their Quarters, taken many Castles, overrun and sacked the Country, and finally straightened the Citie on all sides ; which with frequent and effectual importunities solicited for relief, sometimes from the King of France, sometimes from the *Canton of Berne*.

On the contrary, the War in Dauphiné went on prosperously for the King : for though the Duke of Savoy's Country fell a

lors and Commanders, united with those of the League which were in that Province made great resistance; yet were they not so strong as Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, and Monsieur *Lesmieres*, who after he had stopt the precipice of affairs in Provence, being return'd to the siege of Grenoble, streighten'd that Citie in such manner, that after having suffered many months, the besieged about the end of the yeer, agreed to surrender, upon condition not to be molested in their consciences, goods, or liberties; that the Citie should be preserved in the Catholick Religion, and in the State it then was; and on the other side, that they should acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth for their lawfull Prince, by whose appointment they should receive a Garison and a Governor.

Grenoble in Dauphiné after a long siege returns to the King's obedience.

At this time the King freed from the Spanish Army, and from the late fear of the Duke of Parma, was come (in his return) to *S' Quentin*, where watching with his wonted diligence all opportunities, he took a resolution suddenly to assault *Corbie*, a Town seated upon the river *Somme*, and convenient to the Citie of *Amiens*, the head of that Province, which was of the party of the League. With this designe he removed his Camp from the walls of *S' Quentin* in the dusk of evening; but in his march finding all the Country up, that the Villages furiously rung their *Toquesaints*, he could not get to the walls of *Corbie* till within an hour before day. At first the hope of effecting his intent appeared no lesse uncertain; for they found the whole Town in arms, and the defendants with torches and fires ready to sustain the assault, whereof they had been advertised by the cries and tumult of the Country-people: and yet Monsieur *d'Humieres* coming with the Regiments of *S' Denis* and *Parabiere* about break of day, caused a Petard to be fastened to the iron grate of a channell that came out of the Town on the lower side, which falling suddenly by the violence of the fire, the Foot advanced, and to the channell which was frozen, some with scaling ladders to the wall adjoining, to give the assault; which though it was constantly received by the defendants, who ran together boldly to hinder their entry at their iron-grate, and to make breaches in the walls; yet the *Sieur de Belle-Fourtiere* Governour of the Town being slain in the first encounter, and many of the best souldiers falling, after a most bloody fight of three hours, the Town remained in the Kings power, who after his

The King assaults *Corbie*, and takes it.

late



late misfortunes, thought he had concluded the yeer very prosperously.

From Corbie he marched to *Senlis*, seated just upon the way which leads from Picardy towards Paris; and there in the beginning of the yeer he began to dispose his counsels, to his affairs in order, and finde means to dissolve and subdue the League. But he was no lesse troubled which way to keep the Catholicks, then he was to draw together sufficient Forces to overcome the Enemy; for having promised from the Autumn of the yeer *Eighty-nine*, that in March following he would call an Assembly, to the end he might be instructed in the Catholick Faith with that honour that befitted his person, and not having been able to perform his promise, because the chief actions of the War happened in that time, the battell of *Yver*, and after that the siege of Paris, and the coming of the Spanish Army (to his losse); now that by their departure, and the diminution of the Enemy, he seem'd to be in a quiet condition, he was called upon by the tacite consent of discreet persons, to observe his promise; and those that had no much respect, or that were were affectionate to Religion, murmured publickly, and complained as if they were deluded and deceived. But more openly the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, which with much adoe had been drawn to the King's obedience by the Mareschal *de Matignon's* diligent care, and artful governing, now seeing his conversion was deferred, began to resent it, and at this time had sent their first President and two Counsellors to beseech his Majestie to take a small resolution; the Catholicks not being able to quiet their consciences, unlesse they saw him reduced to the true Religion, held on so many ages by all the most Christian Kings his glorious Predecessors. Which Commission having been fully and effectually performed by the Deputies, though the King seemed to take their Petition in good part, and answered it favourably, yet inwardly being troubled, and stung to the quick, he knew not what course he might take as a middle way which might give satisfaction to both parties. He saw the foundation of his affairs was settled in great part upon the Hugonots; for his command was nowhere more full, then in the places under their obedience; and the Catholick Provinces divided betwixt themselves, were shared between the two factions, so that neither declared absolutely for him: he argued with himself

The Catholicks make great complaints for the King's persevering in Calvinisme.

himself from the example of things past, how much mischief the most part comes by forsaking old friendships and coneracies, to give ones self up wholly to the will and discretion of new ones: He considered, that not having changed his Reason at that time when being more strong and victorious he might have done it with his reputation; now that he was debilitated in strength, it might seem he did it timorously by force; and need he had at that very present of the assistance of the Protestant Princes of Germany, and of the Queen of England, presented it self unto him, so that he was necessitated to think of not making them distrustfull of him. But on the other side, he knew moreover that if he lost the Catholicks, he could no longer have strength to resist; and that except the aid of *King of France*, he should return unto the same condition wherein he found himself so straightned, before he came from *Rochell*. In this uncertainty of minde he knew two remedies; one, to give full satisfaction to the Greatness of his Army, to the end that they not stirring, all the rest might stay likewise; the other, to keep his men in perpetuall exercise, that idlenesse and rest might not suggest those thoughts unto them. For this cause, knowing how great authority the Duke of *Nevers* had in the Catholick party, and how conspicuous his actions were, as a Prince that had always given testimony of conscience and Religion, he conferred upon him the Government of *Champagne*, a great and principal Province, and which he had long before desired: And to *Baron de Biron*, for the eminent reputation of his Father, and for his own merit and valour, besides the Office of Field-Marschall, he promised the dignity of High-Admirall; and upon other terms of infinite kindnesse to all the rest, shewed himself generous and liberall, always disposing places and honours to such Catholick Lords, who for birth, desert, or ancient devotion towards the Church, were proper to keep those loyal who were like to fall away because of the delay of his promises. And that he might not give way to idlenesse, and to those thoughts that take birth from thence, he recalled the Duke of *Espernon* to his Army, not onely with a desire to reconcile him unto himself, but also to make use of him, and likewise of the Duke of *Nevers* (who at that time besieged *Provins*) the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de S' Paul* his Brother, and many other Catholick Lords; intending when he had drawn

Remedies used by the King to conserve the affections of those of his party, and keep them in obedience.

The King recalls the Duke of *Espernon* to the Army, and other Catholick Lords, to reconcile them unto him.



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them together, to set himself upon some enterprize, which with the advancement of his own affairs, might keep every one of them honourably imploy'd.

After this resolution, succeeded that of gathering Forces, that he might be able not onely to oppose the progresse of the Spaniards in Bretagne, and the attempts of the Duke of Savoy in Provence; but also so to re-inforce his Army, that if the Duke of Parma should return and joyn with the Duke of Lorain, he might be equall to resist them in the Field. Not being to addresse himself for supplies of money, and to obtain a numerous leavie of men to any others then the Queen of England, and the Protestant Princes of Germany; since he saw both She and They were slack and cold alike, he determined to send a person of eminent vertue, quality, and authority unto them, who conferring with every Prince in particular, and afterwards casting up the whole, and treating with all in generall, might be able to procure that fruit which the urgent necessity of his Affairs required. First hee thought upon the Marefchall *de Biron*, a man of renowned fame and prudence, equall to so great an exigent; but then judging him much more necessary for the conduct of his Army, because the order, discipline, and foundation of all enterprizes rested chiefly upon him, He resolved to send *Henry de la Tour Viscount of Turenne*, a man not onely by ancient conversation, and by having run the same fortune with him, long known to be most faithfull; but also for his wisdom and singular eloquence sufficient to manage a businesse of so great importance, and moreover for valour and military discipline fit to lead and conduct those Supplies that should be granted; and so much the rather, because he being a Hugonot, would be so much the more acceptable, and proper to negotiate with Princes of the same Religion; since Monsieur *de Beauvis*, who till the death of the late King had been Ambassadour to *Queen Elizabeth*, being a Catholick, was very well received; and the Count *de Schombergh*, who had already been a long time in Germany, was likewise in respect of his Religion grown suspected to the Duke of Saxony, and to Prince *Casimir*, the Guardian of his young Nephew the *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; but much more to the *Marquess of Brandenburg*, who was jealous that he under colour of negotiating the King's affairs, endeavoured to discover their

ts; and found their designs, to make them known unto the  
ty of the League.

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The Viscount went presently into England, where things  
re not so well disposed in favour of the King, but that the  
Queen thought to make her advantage of his present exigency,  
d upon occasion of the necessity he was in, to induce him  
restore *Calais* unto her, or else to give some other Fortresse  
no lesse importance into her hands; a thing not onely de-  
d by all the Kings that had possessed that Crown, but impa-  
otly longed for by all the people of England. But because  
businessse was to be cunningly treated of, nor did the Queen  
nt prudence or dexterity to manage it, she first made known  
t the Merchants of her Kingdom demanded to have a secure  
ct upon the Coasts of France, where their ships might put in  
d secure their persons and goods when they had occasion.  
en she urged the reasons she had to desire it from a King  
t was her friend and confederate, and whom she always cal-  
by the name of Brother, since she had made the same de-  
nds to King *Charles*, and to King *Henry*, his last Predeces-  
rs, by reason of the Duke of Guise's unjust usurpation of  
Town of *Calais*, due unto her Crown by the possession of  
many ages. But because the Viscount, with no lesse indu-  
t, did not openly deny to satisfie her, but avoided and defer-  
it with several excuses, sometimes alleadging the hatred  
t would thereby result unto the King, not yet established,  
e should think to alienate any place: That the revolt of  
Catholikes (who were already more then moderately of-  
ded and disgusted) would follow upon it: sometimes telling  
Queen her self that she ought not to make that demand  
t hat present, lest she should shew a desire to put the King  
on a necessity of consenting unto it, and in the urgency of  
occasions put (as they say) the noose about his neck, she  
med to desist, and reserved the pressing of that point till the  
e that the promises were to be fulfilled, which would be a  
e proper and a more urging conjuncture. In the mean  
re, the Viscount obtained that she should lend the King one  
undred thousand Crowns for the Levies that were to be made:  
t she should send the six thousand Foot we spoke of, into  
ragne, for relief of the Prince of Dombes: That along  
th \* him, she should send *Horatio Pallavicino* (a *Genoiese*, \*The Viscount,  
b for Religion was fled into that Island) to perswade the



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The Viscount  
of Turenne  
obtains assist-  
ance from Qu.  
Elizabeth, the  
Hollanders,  
and the Protec-  
tant Princes  
of Germany.

States of Holland and the Princes of Germany to assist the King with men and money on their part : and she promised likewise, that if the Duke of Parma moved again to return into France, she would powerfully assist *Grave Maurice* of *Nassau*, and the Hollanders, to make a strong diversion, by entering into *Brabant* and *Flanders*.

With this Agreement the Viscount being gone out of *England*, and come to the *Hague*, obtained from the States of *Holland*, not that which he pretended, which was thirty thousand crowns ready money, but three thousand Foot pay, which were to unite themselves with those Forces that were to be raised in Germany ; though afterwards, by reason of the urgency of their affairs, that promise also remained without effect. With the Princes of Germany there was much more to do, because there were many of them, and their interests different : but the Viscount carried himself with so much dexterity, being opportunely assisted by *Pallavicino*, that in the end, of some he obtained men, of some money, and took order for the levying of four thousand Horse and eight thousand Foot, which, with a convenient train of Artillery and Ammunition, should be ready at the beginning of the Summer to march with him under the command of *Christian* Prince of *Anhalt*, in the assistance of the King of France.

The thoughts that troubled the Duke of Mayene, were very different from those that perplexed the King : for there being many Princes of his Family who pretended no less than he, he could not finde a means to satisfy them all ; and to other Lords and Commanders of that party, who continually demanded money to maintain the Souldiery, it was impossible to give a full satisfaction : whereupon many being displeased, and many falling off, he feared a division, and that some would resolve to go over to the King's party ; which was much to be doubted : for on the one side, the people thought themselves extraordinarily burdened, and were no longer able to bear the losses and incommodities of the War : on the other side the Souldiers were not contented with any kinde of licentiousness ; nor did they ever cease crying out for liberty, pay, rewards and satisfactions : but amongst them all, the *Parisiens* as they were chief of the party, so were they chief in their complaints, not onely because they saw not that progress which from the beginning they had fancied to themselves ; but

The party of  
the League  
take a disgust  
against the  
Duke of May-  
ene, which is  
fomented by  
the Spaniards.

because the contributions and charges increased without end, they accused the Duke of want of conduct, or of too greedy desire to engross all to himself, or of extreme profuseness in prodigality of other mens moneys: nor did they consider that a huge gulf a Civil War is, and how many interess'd particulars were to be provided for in all parts of the Kingdom. To this were added the practices of the Spanish Ministers, who, not to suffer the authority of the Duke of Mayene (whom they thought little inclined to follow their designs) to grow too excessive, and to put the Catholike King in greater reputation and favour with the people, magnifying the expences, supplies and provisions which had been afforded them, cried against the ill management of the Duke, who, for want of employing them, had reaped so little advantage.

There were some discontents between him and the Duke of Lorain: for he having taken Villa Franca, the Duke of Mayene, because it was a place belonging to the Crown, pretended to nominate the Governour, and to place the Garison: in the Duke of Lorain having taken it at his own charge, and in the industry and blood of his men, contended that he ought to be the disposer and master of it; and being incensed that he had not obtained his desire, he arose from the siege of Alealto, which he had begun, alleading that he would not see the fruits of his pains and dangers converted to the use of others: but these were but sprouts that grew from a deeper root: for the Duke of Lorain, who pretended to the preeminence as Head of the Family, knew that the Duke of Mayene did not only possesse the top, and count himself superiour to him, as Lieutenant-General of the State of France, but had a designe to advance himself to the Crown; to the pretensions whereof, he thought the right of a son born of a daughter of France to be more valid, and conceived it reasonable that all the rest of the House should give place to the eldest of the Family. But these secret thoughts, which were internally hid, did not let things break out to a manifest discord.

Greater were the disgusts with the Duke of Nemours, (of a bold generous courage, but of a proud disdainful temper, having constantly and valiantly defended and made the City of Paris, beyond all mens belief) pretended to lesser place then to be his brother's Lieutenant-General, and

The Lords of the House of Lorain begin to be displeased, & to grow jealous of one another.



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The Duke of Nemours, for some discontents received from his brother the Duke of Mayene, refuses the Government of the City of Paris, which the Duke of Mayene confers upon his eldest son the Duke of Elguillon, appointing the Marquess of Belin his Lieutenant.

The Complaints of the widow Dutchess of Guise.

and to have supreme authority in the affairs of Paris, as their Preserver and Governour : which being a thing of great jealousy to the Duke of Mayene, who would not that any other should meddle in the Government, and that the affairs of Paris (the foundation of the League) should not onely be managed by him, but that they should not be so much as touched by another's hand; they disagreed in such manner about the election of the *Prevost des Marchands*, and the other Magistrates, that the Duke of Mayene, without making him or any body else acquainted with it, chose them to his own liking and satisfaction, without demurring upon those that were proposed and favoured by others; judging it to be so tender and so important a matter, that the respects which moved him to, ought not to be imparted to any body : but the election being divulged, the Duke of Nemours (making open clamour, that those were refused who had done best service in the siege; and on the contrary, men were chosen either of little trust or no valour) told the Duke of Mayene, that with such like Magistrates as those, he had not heart enough to defend and maintain Paris as he had formerly done, and that therefore he did surrender up his Government to him : which being luckily according to the Duke's intention, he met no difficulty to take the surrender, and presently invested the Government his eldest son *Charles Emmanuel Duke of Savoy*, giving him for his Lieutenant (during his minority) the *Marquess de Belin*, a man wholly at his devotion : which though the Duke of Nemours shewed himself highly incensed, and no lesse then he, the Parisians, who, by reason of his late defence of them, bore a wonderful great affection to him, yet matters were composed on this manner. That the *Marquess of S' Sorlin*, Nemours his brother, should have the Government of *Dauphiné*; and that he himself should have Forces and Money assigned him, to make War in his Government of *Lyons*; to which he went without delay, being neither well satisfied with his brother, nor openly disgusted.

But more grievous were the complaints of *Madame de Guise*, who with tears and womanish lamentations made moan every hour, that among so many enterprizes, there was no attempt thought of to free her son; and that Colonel *Donso Corso* (one of the complotters of the death of the Duke

ke of Guise her Husband) having been taken in some encounter, was not torn in pieces in revenge, but set at liberty for a ranſome of thirty thousand crowns; and finally, that the Widow Dutcheſſe of Longueville having been kept prisoner, in ſtead of treating to exchange her for her Son, they ſetled of exchanging her for the Duke d'Elbeuf. To which, a ſufficient answer was made, that the Duke her Son was in a place ſurrounded with the Kings Forces, which they could not come without a great Army, and without being Maſters of the ſea; and nevertheleſſe that divers treaties had been held to no effect: That Colonel *Alfonſo* being a priſoner of War, it was not lawfull to do him any outrage, nor take away his life; that the thirty thousand crowns had proved of great advantage to the publick affairs: That there never had been a treaty giving the Dutcheſſe of Longueville in exchange for the Duke d'Elbeuf, till after the King had often declared he would free the Duke of Guise upon any exchange; yet ſhe nevertheleſſe, being a querulous woman, and full of diſdain, ceaſed not to diſturb all buſineſſes, and fill all ears with her lamentations. Nor could the Duke of Mayene agree with the Duke of Mercœur; for having ſetled a firm reſolution in his minde, that no part of the Crown ſhould be diſmembred under his government, he was very much grieved that Mercœur ſhould attempt to appropriate Bretagne to himſelf, and ſhould hold ſecret intelligences and practices with the Spaniards.

To the thought of home-bred diſcords was added the want of foreign ſupplies, which he ſaw not to answer his expectation; for he found the Duke of Savoy had deſignes and pretenſions of too much intereſt, whereby in ſtead of ſuccouring and aſſiſting, he ſeem'd rather to divide and diſmember the party of the League; and knew that the Duke of Savoy and the other Spaniſh Miniſters had but little inclination to aſſiſt him ſo powerfully, that under their favour he could not be able to make an end of the War; but he perceived he ſpun out the time in length, looking for ſome opportunity to promote their own deſignes. The change of the Pope did much more afflict him; for though *Sixtus Quintus* in the later months of his life (grown ſuſpicious of the dealings of the Spaniards, and diſpleaſed at the ſharp proceedings of the Conde de Olivares) ſhewed himſelf alienated from the Spaniards, and little ſatiſfied with the carriage of buſineſſes, and perhaps

The Duke of Mayene is troubled at the attempts of thoſe of his Family, at the deſignes of the Duke of Savoy, and at the delays of the Spaniards.



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The Duke of Mayene is not satisfied with the new Pope Gregory the 14 doubting his too great dependency upon Spain, and the unactive-ness of his nature.

The Duke of Mayene dispatches President Jeannin to the King of Spain; and the Sieur des Portes to the Pope to sollicite aid.

perhaps disposed toward a reconciliation with the King; yet the new election of Cardinall *Sfondrato* with the name of *Gregory Fourteenth* did not satisfie him at the first, judging him to depend so much upon, and to be so closely united unto Spain, that he would not move, but in the Catholick King's steps; and besides that, of so slack a nature (as Fame with a generall consent reported him) that there was little life or quickness to be hoped for in his resolutions. Amidst this confusion of thoughts, thinking his principall aim ought to be to increase his strength so much, as to be Master of the field, because that means the streightning of the City being hindered, the Parisians would be appeased, and the reputation of Victory would keep all humours in awe; he set himself with his uttermost endeavours to augment his Forces in the Kingdom, and dispatched President *Jeannin* (a man of singular prudence, and incomparable dexterity in matters of Government) to the King of Spain; and to the Pope he sent his Secretary *Edouin Sieur des Portes*, who for his long experience in the affairs of the Court, where he had been bred in the times of the late Kings, and for the vivacity of his understanding was thought fit to quicken the slownesse, and forward the determination of the Pope; and to these his Agents he not onely gave charge to make great haste in their journeys; but also their principall end, to procure from both those Princes a firm, settled, speedy, and powerfull supply of men and money.

With these designes and preparations came in the year 1591, at the very beginning whereof the Parisians attempted the enterprize of *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*. The City thirsted much after the recovery of that place; for standing but two leagues from thence, and upon the passe that leads into the most fertile Plains of the *Isle of France*, it did much hinder the bringing in of victuall; and the Garison that was there over-running the whole country, did exceedingly molest and obstruct all the wayes. That which gave them hope of an happy issue, was that the place was almost empty of inhabitants, and onely kept by three hundred Foot, and one hundred and fifty Horse, which though they rovd very boldly about the fields, were they not sufficient to maintain the compasse of the walls, which of themselves were very weak, and in some places too

and fallen down ; and that which ordinarily serves to strengthen and defend a place (to be seated in the midst of ins that encompass it, and to have a Moat always full of water) did in this season serve for the conveniency of those who would assault it, all the waters being with the infinite frozen round about, so that they made a firm bridge, which did facilitate the passage and way to come to the assault.

The Governour of the place was the *Sieur de Viq* (lately in the room of *Lavardin*) who though he used all possible endeavours to keep good guards in it, yet the weakness of the garison, and the continual sending parties abroad to stop ravages, tired out his men, and made them in that extreme weather not very carefull to make good the wall : Matters were that thought the enterprize not feilable, by reason of the small number of men that could be sent from Paris : The *Chevalier d'Aumale*, a friend to bold resolutions, and informed of the state of the Town, undertook the managing of it, and with one thousand Foot and two hundred horse march'd out by night at the Gate which (because it is that way) is called by the same name ; and having taken a little compasse, drew neer to the Town on that side adjoining to the Abby, he knew (as most remote) was guarded with the least diligence ; where having found the yce in that place very firm, and particularly in the moat, he caused ladders to be set up against the wall with so great silence, that they were not discovered by the guards, in that part very secretly set. There went up two Captains with four and

very souldiers fully arm'd, and having found no obstacle, made themselves Masters of the Gate adjoining, which being soon open, the *Chevalier d'Aumale* himself entered on foot before them all, with his sword drawn, and after him the rest of his men marching up in order to possesse themselves of the place. The Governour having heard the noyse, and being informed that the Enemy had already taken the Gate, and being gotten upon the wall ; grown desperate to see that by the negligence of his souldiers, he should lose all the honour he had gotten in so many yeers of his life spent fortunately in war, getting on horse-back with onely thirty of his men followed him, and being resolv'd to die, and not to suffer his own ruine, he caused two trumpets he had with him

The *Chevalier d'Aumale* goes to surprise *S. Denis*, & without resistance enters with all his men : but the Governour with onely 30 Horse charges, and routs the enemy ; the *Chevalier d'Aumale* being run thorow the throat and left dead.



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to found furiously, to make the Enemy beleieve the number of those that charg'd was greater, and with his beaver down, rushed boldly upon the front of the Squadron, that was marching in order up the high street toward the Market-place. The fury of the horses in the uncertainty of a very dark night (the Commanders not having been willing to fire the houses, lest they should totally destroy the Town) put the Foot in disorder; in which tumult, while the *Chevalier d'Aumale* turning about, and reproving his men, endeavoured to make them stand, and to set them again in order, being wounded with a thrust in the throat, fell suddenly dead upon the ground; and his men, having no longer either strength, courage, order, or resolution, flying, fell foul upon the other Squadrons, and disordering themselves from one to another, they got out at the same Gate, and without being pursued by any body, ran with all their might till they came to Paris, there remaining above a hundred of them either slain by the defendants, or trampled under foot in the flight. The *Sieur de Viq* having recovered the Town, and redeemed his fortune by his own valour, gave the King an account of the successe, and did not onely receive great commendations, but also obtain'd of him a rich Abbey, which had been possessed by the *Chevalier d'Aumale* with the title of the *Crosse of Jerusalem*. Those that were curious observed, that the *Chevalier* fell dead before the door of an Inn whose signe was the *Espée Royale*; and they esteem'd it a much greater prodigie, that being laid upon the bier in the Church of the Friars of *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*, his carcasse the night following was all gnaw'd and mangled by Moles.

It was observed, that the *Chevalier d'Aumale* fell dead before an Inn whose signe was a Sword embroydered with golden Flower-de-luces, and that his body being set in the Church, was gnaw'd by Moles; The French sayes, Rats.

President *Brissson*, one of the principal adherents to the League, having changed his mind, plots insurrections in favour of the King.

The example of this mischance did not withhold the King from attempting (though upon a better foundation) to surprize the City of Paris in the same manner. The first President *Brissson*, who so voluntarily (not to say precipitately) made himself the head and authour in the Parliament of adhering to the League, perceiving now (as his friends told him) that the ends of the great ones were not so sincere toward the publick good, as he at first was perswaded they were; or (as his ill-willers said) corrupted by the great promises which were made him from the King by certain persons who were prisoners in the City; or (as the generall opinion was) driven by the instability of his own nature, had secretly begun to favour the *Politicks*, (for so they called those that were affected

the King ) who taking courage from his protection, did  
 ready make a considerable Body, and began to consult which  
 way to make the City revolt, and submit it to the obedience  
 of the King. The attempts and practices of these men were  
 frustrated by the careless nature of the *Prevost des Marchands*,  
 who either did not believe, or did not heed the relations that  
 were made to him ; nor did he use any care or industry to in-  
 rupt those new designs, the report whereof was very com-  
 mon : but that which more favoured the King's party, was  
 the dissatisfaction of the people, not onely tired with scarcity  
 of Victual, and the hard duty they underwent continually in  
 guarding the walls, but also stomacking that the Marquess  
*Belin*, a man of ordinary condition, and of an unactive na-  
 ture, should be put upon them for a Governour, whereas they  
 were wont to have formerly the first Princes of the blood, and  
 most eminent Officers of the Crown. The Duke of May-  
 was absent, the Duke of Nemours far off and discontent-  
 and the *Chevalier d'Annale* lately dead, whose fierceness  
 was wont to keep life in that party. All these things concur-  
 ed, invited the King to make some attempt upon that City :  
 what perswaded him much rather, was a desire not to keep  
 his Army idle, but to employ it in some enterprize, which for  
 greatness thereof, might keep it in some action full of ex-  
 citation. Wherefore the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Espernon*,  
 who were sent for before, being now arrived, and moreover  
 finding some practices now ripe which he held with his de-  
 pendents in the City, he meant to help strength with cunning  
 in this manner ; That fourscore Commanders and Reforma-  
 does, disguised in the habit of Country-fellows, with as many  
 waggons laden with meal, should go to the *Porte S' Honoré* to be  
 taken up after midnight [ because, in respect of the frequent  
 robberies that flowed the ways, provisions were commonly  
 bought and received by night ] and that these secretly armed,  
 should at their entrance strive to possess themselves of the  
 gate, being assisted by an hundred men armed *cap a pe*  
 which followed them, in which tumult he had private-  
 ly given order that those of his party should make some com-  
 motion within, but on the opposite side to the gate that  
 was assaulted, and should endeavour to seize upon *S' Jaques*,  
*S' Merceau* ; and that at the same time the Army on the side  
 of *S' Honoré*, *Montmartre*, and *S' Denis*, should come up close

Eighty Cap-  
 tains and other  
 Reformadoes  
 disguised, with  
 as many horse-  
 load of corn &  
 meal, receive  
 order to go up  
 to the Port S.  
 Honoré about  
 midnight, and  
 to attempt to  
 surprize Paris;



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to scale the walls : with which assaults, which were all to happen at one instant, he firmly hoped either to enter by force, or to be willingly received into the City; his adherents not ceasing to use many practices to raise the people in several places. These things were resolved on for the twentieth day of January ; the night whereof, though it had not been rainy, must nevertheless needs have been dark, the moon setting towards midnight. But the Duke of Espernon's passing by Beaumont, and his being joyned with the King's Army, and the Duke of Nevers having done the same, leaving the siege he had laid upon Provins without any apparent reason ; the Baron de Givry having passed the River at Lagny, to unite himself with the rest, and the seeing the King lie still in a place so near the City, had put a jealousy into the Princesses who resided in Paris : whereupon they did effectually exhort the Marquess de Belin to take care of the City, some signe being already discovered of the first President's inclinations, and of the machinations of many others, who went about stirring up the common people. The Marquess, excited by the earnest persuasions of those Ladies, began to apply his minde to the things that were told him ; and falling into the same suspicion, upon the eighteenth day he published a most severe Proclamation, That any commotion or tumult happening in the City, every one, at the ringing of the Palace-bell and the others of every Parish, should take Arms, and come forth of their houses into the street, but that no man should stir out of that Quarter wherein he ordinarily dwelt, upon pain of death without mercy : and he gave order to the Masters of the several \* Quarters strictly to observe the motion of every one ; from whence it came to passe that the *Politicks*, being fewer, were kept under watcht by the much greater number, and that being dispersed in their several Quarters, they could not meet together in a body to molest or to make themselves masters of any part of the City, all which also by this command were equally guarded. But the signes and suspicions still increasing, by the discovery of certain Souldiers belonging to St Denis, who were taken by the *Sieur de Tremont* as they were scowring the Countie from whom they understood that there were Scaling-ladders and other instruments proper to assault places withal, providing in that Town. The Princesses anxious and solicitous sent for the Governour unto them in the house of Madam

The Marquess de Belin, Lieutenant-Governour of Paris, advertised of the King's designe, and of some tokens of President Brisson's practices, makes a severe Proclamation, and orders and disposes the Militia and the Citizens for the defence of the City.  
\* Or, *Wards*.

Montpensier, and desired him to make the *Porte St Honoré* presently to be shut up and lined with earth, as being weaker, and more exposed to danger then the rest; which was diligently performed upon the nineteenth day; and the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* was put there to guard it, with his Regiment of *Loisiers*. The *Marquess de Menelay's* Regiment went to keep the *Portes of St Denis and Montmartre*; and *Collalto's* Germans were ordered to guard the *Fauxbourgs* beyond the River.

Upon the twentieth day in the after-noon, the King [not being advertised of the orders given in the City, because extraordinary care had been taken, that none should stir out of the City] took his way towards Paris. Monsieur de *Viq* Governor of *St Denis*, led the fourscore that were disguised in the habit of Country-men; and the other hundred were commanded by the *Sieur de Lavardin*. After these, followed the *Comte de Biron* with one thousand and two hundred Fire-locks, which were to march up to possess themselves of the gate; and behind them were four squadrons of four hundred men apiece, who, armed breast and head, were to advance to the front on the side toward *Mont-martre* and *St Denis*, there to set up scaling-ladders; and these were led by the *Sieurs de Guine, de Dunes, d'Humieres, and de la Noüe*: after these marched the *Swisses*, with three small pieces of Artillery, two Petards, which they made use of if occasion were, and all other instruments necessary for this assault. The King himself was in the Rear-guard, with the Dukes of *Espernon* and *Longueville*, and eight hundred Gentlemen; who, being alighted from their horses, were every well armed, had their Swords and Pistols, with which they were to fall on where need should require: and last of all the Duke of *Nevers*, with the rest of the Cavalry, stood in Arms to maintain the field. As soon as the first were arrived with their loads of corn and meal, demanding to be let in, they spoke with *Tremblecourt*, who, being made wary by suspicion, talked a long while with them; and as soon as he knew their design, he [to hold them in hand] gave order they should go down to the entry of the River, and that there they should be received by the boats that waited for that purpose; and presently, by ringing of a bell, he gave the Alarm to the City, and the Souldiers in Arms went readily up to the Works. The fourscore retired a little back; and making shew that they could obey, and go down toward the River, gave the King intel-

The order observed by the King's souldiers for the surprising of Paris.

The four score disguised Reformadoes are discovered by the *Sieur de Tremblecourt*.



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intelligence of the noise that was in the City [whereof he was already advertised by the sound of the bells] and desired to know what was to be done. *D'Humieres* and the Baron de *Biron* were of opinion that the Scaling-ladders should be set up, and a Petard fastened to the gate: but all the other Commanders thought it was not a thing to be attempted, and that (the Plot not having succeeded) to use force was too full of danger, and altogether hopeless: wherefore, after they had made a stand for a while, to see if their party within did make any Commotion, and this thought not succeeding neither, they faced about; and leaving the Cavalry to make good their retreat, returned in the same order to their former Quarters.

This attempt wrought an effect very different from the King's intention: for the Parisians unsatisfied with the Duke of Mayene, for that upon all occasions he left them with a weak Garison, exposed to these dangers, and seeing the King continually bent to do them mischief, they were contented [being

The Parisians, that they might not be left unprotected, receive a Tertia of Spaniards and another of Neapolitans into the City.

perswaded by the Catholike King's Ministers] to receive into the City the Spanish *Tertia* of *Idiaques*, and another of Neapolitans, which was *Pietro Gaetano's*, commanded by *Don Alessandro de Monti*; which did not onely confirm and strengthen the King's enemies, and suppress his friends and adherents, but did also put the City in danger of remaining at last at the devotion of the Spaniards. Yet did there presently follow another consequent to the advantage of his affairs: for the Duke of Mayene (who had consented to the resolution of the Parisians, not to lose them utterly, though it displeased him much, that, as not confiding in him, they should fall off to the protection of forraigners) being confirmed in his suspicion that the Spaniards had particular designs of their own, and that they sought to disturb his authority, and to make their profit of the instability of the Parisians, quickened the Treaty Agreement, which, by the means of *Monsieur de Villeroy*, had

The Duke of Mayene, jealous of the Spanish designs, procures a Treaty so far, that for many days the Peace was certainly thought to be concluded.

never been intermitted with the High-Chancellor and the *Chancelier de Biron*; and not having been able upon any terms to obtain a Truce and free Commerce between the two parties, he was contented the King should give so many Safe-conduces, that the Deputies might meet together from all the Provinces, to consult in common of the means to conclude a Peace, with the safety of Religion, and the acknowledgement of the King's authority, which passed so far, that for many days the Peace was held

absolutely concluded. But as the opinions of men are un-  
 led, and the most important determinations are altered  
 petty accidents, the Duke of Mayene in the mean time  
 while the safe conducts were dispatching, (in the grant where-  
 the King was for some dayes very backward) having found  
 the firmnesse of the Parliament in favour of him, and the  
 weaknesse of the garison that was received into Paris, not  
 ing in all both Spaniards and Neopolitans above one thou-  
 and and three hundred Foot; a number fitter to satisfie the  
 ople in appearance, then to bridle the Citie: nor being yet  
 le to wean himself from his conceived hopes, as soon as he  
 d received the safe conducts; he dispatched them with Let-  
 es added to all the Provinces, that they should meet together  
 he City of *Rheims* in Champagne, not to apply themselves  
 peace (as had been agreed,) but to make election of a new  
 King; which as soon as it was known and divulged abroad,  
 the King finding himself deceived, since now the talk was of  
 mbling the Deputies to his prejudice, which he had per-  
 mitted to meet together to treat of a reunion and peace be-  
 tween the two parties; having made grievous complaints  
 thereof to *Villeroy*, he recall'd his safe conducts, and gave  
 command, that all the Deputies that should fall into the hands  
 of any of his party, should without delay be put to death;  
 which neverthelesse would not have hindred the Duke of May-  
 enne from calling the Assembly: but things not being yet ripe,  
 he disposed fully in the manner he desired; under pretence of  
 fear, the convocation of the States was suffered to vanish in-  
 visibly of it self.

The Dukes hopes were augmented by the Declaration of  
*Gregory* the *fourteenth*, who (as the resolutions of Popes are  
 most ever hot and earnest at their first coming in) despising  
 the flegmatick humour which *Sixtus* (not to foment with the  
 colour of Religion the interests of those who were in greatest  
 power) had in the later end of his life expressed in the affairs  
 of France; shewed himself wholly inclin'd to favour and pro-  
 duce the progresse of the League, accounting it necessary for  
 the safety of Religion, and the reputation and great-  
 ness of the Apostolick See; and desirous that *Hercole Sfon-*  
*drado* his Nephew, newly by him invested in the title of Duke  
 of *Montemarciano*, should with military actions and eminent  
 command increase in reputation and riches, he decreed to  
 send

The Pope *Grego-*  
*ry* the 14. re-  
 solves to send  
 men and money  
 to assist the  
 League.



1591 send him with numerous Forces in assistance of the League, and had therefore given order that Horse and Foot should with all speed be raised in the Territories of the Church; for the payment of which (though he found great contradiction in the Consistory of Cardinals) he resolved to take those moneys, which, having with extreme diligence been gathered together by *Sixtus*, were kept in the Castle of *S<sup>t</sup> Angelo*; and to spend what should be requisite, as in the greatest and most urgent occasion the Church could have: And at the same time he appointed Legat to the Kingdom of France *Monsieur Marsilio Landriano* a Prelat of Milan, his Confident, and a man that was wont (as they say) stoutly to assert the liberty of the Church. Which things, after they were resolved on, and set in order, he sent severall messengers with speed to the Duke of Mayene, and to the Bishop of *Piacenza* (whom he had in the mean time confirmed Vice-Legat in France) promising them both plentifull supplies of men and money, that they might be able, not onely rooting out heresie, to secure the Kingdom from imminent danger, but chusing a Catholic peaceable King, and one obedient to the Church, to compose discords in peace, and restore tranquillity and repose to the people, already wearied out, and ruined with the calamities of War; and because the Citie of Paris, had with infinite merit shew'd it self by proof to be the true *Metropolis* of the Kingdom, and the constant Bulwark of Religion, he professed that he would imploy his utmost endeavours to ease it of its grievances, and settle it again in its first splendor of riches and greatnesse.

*Marsilio Landriano* a Milanese is chosen Legate to the Kingdom of France by *Gregory* the 14.

*Gregory* the 14 assigns 15000 crowns by the month for the service of the League.

These Letters did not onely rejoyce the Vice-Legat, and confirm the courage of the Duke of Mayene (and so much the more, because with them the Pope sent an assignement of fifteen thousand Crowns a month to be paid by the Merchants of Paris and Lyons), but being published in print to the whole party, did also fill every one with infinite expectation, seeing that the new Pope stood not like *Sixtus*, doubtfull and unresolved what he should determine to do, but declaring himself resolutely, shewed he was an open enemy to the King, and an effectuall protector of the Union, adding also deeds to words, while he was scarcely sought unto. That which increased the hopes of the Duke of Mayene no lesse then the Pope's forwardnesse, was the cunning of the Duke of Parm;

ho (persisting in his designe of drawing out the French Wars  
length, to make advantage at last of their wearinesse and  
weaknesse, and therefore not willing that the Duke of May-  
ne, remaining inferiour in strength, should lose courage,  
and resolve to make an agreement with the King) seemed  
to like well of those things which *Mendoza* and *Don*  
*Diego d'Ivarra* who were in Paris, managed particularly  
without the Duke; and with frequent messages assured him,  
that he was settling the affairs of Flanders, that he might be  
able with all speed to march with his Army into France; pro-  
mising him, that he would dispose of things in such manner  
they with a joynt consent should resolve, without taking  
notice of the opinions of others, the Commissions being such  
which he had from the Catholick King: for confirmation of  
which things, to those men the Duke of Mayene sent ſto  
him, he shewed preparations for the gathering of an Army, and  
lists of forty thousand fighting men to enter into Picardy:  
for the payment of which, and to supply the League plen-  
tily with money, according to the desires of the French, he  
formed a course was taken in the Court of Spain, and that  
expected the assignment for it every hour. By which the  
Duke of Mayene being encouraged, and returned to his won-  
derful hopes, had dispatched his Secretary *Baudoin* *Sieur des Portes*  
to Rome the second time, with order to sollicite the Pope to ha-  
ve away the Duke of *Montemarcano*, who was to passe thorow  
the States of the Duke of Savoy, and the County of Bourgon-  
gne streight into Lorain, to oppose the Forces which were  
preparing for the King in Germany by the Viscount *de Tu-*  
*renne* and the Prince of *Anhalt*; and to the same effect he di-  
spatched an expresse Messenger into Spain to President *Je-*  
*ruin*, who was already gone to that Court, to the end that  
he might obtain from the Catholick King, that the Forces  
which that yeer were to passe from Milan into Flanders,  
should joyn in Lorain with those of the Pope for the same  
purpose, hoping assuredly, that the Germans finding a brisk  
opposition at the Confines, so that they might not be able  
to advance and unite themselves with the King, and the  
Duke of Parma with the Forces of Flanders entering into  
Picardy, the League would quickly and very easily remain  
victorious. In the mean time he had invited the Duke of  
Lorain and the other Lords of his Family to meet at Rheims,



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to the end that with their generall liking and consent thing might be disposed to their due ends, and that the difficultie might be removed which hindered the interests of their House from being brought to perfection.

These things were contrived at that time by the Duke and negotiated with great diligence in all places by men of prudence and experience: But the King, whilst opportunity and the weaknesse of his enemies invited him, not to lose time without advantage, firm in his designe to straighten still the City of *Paris*, in the fall of which he thought the principall strength of his adversaries must fall too, resolved to lay siege to *Chartres*, from the Territories whereof *Paris* wont to receive the greatest part of its ordinary provision; and because the City being great, populous, and very well fortified, represented at first view the difficulty of the enterprise; he determined to prevent those Supplies which for the well furnishing of a place of so great importance might be sent by the Parisians and the Duke of Mayene, who with these Forces he had left, lay still at *Soissons*, to be ready to turn which way soever need should require. Wherefore having sent the Marechal *de Biron* toward *Diepe*, to receive and conduct the Ammunition and other necessities come out of *England*, he taking a contrary way, went with the Duke of *Nevers* once more to besiege *Provins*, a place of small moment, and for the defence whereof they of the League were resolved not to run any hazard; but after that the Marechal *de Biron*, having received the provisions which were at *Diepe*, began to return back, the King gave him order, that making as if he would assault the City of *Dreux*, he should on the sudden clap aside before *Chartres*, and surround it in such manner, that the relief which should be dispatched thither, might have no opportunity of entrance. *Biron* having passed the *Seine* at *Vernon* with his men and his Artillery, pointing sometime this way, and sometimes that way, did at once give his souldiers conveniency to refresh themselves, and hold the enemy in doubt to what place he would bend at last; making shew sometimes that he also would go to joyn with the rest of the Army at *Provins*; sometimes as if he would put himself in order to besiege *Dreux*; now he placed himself upon the great high road to *Paris* and then at last having marched twelve leagues without resting, he came

pon the sixteenth of February under the walls of Char- 1591  
es.

The City of *Chartres* is seated in an uneven place, varied with fertil rising hills, so that the East-side stands upon the top of an hill, and the West spreads it self in the bottom of the plain, thorow the midst whereof runs the River *Eure*, which, soon as it comes to the walls of the City on the South-side, divides it self into three branches; one of which entering into the Town, drives a great many Mills; the second passing under the walls, falls into the moat, and runs along thorow it; and the third taking a compasse about an hundred paces from the wall, invirons the circuit of the Suburbs, till being all come to the limits of the City turning toward the North, they meet again, and run together toward Normandy. The East-side, which stands upon the hills (by reason of the difficulty of bringing Canon thither, and because it looked toward those places from whence there was no expectation of any relief) was not besieged by the Army: but the other side, which extends it self along the Plain, and looks towards Paris, was blocked up at the same instant: for the *Sieur de Vivans*, with his Harquebusiers on horseback, quartered on the North-side in the *Bourg des Espars*; Monsieur de *Sourdis*, with the French Infantry, lay over against the *Porte de Dreux*; and the *Mareschal de Biron*, with the remainder of the Cavalry and the *Svisses*, encamped himself on the South side, over against the Cite and *Bastion* of *S' Michel*.

The description of the situation of *Chartres*, before which the *Mareschal de Biron* lays siege.

The Governour of the City was Monsieur de la *Bourdaisse*, a careful diligent Cavalier. The Foot of the Garison was commanded by Captain *Pessieray* a very famous Souldier; but the rest of the provisions were not correspondent to the desire of the Commanders: for there were but few Foot in the Town, and much fewer Horse; and the supplies that were lately come into it, were so weak, that they had made but a small addition: for the *Sieur de la Croix*, who departing from Orleans, was suddenly come with 60 Cuirassiers, and 200 Harquebusiers on horseback to enter into the City, inconsiderately for haste into the Army, which was drawing neer the walls, and being routed and put to flight, hardly got in with eighty of his men: on the other side, Monsieur de *Grammont*, who was upon his march to go into Normandy, returned speedily that way, but brought not with him above forty Gentlemen,



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and an hundred souldiers : and Monsieur *de Vitry*, who doubting the enemy would go to Dreux, had shut himself up in the Town, had not had means nor time to get thither ; so that the number of the Garison was much inferiour to what need required. To this defect was added the want of Ammunition : for though when at first the Governour visited those stores, there were found three hundred barrells of Powder , yet the cozenage of the Officers had so diminished it ( at a time when it was exceeding dear in all places ) that the first day of the siege ( to *la Bourdaisiere's* great grief of heart ) there were not less than above eighty ; and there likewise appeared great want of those other things that are necessary for defence. These important wants were in part supplied by the forwardnesse of the Citizens , who with a free courage exposed themselves to all services ; and the same did a great many Country-people , who were got into the City, and laboured with the spade to make up the Works. For the first days, the Mareschal thought it sufficient to shut up the *avenües* to the City, to exclude all relief, till the King should come to the Camp with the rest of the Army ; and therefore he advanced at the first dash , to quarter in the Suburbs. The Governour endeavoured to deprive him of that convenience ( very necessary in respect of the season ) and set fire on the houses to burn them down ; but the remedy was so late, by reason of the enemies sudden coming , that they had means to quench the fire before it could destroy many of the buildings ; and so the assailants had free possession of the Suburbs , in which after that the Mareschal *de Biron* was commodiously quartered, the King arrived upon the nineteenth day : yet did they not presently begin to raise Batteries , as well because the Commanders were not well agreed among themselves on which side they should assault ; as also because the want of Ammunition was perchance more lesse in the Army, then that of the defendants within the Town ; the provisions that came from England being far short of the King's demands, and of the promises made to the Viscount *de Turenne* : But the High-Chancellour *Chizerny*, Governour of the Province, who was exceeding rich , and had very great authority in the Country , having at his own expence sent for many necessary things from the Towns and Castles therabouts, it was resolved to batter on the side toward the *Fauxbourg des Essars*, as a place lesse fortified then the rest, there being

other defence but great Towers of the old fashion, and all not very strong, nor formerly fully lined with earth; but the defendants having foreseen where they were like to be assaulted by the besiegers, though they had no Engineers skilful in Fortifications, yet did they draw a Line, as well as they could, on the inside behinde the wall, flanking it with Ravelines, and raising it exceeding high with earth, in such sort, that the Artillery having battered down a good part of the wall, their Works behinde it appeared so strong, that the King, not willing to expose his men to manifest danger, but knowing the small number of the besieged, and meaning to tire them out with hard duty and working, resolved to remove his Battery to another place, thereby to render their past labours vain and useless: so in the beginning of March two Batteries were directed over against the *Porte de Dreux*, and they began to play on that side with eleven Pieces of Canon. The defendants presently turned to make Works there, and with so much the greater heart, because that part was already flanked with two convenient Ravelines, which had been made ever since the year 1599, when the Prince of Condé besieged that place; and adding new Fortifications to the first, they reduced it to such a state, that redoubled assaults were given in vain, and with the loss of many men. All the month of March they laboured at that place, without being able to do any good, battering without, working within, and skirmishing almost every day at the points of the Ravelines, and at the entry of the Courtine: upon the fifth of April, the King, with the same intention of frustrating the pains of the defendants, removing his Battery yet again from thence, with eleven Redoubts, went something further toward the *Porte St Michel*. The businessse was undertaken on that side by the *Sieur de Chastillon*; who doubting if the darknesse of the night might make him mistake the place where he had resolved to open his trench, found this way, which was, to make a Truce for two hours with those of the town, under pretence of fetching off the dead; and that being concluded, he himself was busie in making the bodies be brought out of the moat, and for quicker dispatch, to be brought along the Line, to the place where the Battery was prepared; which not onely gave him a wonderful great conveniency to discover and measure the situation, but also he feigned that because the dead bodies could not be fetched off time enough,

The *Sieur de Chastillon's* stratagem to cast up his Trench by night without error.

and



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and caused it to be left for a mark upon the edge of the moat in that very place where he had designed by night to intrench himself. So the effect followed proportionably without labour: for the Battery being raised, and his Trench cast up in the appointed place, he began to batter with twelve Pieces of Canon, and at the same time took care for the building of a Gallery covered with timber, that he might securely passe the moat, and come to the foot of the wall. The endeavours used on that side were thought to be very hopeful: for the defenders, already tired, had not had time to cast up many Works there: But the Batteries went on slowly, and with intermission; for there wanted Ammunition in the Camp; so great a defect, and so hard to be remedied, that the King was oftentimes minded to give over the enterprise, if the Duke of Nevers, and much more the High-Chancellor, had not stayed him with earnest intreaties and perswasions, and if some that were over to him from the City, had not reported the want of Powder to be much greater within then it was without; which was so true, that it being all spent, there was hardly the quantity of two barrells left, and that brought in by particular men, to be delivered to the Souldiers. The besiegers had already finished their Gallery, which was a thing built like a Bridge, covered with boards overspread with earth and turfs, and then on the top of all, other boards and pieces of wood were fastened to make it stand the more firmly: the sides were made of thick beams joyned so neer together, that they defended those that were in the hollow of the Bridge; and the bottom was raised so high with planks, as might bear up the assailants level with the breach. But the besieged having yet some Fire-works, and having also got together all the pitch which could be found in the several shops, set fire on the Gallery, at the time when being ready to give the assault, many were already advanced into it; in such manner, that the Engineer himself (who was called *la Garde*) and some others with him having lost their lives, Colonel *Parabere* was forced with his men to come out of the Gallery, and to go a good way without any shelter, to get before the appointed time unto the assault, which caused the death of many of his most valiant souldiers; and yet the fight being stoutly maintained on both sides, lasted four hours together, with much blood, there being slain two Colonels, eight Captains, and above two hundred Souldiers: and *Parabere*

For want of Ammunition, the Battery goes on so slowly at Charters, that the King thinks to raise the siege.

himself, and the *Sieur de Montet* a valiant Gentleman of *Languedoc* *Chastillon's* Adjutant were very dangerously wounded. But the want of powder was already become irreparable to those within; wherefore *Monsieur de Vitry* first, and then the Viscount *de Tavannes* having attempted to put in and Ammunition into the City, and not having been able to effect it by reason of the diligence of the Cavalry, which with continuall care scowred all the wayes; and after it was known that the Duke of Mayene being come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, not having strength enough to make opposition in the field, had set himself upon the enterprize of *Chateau-Thierry*, in a Country far remote, the besieged (being reduced to defend themselves with their Swords and Pikes, because they had not wherewithall to charge their Muskets with Canon, and being decreased with toil, hard duty, and losse of men slain in the late assaults) in the end, upon the twelfth of April they agreed to surrender, if within three dayes they were not relieved with the number of at least four hundred men, and some limited quantity of Ammunition; which dayes being expired without receiving any assistance, on the nineteenth day, *Monsieur de la Bourdaisiere*, the *Sieur de Grammont* (for Captain *Pesseray* was already in an assault) marching out in order with their baggage, Colours flying, gave up the place into the hands of the *Duke of Biron*, who entred into it with 800 Foot, and 200 Horse; and the King put *Monsieur de Sourdis* in the Government, to gratifie the High-Chancellor, upon whom he, or (as detractors said) his Wife depended.

The defenders of Chateau-Thierry not being relieved, surrendered the Town.

At the same time, while the King was busied at the siege of *Chartres*, the Duke of Mayene being departed from *Soissons* with all his Forces, and come to the *Bois de Vincennes*, he doubted a good while, whether he should venture the Army he had to relieve that place; but those Forces that were sent for from many places not arriving time enough, and knowing himself so much weaker, that his advancing would have endangered the Army, without hope of giving any relief to the besieged, turned toward the way of *Champagne*, where he had appointed the meeting of the Princes of *Lorain*; and to keep up his reputation, fate down before *Chateau-Thierry*, a great place, well peopled, and pleasantly seated; whereof no long defence was to be hoped for, either in regard



1591 regard of the walls of the Town, or of the strength of the Castle. The Governor was the Viscount *de Comblesty* Son of *Mayene* besieges *Challeanu-Thierry*, a place more pleasant then strong, the Governor whereof was the Son of Secretary *Pinart*.

The Duke of Mayene being besieged at Challeanu-Thierry, a place more pleasant then strong, the Governor whereof was the Son of Secretary *Pinart*, had a great many women shut up with him in the Castle, who being all affrighted, made a great stir and confusion, though the defendants were sufficient to make it good for some dayes. To this was added, that the Father and the Son had brought into the Castle all their plate, money, and household-stuffe, which amounted to a great value, and were above measure solicitous, for fear if the place should be sacked, they might fall into the enemies hands. On the other side, the Duke's Army had a desire not onely to pillage the Town, which was full of inhabitants, but much more to plunder the Castle, wherein the report was, that there were inestimable riches; by which hopes the souldiers being encouraged, and especially the strangers, at their first arrivall they bravely possessed themselves of the Suburbs, frightening and confounding the heartlesse defendants with their resolution. As soon as the Suburbs were taken, the Canon were planted without delay, which having beaten down a good piece of the wall, the assault was given; and though it was happily sustained till the evening, yet it left the besieged without hopes of being longer able to defend the Town; wherefore presently quitting it, they retired the same night into the Castle. At that time the tumult increased, and louder grew the cries of the women, who with their prayers and importunities were the cause that *Pinart* sent a Trumpet for his Colleague the *Sieur de Villeroy*, who was in the Duke of Mayene's Camp, to treat with him about some composition; but yet having conferr'd together for two long hours, they came not to any conclusion: Wherefore, no sooner was *Villeroy* gone out of the Castle, but instantly the Canon began to play the noyse of which troubling not onely the Ladies, but even *Pinart* himself, and also many others not accustomed to the trade of arms, the *Sieur de Villeroy* was sent for again the next morning, who was met by *Madame de Pinart*, with the chief Ladies that were of her company, kneeling upon the ground beseeching him with tears, to free them by a composition from falling into the power of the souldiers, and especially of strangers. This sight moved even *Villeroy* himself, who returning to the Duke of Mayene, laboured to perswade him, that

Secretary *Pinart* having brought all his goods into the Castle, for fear of losing them, treats a Composition with the *Sieur de Villeroy*.

much better to receive the Castle upon a capitulation, and get a good sum of money from it for the maintenance of the War, then to enrich strangers, and shed French blood to satisfy their greediness: To which the Duke of Mayene (averse from cruelty and plunder) easily consenting, though the Duke grumbled very much at it, yet the agreement was concluded, the Castle compounding for twenty thousand crowns, at store of victuall which the Town was to provide, the place with the Artillery and Ammunition remaining freely at the Duke's disposing. But *Pinart* thinking himself free from calamities of the siege, fell presently into other troubles: being accused of treachery, and that not out of cowardise, perfidiousness, he had delivered up that place without necessity, he was therefore censured guilty by the Parliament of *Chalons*, and being absent, condemned as a Rebelle; afterward bought out the King's pardon, and the confiscation of his Estate with thirty thousand ducats. The taking of *Chasteau-Thierry*, though not equall to that of *Chartres*, either for the quality of the place, or for the consequences that grew along with it, did yet give some reputation to the arms of the League; whereupon the Duke of Mayene augmented his hopes and courage, went to the meeting at *Rheims*, where a common consultation was to be held, of the way that should be taken to advance the common interests, and to oppose the progress of the King; who after the taking of *Chartres*, and by policie and force gotten *Louviers* also, a place in Normandy neer *Rouen*, which for its situation and fortification was esteem'd of very great importance.

But though the War proceeded fortunately for the King, other things were not so prosperous, but new troublesome accidents arose within his own party; for the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen (seeing that the time of his conversion was deferred without end, and that all the promises, and all the appointments of assembling the States, and calling the Prelates together, to give him those instructions propounded by himself, and talked of every hour, proved vain, and without any effect at all) began already to stagger in their resolutions, to think of retiring, to murmur among themselves, and to shew their discontent, which was increased beyond measure by a Declaration of the King's; who after the taking of *Chartres*, being come to *Mante*, had called his Councell, with many of

The Duke of Mayene received the place & Castle with the composition of 20000 crowns.



1591 the most conspicuous persons that followed him, and had given them to understand, how the Queen of England and the Princes of Germany his Confederates (of whose arms and assistance he had such urgent need, that without them he had no hope of being able to sustain his Crown) did presse him daily; that (giving peace to mens consciences) he would permit liberty of Religion, and a peaceable indifferent way of living to his Subjects, to unite them with perfect charity in the same body; and that the German Army being now upon the point of coming, he thought it good to prevent those requests, which would then be made unto him with arms in their hands, in a time of extreme necessity, and to grant something now to those of the reformed Religion, that he might not be forced then to yeeld much more unto them: That he did not intend to grant them more then what King *Henry* his glorious and most Catholick Predecessour had done, but simply to renew the last Edict of pacification which had after been broken and revoked, not by the King's will, but by the violences of the League; and that he thought fit to tell his reasons thereunto in Council, to the end that none might make a sinister interpretation of that resolution, but should know that all was done for the advantage of the Catholick Religion, not to suffer himself to be reduced to a necessity of giving them greater liberty then what had been granted and established in the times of his Predecessours: That every one should weigh the state of present Affairs, the Forces which the Pope and the Catholick King sent against him, necessitating him to make use of the Supplies of the Protestants, to whom he could not with reason deny some just satisfaction, if he would be withheld by their blood, by their moneys, by their endeavours, and by their assistance; That this should not retard his progresses, nor in the least manner prejudice the Catholick Religion, which he would constantly favour, protect, and maintain. The major part of voyces assented to the King's proposal, some others were scandalized at it, and particularly *Charles* Cardinall of *Vendosme*, (who, his Uncle being dead, made himself be called Cardinall of *Bourbon*) who (saying that he could not with a safe conscience be present at that determination) made shew as if he would have gone away; but being not followed by the other Prelats, and sharply recalled by the King, he came back (though not much to his reputation)

The King in Council with the most conspicuous men of his party, declares the necessity of giving some satisfaction to the Hugonots; Hee proposes the confirmation of the Edict of pacification made last by *Henry* the third, which grants them liberty of conscience with some circumstances & limitations; & it is consented to.

tion ) and fate down again. The Archbishop of *Bourges*, and the Bishop of *Nantes*, President *de Thou*, the High-Chancellor, and many other Catholikes, demanded that the Edict of liberty of conscience might not be absolute, but that a clause might be added to it, to shew it was intended to be in force until such time as Peace being obtained, the differences of Religion might be accommodated, to reunite all the Subjects in one and the same belief : which being willingly consented to by the King, the Edict was made, and some days after published, and registred in the Parliaments of his party. Those of the Council did not much resist this Declaration, as well because they saw the urgent need the King had to make use of the Protestants, as because they perceived the opposing of it would have produced no good : besides, the Hugonots already enjoyed that indeed which was now granted to them in writing : But those Souldiers that were affected to the Catholike Religion, and that had not heard the reasons of it, took marvellous great offence at it, and began almost openly to be discontented ; and so much the more, because the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Great ones fomented that discontent, and with words not onely in private, but publikely oftentimes stirred mens mindes to a resentment.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* had already long before entertained a thought of framing a party of Catholikes, different from the League, and from those that followed the King. This thought was sprung up in him from the consideration that the King's obstinacy in not turning his Religion, did not onely make his own possession of the Crown more difficult, but also deprived the whole Royal Family of the just pretensions it had to the inheritance of the Crown, since that all of them, as followers of an Heretick, were excluded from it together ; and they of the League began already to discourse of breaking the Salique Law, and of calling other Princes to the Crown, who had nothing to do with the Royal Consanguinity : and this thought perplexed and troubled him much more then the rest, because his Cousin the Prince of *Condé*, being then as it were yet in swadling-clothes, and of the Hugonot Religion ; and his elder brother the Prince of *Conty*, both by reason of a great imperfection in his speech, being not very fit to govern, and because he had been cut for the stone in his childhood, accounted unable to get children, he thought the neereſt hopes

The Cardinal of Vendosme begins to raise a third party of Catholikes, to make himself Head of them, and thereby to bring himself to the Crown.



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of the Crown belonged to himself, because the Count *de Soissons*, the third brother, was younger then he; and the Duke of *Montpensier* was much farther from the Succession then the. From this meditation, and the disdain it wrought in him, began by little and little to nourish a desire of withstanding that prejudice, and to make himself a Faction that might bring him to the election of the Kingdom, since neither the Pope could oppose the person of a Cardinal, nor the Catholike King refuse him as an Heretick; nor could they of the League intend deny him due obedience. He had imparted this thought to *Jehan Touchard* Abbot of *Bellozanne*, who from his Infancy had been his Tutour, a man not at all of Pedantique breeding, nor of a mean dull understanding, but full of lively active spirits, and well versed in the discipline of the Court. This man looking after the advancement of his own greatness, being his Master's instrument, fomented the Cardinal's designs, and regulated his pretensions with good instruction, counselling him to proceed secretly and very dexterously. As he had gotten followers and adherents, and teaching him to make use of the conjunctures of times, which would offer him fit and profitable opportunities. And that he might have assistance in the raising of so eminent a designe, having discovered the businesse to *Jaques Davy* Sieur *du Perron* (a young man of mean birth, but of most profound learning, and therefore from the first received and well looked upon in the Cardinal's Family) and *Scipio Balbani* a *Lucchese* (one who having spent many yeers unfortunately in Traffique, was come a Merchant become a manager of affairs in Court) they applied themselves with all their utmost endeavours to the framing of that third party. To this end *Perron*, under shew of complement, went to the Duke of *Longueville* and the Count of *S' Paul*, brothers, who being descended from the Royal family, but by Progenitours that were not legitimate, calling themselves of the House of Orleans. were zealous Catholicks, and kept themselves united with the Princes of the blood for the maintenance of the Crown; and having represented unto them the considerations of that prejudice which from the obstinacy of the present King did fall upon their common interests, drew them cunningly to the same opinion, and to blot out secret intelligence and correspondence with the Cardinal. On the other side, *Balbani*, under colour of his own private affairs,

ent to Rome, to make excuses to the Pope for the Cardinal. 1591  
 mode in those places that were of the King's party, which  
 as to no other end, but onely to exhort and perswade him to  
 conversion; which being now protracted contrary to the  
 common expectations, and to so many promises he had made,  
 the Cardinal, not willing to offend his own conscience, sent  
 him to excuse it to his Holiness, and to pray him to protect the  
 Royal Family, which ought not to forfeit its right for the obsti-  
 nacy of one man; and that when the Cardinal should once be  
 made certain of his hope that the Apostolike See would suffer  
 rather to be King but a Catholike of the legitimate stock of  
*Lewis*, he would declare himself with the Catholike Nobil-  
 ity and Commons, and deprive the King of the greatest  
 strength of those who followed him at that present, to uphold  
 the rights of the Royal Family. Now whilst *Perron* and *Bal-*  
*bi*, one within, the other without the Kingdom, did la-  
 bour to plant the roots of this third party, the Cardinal stay-  
 ing at *Tours*, as Head and President of the King's Council  
 but resided there, did by himself, and by the means of *Tou-*  
*ard*, try to work upon the mindes of many, and particular-  
 ly of *Gilles de Souvray* Governour of that City, a man of ex-  
 ceeding great piety, and no lesse prudence, and who in the  
 Court had always been wonderfully famed for goodnesse and  
 knowledge. But these designs, which, being communicated  
 to many, could not be kept secret, were come to the ear of  
 Philip Cardinal of *Lenon-court*, an old dependant upon the  
 House of *Navar*, who likewise following the King's party,  
 resided in *Tours*, and was one of the Council: and there be-  
 came a very good correspondence between him and the Cardi-  
 nal of *Bourbon*, he was the first that gave the King notice of  
 this, representing confusedly unto him what he had been able  
 to finde out concerning those designs that were contriving.  
 The King knowing the emulation that was between the Car-  
 dinals, did not absolutely credit *Lenon-court's* relation; and  
 yet remained a little perplexed in minde, and began to stand  
 on watch, that he might come to more certainty of the busi-  
 nesse, which Fortune brought him as it were of her self, in  
 such a way as a man's own imagination could not have thought:  
 For *Balbani*, who was already come into Italy, having in his  
 journey met with *Des-Portes* the Duke of Mayene's Secreta-  
 ry, who was likewise going to Rome about the present af-  
 fairs,

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*sent to Balbani*  
 that to  
 come by the  
 Cardinal of  
*Vendosme*, to  
 treat with the  
 Pope, and to  
 communicate  
 his designs  
 unto him.

The Cardinal  
 of *Lenon-*  
*court* gives the  
 King notice of  
 the designs of  
 the Cardinal  
 of *Vendosme*



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fairs, made friendship with him, as they use to do that are interested in the same Nation : after which, either inconsiderately, or that he might begin to scatter some seeds of it in the League, he imparted the businesse to him, for which the Cardinal sent him to the Pope, and shewed him the Commission which for his information he had given him, distinctly composed in writing. *Des Portes*, a subtil man, and a wary manager of things, knew how to behave himself, and to flatter *Balbi* in such manner, that he not onely sounded the depth of the businesse, and what adherents the Cardinal had, but withal

The *Sieur des Portes* Secretary to the Duke of Mayene, informs him of the practices of the said Cardinal : but a Letter being intercepted, falls into the King's hands.

a copie of his Instructions out of his hands ; whereof he sending several duplicates in his Letters to the Duke of Mayene, so fell out, that one of them was intercepted by the *Garon* of *Auxerre*, and came to the King's hands, with full information of the whole Plot. For the clearing and confirmation of this intelligence gotten by the Letters of *Des Portes*, it happened that *Jaques du Quesnay* a Norman Gentleman, who as bred Page to the Duke of Longueville, as he was one night on the far side of his Lord's bed, where he was unseen by reason of the Curtains, (the custom of France being to enter in great persons while they are undressing) by chance heard a long discourse of *du Perron* to the same purpose, which he, thinking nothing, related to *Jehan d'Espina* his kinsman ; he being a Hugonot, and of a discreet understanding, delayed not long to discover all to Monsieur *de Chaseron*, under whom he served in the War, by whom afterwards the King was distinctly informed of every particular.

When the King knew what was plotting against him, he was extremely afflicted and troubled in minde ; and having told the businesse to the High-Chancellour and Monsieur *de la Noüe*, desired to have their advice in it. The High-Chancellour intent upon the King's conversion, or because he so thought it best, said it was in the King's own power to remove those obstacles, and dispel those clouds : for by turning Catholic like, he might at once take away the foundation of all the contrivers, and open a most secure way to Peace and Union. That to think of any other remedy, was not onely vain, but destructive : for by alienating the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and other Princes of the blood who sided with him, he should cut off one of his own arms, and weaken his party in such manner that he would no longer be in a condition to resist his enemies.

The High-Chancellour being told by the King of the Cardinal of Vendosme's designs, persuades him to turn Catholic like.

on the other side, by dissembling the knowledge of their machinations, they would have conveniency to perfect the signe, drawing with them a great part of the Catholicks; contented at the so long delay of his conversion: Whereon, to shun those two inevitable dangers, it was necessary last to give satisfaction to all his servants, while the state of affairs permitted him to do it with his honour; for when Catholick party should fall from him, it would be no long time to convert, nor to give them satisfaction, thinking sure them again, as they do Hawks, when they are loose in the fist; that therefore he should rouse up his courage, with a Royall resolution cut off the roots of those evils that were creeping about so dangerously. Monsieur de la Noue said, That he would speak the more freely, because his jestie and all the world knew, he had said from the very beginning, That if the King did not turn Catholick, he should never be King of France; but that now it was neither time or conjuncture to make that determination; That the King saw how great a power of his Enemies was like shortly to come upon him, the Pope and the Catholick King having made wonderfull great preparations to assist the League; that to oppose those Forces, he had no other prop but the Supplies of the Queen of England, and of the Princes of Germany, who were drawing a great Army together under the Viscount of Turenne, to uphold them in so great need; which provisions and Supplyes would all vanish in a moment, if he at present should change his Religion; for not onely they that were offended would forsake him, but all the Hugonots of the Kingdom that followed him would fall away, whereby at the arrivall of the Enemies Forces he would be found alone, provided, abandoned, without any means to resist, and left to the discretion of his Enemies: That the exigency of affairs did not give way to the counsell of preventing the future, or the present ruine: that the Forces of Italy were already set on foot, the Duke of Parma already was gathering an Army; and that if the straitnesse of time permit the thought of things that were far off, but perswade the use of present remedies: That the Cardinall of Bourbon's designe had no very firm foundation, and though it should succeed, yet it required a great length of time; That at the present not very resolute and full remedies were to be applyed, but such as might mitigate

Monsieur de la  
Noue's answer  
to the High-  
Chancellor.



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mitigate and defer the disease, till means might be had to purge it away : That it was needfull to separate those Lords into severall places, to have an eye upon their actions, to see to pacifie them, and keep them in till the event were seen, the coming of the forreign Forces of each party ; that afterwards time and occasions would of themselves minister remedies proportionable to the disease, and the means of getting one day out of those Labyrinths. The King best liked this advice, which was also confirmed by the Marechal de *iron*, to whose opinion all serious matters were at last referred. Whereupon he presently dispatched Letters to the Cardinal of Bourbon, and the other Lords of the Councel, that they should come to him to the Camp, he having need of their help and assistance ; and removing the Count *de Soissons* from the Government of those parts, he sent to govern *Poitou* and *Turenne* the Prince of *Conty*, a man not ingaged in the plot, & already excluded by his own Brothers ; for the Count *de Soissons* also (angry because the King having often promised him his own Sister the Lady *Catherine* to Wife, did now refuse to give her him) assented to the Cardinal's designs, with hopes also, that though he were the younger Brother, yet being a lay-man, the election which the Catholick Princes of Bloud should make might fall upon him : whereupon, the Cardinal being come to the Camp before Chartres, and continuing to come to the Councel, happened to be present at the Edi& which was made in favour of the Hugonots, which he opposed both by his gestures and words, and after it was assented, ceased not to talk sinisterly of it, to perswade the Catholicks to comply with him. Nor could the King so easily have disentangled himself from that tumult, if an engine furnished by the League to do him hurt, had not proved of admirable advantage to him.

*Landriano* the Pope's Nuncio arrives at Rheims with Monitory-letters to the Prelats & Catholicks of the King's party.

*Landriano* the Nuncio was come to *Rheims*, being sent by the Pope with monitory-Letters directed to the Prelats that followed the King's party, and to the Nobility, Clergy and people of the same party ; wherein, after the wonted prefaces, and having copiously exaggerated and detested the error which the Catholicks, especially the Clergy, committed in following and fomenting a King that was a relapsed and excommunicated Heretick, and in voluntarily putting upon their own necks the miserable yolk of the servitude of Hereticks.

did at last with pregnant words ordain, & expressly command the Clergy (under pain of excommunication, of being deprived their Dignities & Benefices, and of being used as Sectaries & Hereticks) that within a certain time they should withdraw themselves from those places that yielded obedience to *Henry of Bourbon*, & from the union & fellowship of his Faction; and admonished and exhorted, but in the end also commanded the Nobility and people, that forsaking all, and leaving those places that acknowledged the Heretick, they should retire among the Catholics, & such as obeyed the Apostolick See in the true unity of the Faith. The whole *Monitory* was full of grave and exquisite words, high and threatening expressions, sharp & rigorous commands, & in sum, such as seemed not to suite much with the present time, wherein the King's Forces went on prosperously, & the affairs of the League were diminished both in strength & reputation: wherefore being taken into consideration by the Duke of Mayene & the principall Heads of his party, many were of opinion, and particularly *Monsieur de Villeroy*, that it was good to defer the publication thereof til another time, when (the Arms of the Confederates being in greater credit and reputation) they might hope to reap some fruit by it: But the *Nuncio* (little versed in the affairs of France, & accustomed to measure things by the opinions of the Court of Rome) the Bishop of *Piacenza* also (though he was better experienced in the present businesses, yet wholly intent to please the Pope & win his favour) & the Spanish Ministers (being perswaded by hatred, & inticed with a desire to see things every day more disturbed) were resolved that the *Monitory* should be published. The French Lords considered that it was not only a thing very difficult, but also not by any means to be hoped for; that the Prelats & the Nobility, who had the wealth, dignities, and Prelacies in the King's hands, should refuse to forsake them to satisfy the Pope, their number being small now adays, who for their souls sake are content to forsake their estates; that moreover they had already from the beginning expected these commands and menaces from the Pope, and had prepared their minds to bear them; That the more they were forced, the more obdurate they would be, & losing all hope of ever being received into the Pope's favour, would become more obstinate in following their party, and labouring to get the victory; That it was needfull to allure them, and draw them cunningly, not to terrifie them and drive them into utter



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ter despair; That such-like threats would be proper after Victory, to give them colour and occasion upon that pretence to fall from the King when his affairs were languishing; but not now, when being powerfull and flourishing, it was not to be believed that any body would forsake him: That prudent resolutions were not to be grounded upon probabilities, but truths; nor ought things to be regulated according to the opinion of those that judged afar off, but by the judgement of men who, besides their long experience in affairs, were present upon the place it self. The Popish and Spanish Ministers thought these things were spoken out of a common charity to the Nation, not because they were true: and the Duke of Mayene, who had set all his hopes upon the coming of the Forces out of Italy and Flanders, and would not distaste those Princes, referred himself to them; and therefore without delay, the Monitory was presently published, which produced the same effect the French Lords had foretold; for the King having called his Councel (wherein he would have the Prelats that were in Mante, and the most conspicuous persons of his Army to be present) complained grievously of the course which the Pope took with him at that present, praised and commended the moderation of *Sixtus*, who became sensible that the discords grew from the ambition and covetousnesse of dividing the Kingdom, and not from zeal and affection towards Religion, had forbore to give assistance to the League, and tacitly granted him time to think of turning opportunely to the Catholick Faith; cherishing, and graciously hearkening to those who followed him for a good end, and for the service of God, of justice, and of their Country as the Duke of *Luxembourg* could give full testimony: He declared his intention to observe what he had sincerely promised to the Catholick Nobility in the beginning of his Reigne: He excused himself that he had been hindered by the heat of War, from using those means which he thought fitting, but for the importance of the businesse, and the quality of his person; and at last exhorted all the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons to use all their uttermost endeavours to conserve the immunities and priviledges of the *Gallique Church*, not to suffer that Kingdom to be divided and dismembred, which he had received so flourishing from their Ancestors; and not to permit the people to remain without their Prelats and Pa-

After long opposition by the French Lords, the Monitory is published to the satisfaction of the Spanish and Popish party.

to the danger of error, schism, and damnation; things which though they were neither seen nor considered at Rome, were yet neverthelesse too obvious to the eye of whosoever should look upon them with Christian piety. Hereupon he caused a very grave Decree to be made, declaring that he would inviolably observe his promise, and exhorting the Parliaments to take care for the dignity of the Crown, and the Prelates to look to the people under their Charge, and to preserve the liberty of the *Gallique Church*.

The Decree being made with a most free consent (because every one was offended at the severenesse of the *Monitory*, and the coming of the Nuncio *Landriano*) he dispatched President *de Thou* to *Tours*, and President *Favre* to *Chalons*, in which Parliaments the person of *Landriano* was with very great liberty spoken and decreed against, and there it was determined that the *Monitory* should be publicly burnt, and at the same time most severe Decrees were made against those that should forsake the party, and follow the intimation of *Landriano*, depriving the Clergie of their dignities and benefices, and confiscating the estates and goods of whatsoever Lords, Gentlemen, or others should do so, and making them subject to the pain of High-Treason and Rebellion; which, added to that disdain the French liberty had conceived at the severenesse of the *Monitory*, did so bridle mens mindes, that there was not now any one that stirred: but on the contrary, those that were turning after the new designs attempted by the Cardinal of Bourbon, did now alienate their mindes from all other thoughts, save the conservation and maintaining of the King, whose Arms they saw in a fair way to Victory; the Clergie saying publicly, that the Canons did not command them to abandon their flocks in such distracted dangerous times, nor did duty enjoin them to forsake their Countries, their own houses and estates given by the liberality of former Kings as a reward for their labours, to go like miserable vagabonds to beg an hundred crowns in pension from the charity of the Pope's Nephews: That in the end, the King, remaining victorious, would compose matters with the Pope; and then, whosoever had been obstinate and rebellious against him, would be utterly undone: and that they could not in conscience forsake a Prince who implored their aid and instruction to come to the obedience of the Church. Thus always those

The Parliaments of Chalons & Tours decree that the Pope's *Monitory* should be publicly burnt.



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The Parliament of Paris makes Decrees contrary to those of the Parliaments of Tours and Chalons.

engines that were framed to oppugn the King, did wonderfully succeed to his advantage; and poisons were converted into medicines. To these Decrees of the Parliaments of Tours and Chalons, the Parliament of Paris opposed contrary Decrees, receiving the Monitory, and admitting the Nuncio's Commissions, exhorting and commanding that all should be accepted, published, and obeyed; imposing most severe punishments upon those that should transgress. But neither for this did the Prelates or Nobility that followed the King's party stir one jot from their first proposal: and all those discourses and complaints which before were made for the liberties granted to the Hugonots in the exercise of their Religion were now turned against the Pope's severe, and (as they call it) precipitate resolution.

In the mean time, the Lords of the House of Lorain, the Nuncio *Landriano*, the Spanish and Savoyard Ambassadors, and Cardinal *Pellevé* Archbishop of *Rheims* (an old protector and favourer of the League) were all come into that City to the appointed Meeting; and there their common interests were with long discourses exactly treated of: wherein, though every one did under various colours and pretences palliate the interests of his own designs, yet was it very clearly seen they could not all agree in the same end. The Spaniards trusted upon their power, and the necessity that others had of their assistance; the Nuncio upon the Majesty of the Apostolic See, and upon the foundation of Religion; asserting that the authority of disposing those matters was proper and peculiar to the Pope: the Duke of *Lorain* grounded himself upon fitness and decency, as Head of the Family, and pretended that the rest ought in reverence to yeeld to his pretensions; the Duke of *Savoy* aspired to the acquisition of Provence; the Duke of *Mercœur* to that of Bretagne; the Duke of *Alençon* designed to Canton himself in his Governments; and finally, the Duke of *Mayenne*, General of the Armies, and leader of his party, trusted upon the union of the people, and the concurrence of the Nobility that bore an affection to his name. But things were not yet ripe; and every one proceeding with great wariness and secrecy, concealed his own thoughts, and made shew to be moved onely by the consideration of the general good; which being observed by the Duke of Mayenne, and being confident that with time, opportunity, and his pre-

nt managery, he should bring the rest to consent to his opi-  
n, having onely concluded with their common forces to  
pose the coming of the King's forraign supplies, all other  
ngs were remitted till a more seasonable time, the Duke  
ving demonstrated that it was necessary to employ the pre-  
t in action, and not in consultation; the King's Germans  
ng already upon their march, and he himself continuing  
sperously in the progresse of the War.

The Meeting  
at Rheims dis-  
solves without  
any determi-  
nation.

Wherefore the Meeting at *Rheims* broke up without  
other determination, and onely the Duke of Mayene lost  
tle of that confidence he had conceived of the Pope's adhe-  
ce, having found the *Nuncio* in all things inseparable from  
interests of Spain; whereupon, designing to make use of  
Ecclesiastical Forces onely to hinder the entry of forraign-  
in other matters he was resolved not to trust to any but his  
ench-men. To this end he presently dispatched a Gentle-  
in all haste to President *Jeannin*, who already was arrived  
pain, to give him directions not so much to labour for sup-  
is of Spanish or Italian Forces, as to procure Pay for a set  
ber of French Foot and Horse, under pretence that the  
bers of those two Nations were unwilling to obey his com-  
ds, and that with French Forces, which scorned not to ac-  
nowledge him, and were acquainted with their own Coun-  
he might sooner, more easily, and with fewer rubs, effect  
e common interests. To the same purpose he by redou-  
e Messengers gave commission to *Des Portes* to sollicite the  
pe for an expresse order that his Army under the Duke of  
one-*Marciano* should stay in Lorain, and there, united with  
at Duke's Forces and the supplies from Flanders, should  
opse the coming of the Viscount *de Turenne*; alledging that  
as the principal means to hinder the King from assist-  
ed, and very easily to become Conquerours in the War:  
nd having already agreed upon with the *Nuncio*, whom  
hd easily made believe that the sum of affairs consisted in  
he with his own Forces took his way towards *Pa-*  
nd *Normandy*, to withstand the King's daily pro-  
ess.

The Duke of *Monte-Marciano*'s Forces were considerable;  
ic being drawn together at *Lodi*, chosen by the Catholike  
ings permission for a place of *Rendezvous*, they amounted  
th number of one thousand and two hundred Horse, and  
two



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The Pope  
sends 1200  
Horse & 6000  
Foot into  
France under  
the command  
of the Duke of  
Monte-Marci-  
ano.

two thousand Foot, all under noble and experienced Commanders : to these, four thousand Swisses were to joyn, being raised in the Catholike Cantons by the Pope's money taken out of the Castle. The Catholike King's Forces destined for Flanders, consisting of two *Tertia's* of Foot, and four hundred Horse, commanded by *Marco Pio* and the Governour of *Alexandria*, marched with the Pope's Army making the same Voyage. To this Body which (passing from the confines of Savoy thorow the County of Bourgogne) was to come into Lorain, the Army of that Duke intended to joyn it self, being already four thousand effective Foot, and eight hundred Horse; so that the confederate Princes made account that the King's Germans (though he with all his Forces should advance to receive them) would not be able to resist; and at their entry into the Kingdom, must either dissolve of themselves, or be defeated.

The people of  
Rouen dissuading  
the Viscount de  
*Tavannes* their  
Governour,  
make an Insurrec-  
tion.

But the Duke of Mayene being departed from the Assembly, had posted with infinite speed to *Rouen*, in which City the people, ill satisfied with the Government of Monsieur de *Tavannes*, were furiously risen up in Arms to drive him out; and *André Brancace* Sieur de *Villars*, Governour of *Havre de Grace*, being come thither with some number of men, for fear the City should revolt, and put it self into the King's power, there was afterwards such emulation and enmity sprung up between those two Heads, that they were in danger to assault each other, which could not come to passe without much blood, nor without exceeding great hazard of the Cities falling into the enemies hands. The Duke arrived so opportunely, that if he had stayed but one day longer, matters could not have been composed without a great deal of mischief: but his coming bridled both those Heads: and being unwilling that discord should endanger a place of so great moment, he satisfied the desires of the people and Parliament, by chusing his son *Henry de Lorain* Governour of the City; and because he was very young, he made the same Sieur de *Villars* his Lieutenant, who was a man of exceeding high spirit and singular valour, and sent the Viscount de *Tavannes*, his old servant, to command as Camp-Master-General, under the Government of his Duke of Aumale in the Province of *Picardy*.

About that very time, *la Fere*, a place of wonderful importance upon the confines of *Picardy*, was like to have revolted

the Marquesse *de Menelay* who had that Government (though on the beginning he had been most obstinately for the League, yet at this time) having changed his minde, whatsoever the reason was, he had secretly agreed to deliver up the place, and to go over to the King's party. For this purpose the King himself lingred with his Army in those parts: but the Duke having had notice of the businesse, or (as some said) only suspecting it, dispatched the *Vice-Seneschal de Montelimar* whom for his sagacity he was wont to make use in the most important occurrences) and the *Sieur de Magny* Lieutenant of his Guards, unto *la Feré*, with order that if they could not get the Marquesse out of the place by other means, they should endeavour to take away his life as speedily as possibly they could; nor did they fail to effect what was given them in charge; for being come into the Town, and having delivered Letters from the Duke to the Captains of the Garison, while the Governour was at Masse, without staying till he should resolve upon any thing, they set upon him suddenly he came out of the Church, and having found him unprovided and half astonished, killed him with two Stoccadoes; without any opposition made themselves Masters of the place. This action, more proper for an absolute Prince, than the Head of a Confederacy, displeased many, though the Duke laboured to shew, that extreme necessity had produced it against his will; and much more did it displease, that the Government was given to *Montelimar*, one of the murderers whereupon it was publickly said, That the arms of the League were always blunt, but when they were used against their friends.

The Marquesse *de Menelay* is killed by order from the Duke of Mayene, because he would have delivered up *la Feré* to the King, and have gone over to his party.

Great was the commotion of mens mindes by reason of the Marquesse's bloud and dependencies, and because it displeased all, that the Duke should arrogate so absolute a power unto himself: whereupon he, who knew he had lost much of his credit, and that it was necessary to revive it again by some notable enterprize, (for ordinarily later actions do in great measure cancell and take away the memory of former ones) resolved to give a *scalado* to Mante, where the King's Council and many Lords, Prelats, and most of the Officers of the Town that adhered to him; but without that guard which the equality of their persons and the weaknesse of the place required; and thinking this attempt so great, if he could bring



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bring it to perfection, that it must needs increase the glory of his name, and exceedingly weaken the King's party, and the prosperity of his affairs; he commanded out the men that were in Paris, and the Garisons of Meaux, Dreux, and Pontoise, and having chosen a very dark rainy night, he drew near on two sides with scaling-ladders to the wals of the Town (in a situation whereof was by long practice perfectly known to him) with assured hopes by reason of the small number of souldiers that were within, to enter it without much trouble; but it so pleased fortune, that in both places he found the sentinels watchfull, at whose cries the guards betaking themselves to their arms, ran up to make good the wall; and yet this would have been but a weak supply, and not able long to have resisted the assailants, if the Lords of the Councell themselves (not failing in what concerned their own safety) and with more courage then could be expected from gown-men, had not run with their servants to re-inforce the guards; so that the Duke's souldiers wet, tired, and by rain in great part deprived of the use of their Muskets, not being able to get up to the top of the walls, which they thought they should have found slenderly guarded; but on the contrary, many of the ladders falling, and being broken, they were beaten off by the defendants, and retired without fruit, the assault proving in the end much fuller of noise then blood. Yet did not

The Duke of Mayene gives a scalado to Mure, where the Prelats, Lords, and Officers of the Kings party were, weakly guarded: but being discovered, is beaten off.

He goes to assault the Swisshes at Hudan, & having found them well fortified, is faine to return.

Duke lose courage for this; but knowing that part of the King's Swisshes were quartered at *Hudan*, he hastened with the same celerity the day after to fall upon them, but without effect; for having found them excellently fortified and entrenched, he was forced likewise to march from thence without having obtained any thing; much praise being due either unto the vigilancy or good fortune of the King's souldiers, that had frustrated the Duke's prudence and celerity.

But the danger of *Mante* had been so great in the opinion of discreet men, that *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venerian Ambassadour shewed it was a great temerity to stay for another of the Duke's attempts in that weak place so poorly manned; and perswaded the Councell, and the other Lords that were there, to retire to *Chartres*, where besides the greatnesse and commodiousnesse of the City, they might stay with more security, and also be much more secure, in regard of the strength of the place, and quality of the garison that kept it. The King

By the Councell of *Mocenigo* the Venerian Ambassadour the King removes his Officers and Prelats from *Mante* to *Chartres*.

approach

proved of this determination, which (as all things are not  
nembred by all men) he had not thought of before; and  
ng come to Compeigne, began to make ready his Army,  
t he might advance to receive his forreign Forces: but be-  
se he had not yet had intelligence of their setting forward;  
resolved in the mean time (that he might not spend it un-  
profitably) to lay siege to *Noyon*, a Town upon the confines  
Champagne and Picardy, which, because it was much bet-  
provided of Horse then Foot, molested all the ways round  
out, and did incommode those places that held for him in  
ose parts. The reason that perswaded him to ease himself  
it, did also render it lesse difficult to be taken, being full of  
orse, whereby the siege became more easie, and ill-provided  
Foot, and those other things that were requisite for the de-  
ce of it, and particularly of Ammunition: wherefore ha-  
g drawn all his Army together, upon the five and twen-  
th of July he caused the *Mareschal de Biron* to take up his  
arter within a mile of the *Fauxbourgs* of the Town; and  
same day the *Sieur de Rienx* perceiving the King's inten-  
n, departed from *Pierrefont* with threescore Horse, and  
many Foot mounted behinde them, each having a bag of  
vder at his saddle-bow, and passing secretly thorow the  
ods, got into the City, and gave great relief to the De-  
dants.

*Noyon* is seated between a Mountain and a Fenn, ha-  
ing on the South side the fen caused by the overflows of  
h River *Oyse* in that place; and on the North the Mountain,  
step, and not very accessible; behind it thick spacious woods  
liend themselves for many miles; and no other way lies  
open save onely before, thorow a little plain that comes to the  
Gae of *S' Eloy*, and to the rich Abby situate neer the Faux-  
borg. The Town was encompassed with old walls, and  
got towers from place to place; but both the towers and  
becurtine very well lined with earth. The *Mareschal de*  
*Biron* having viewed the situation, encamped before the City  
a little distance from the River, with a thought to assault  
he Fauxbourg and Abby that were in the Plain, and out of  
he fen, and by that means to make himself a way to the Moat,  
hich of a great breadth encompasseth the Town on that  
side. Monsieur *de Ville* Governour of the Town, on the o-  
ther side, knowing the weaknesse of the Garison, and the want

The situation  
of Noyon, be-  
sieged by the  
King.



1591 of many things, had not ceased some few days before the siege, nor did yet cease, after the Army appeared, to sollicite relief, redoubling Letters and Messages both to the Viscount de Tavannes, and the Duke of Anmale Governour of the Province, who no lesse solicitous then he, dispatched first the Sieur de Griboval with an hundred Foot, and about twenty Horse, and then the Sieur de Tremble-court with his Regiment, though reduced to a small number of men, to try if thorow the woods they could get by stealth into the Town; but both of them charg'd by the Garisons of Chauny, Corbie, and Cateaux, were defeated by the way, so that Griboval scarce entered with sixteen of his Foot, and Tremble-court could not come, or not within many miles of Noyon. The losse of these necessitated the Viscount de Tavannes to put himself in hazard attempting to get in; and therefore being departed from Roye upon the first of August in the evening with five hundred Fire-locks, and three hundred Horse to convoy them, under favour of the night, he drew neer the guards of the Army an hour before day, with great hope to passe between guard and guard, before the Camp should have put themselves in order to oppose them; but the Sieur d'Arges, who by order from Biron had been out the same night with a party of fifty light-Horse scowring the wayes, chanced suddenly to meet him, and not losing courage, though he had so few men with him, but valiantly making ready their arms, and beginning the skirmish with hot vollies of shot, was the cause that all the other parties which were abroad made haste to the same place: wherefore they of the League seeing themselves discovered, and not knowing well in the dark by what number of Enemies they were so bravely charged (as the errors of the night are commonly pernicious without blood) they hurried themselves without opposition, and in a very great fear took flight severall wayes; onely the Viscount de Tavannes, whilest with his sword in his hand he endeavoured to stop his Souldiers, being wounded in the arm and in the thigh, was at last taken prisoner by the Sieur d'Arges himself.

The Viscount de Tavannes going to put relief into Noyon, is defeated and taken prisoner.

The Duke of Anmale, upon whose Government the affairs of that Province did depend, was much troubled at this ill fortune of his Officers, and resolved to attempt the reliefe himself, being most certain, that if Foot and Ammunition

were not put into the Town, it must of necessity be lost within a few days : wherefore marching from *Han* upon the seventh of August in the evening with six hundred Horse and nine hundred Foot, to the end that his men might be ready, and not lose courage in the dark, as the others had done, he determined to beat up one of the King's quarters by break of day, and (whilst they sounded the Alarm there, and were fighting) endeavour to put in relief openly by day, rather than put himself in danger of being disordered by night. With this intention coming up to the Plain along the great high-way which leads directly to the gate, he suddenly fell upon one of the quarters of the King's Light-horse that lay without the Trenches, under cover of some scattered houses upon the same way. The assault was fierce, and the defence no less, with which the *Sieur d'Arges* (a young Gentleman of high courage) and his other companions sustained it : But the Duke of Aumale still redoubling his fury with fresh Horse, and Colonel *Beranglise* being come up with the Foot that followed, the Light-horse, though they fought valiantly, would have lost their quarter, and left the way free to the relief, if *Biron* had not come in to help them with three hundred Cuirassiers, and two hundred Reiters ; at whose arrival the Duke being furiously charged in the flank, and even the Light-horse recovering vigour, who before gave back, the enemies advance was stopped, until such time as new supplies coming up one after another, and the Infantry of the Camp already all in Arms, being fallen into their ranks to defend their posts, the Duke of Aumale was constrained (though still fighting) to retire ; in which Retreat, with the loss of sixty of his men, and the death of the *Sieur de Longchamp* a Soldier of great experience, and of *Francisco Guevarra* a Captain of Spanish Light-horse, he was followed to the very walls of *Han*, not having been able to give any relief at all to the besieged.

The Duke of Aumale going to relieve Noyon, after a sharp fight retreated.

But the Duke of Mayene being advertised of the siege of *Noyon*, had diligently sent for the *Sieur de Rosne* with the Forces that were in Champagne, and for the Prince of *Ascoli*, sent by the Duke of Parma with eight hundred Horse and three thousand Foot ; and being joyned with them at *la Fere*, came up to *Han* upon the tenth of August ; and having quartered his Army upon the way towards Noyon, but with the River between, he thought his presence would give sufficient courage

The Duke of Mayene having heard of the siege of Noyon, marches with his Army to Han, to give courage to the besieged.



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to the defendants. But the King having settled his quarters in the most convenient places, and having made his approaches so far, had begun already to batter the Abbey that stood without the Fauxbourg; which was obstinately defended by the besieged, to keep the enemy as far as possibly they could from the wall. The King having caused five Pieces of Canon to be planted against this Abbey, had so beaten it down, that being assaulted by the Foot, upon the eighth day they took it, killing thirty of the defendants, and taking above fifty others of them; which did so much the more weaken the Garison, that of itself was too weak to defend the circuit of the Town. But it was necessary to suspend the progresse of the siege, by reason of the Duke of Mayene's coming: for his strength being in thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, it was thought, that not being able to relieve the place any other way, rather than lose it, he would joyn battel with the King.

Yet the opinions in his Camp were very different: some Prince of *Ascoli* thought not the losse of that place of so great concernment, that, to divert it, it was fit to incur the uncertainty of a Battel, with the hazard of those onely Forces that were in being to resist the enemy; and considered that in the Pope's and Catholike King's supplies which had already passed the mountains, being expected, it would be a very strange rashnesse to put that now in the power of Fortune, which within a few days might be made more certain, and more secure. The Duke of *Annale* on the other side, thorowly vexed at this late misfortune, and longing to piece it up again, argued that the losse of that place was of great moment to the affairs of the Province, for that in those quarters there remained no other important Town of their party; but that their reputation was of much greater importance, which would be much diminished, if being come up to the very face of the enemy with Forces in number not inferiour to theirs, they should let that place be taken from them without stirring, or disputing it with the sword. The Duke of Mayene assented to the more secure advice, partly because he was of a nature not much inclined to dangerous resolutions, partly because with the Prince of *Ascoli* and the Spaniards he did more by intreaty then command; and he saw them very resolute in not consenting by any means to the hazard of a Battel.

The Duke of Mayene resolves not to hazard a Battel with the King.

But the King, desirous to finde out what the enemy intended

having no quicker way to make himself certain of it, caused the Marechal *de Biron* to passe the River with the greater part of his Horse, to see if the Duke would move to fight, or keep fast in his quarters. But as soon as the Marechal was advanced within sight of *Han*, and of the Army of the League, which was encamped in the midst of the great highway, he found the Country clear and free; nor did any stir of their quarters to skirmish in the plain field: which having come to passe, not one day alone, but three together successively, the King apprehending that the Duke thought to defend *Noyon* with nothing but the reputation of his being for it, took heart, and caused the Courtine of *S<sup>t</sup> Eloy* to be entered upon the fifteenth day; and having beaten down the works on each side, on the sixteenth day in the morning, being resolved to give the assault, he made his Cavalry passe over the River as he was wont to do, that they might be in readiness if the enemy should stir; and having drawn his Foot into their divisions, gave the Baron *de Biron* order to advance to assault the Town. Monsieur *de Ville* having as long as he might expected relief in vain, and seeing himself in such a condition, that he was not able to resist that fierce assault which was preparing against him, caused a signe to be made that he would parley, and in a few hours concluded to surrender, if within two days the Duke of Mayene did not either fight, or put at least five hundred men into the Town: which being agreed upon, and Hostages given on both sides, he dispatched a Gentleman to the Duke of Mayene, to let him know the Agreement; who having consulted again with his Commanders, and concluded as they before had determined, he went off to the walls of *Han* the same evening; and the Sieur *de Ville* sincerely performing the Agreement, delivered up *Noyon* upon the eighteenth day into the hands of Monsieur *de La Roche* for the King.

The Sieur *de Ville* Governor of *Noyon* seeing the King's Forces ready to give the assault, parleys, and concludes to surrender the place, if it were not relieved within two days; which is performed.

After the taking of *Noyon*, mens mîndes on both sides were set up with the expectation of the forraign Forces, which of unequal fortune delayed to appear: for the Germans, who to the number of eight thousand Foot and four thousand Horse had been raised by the Viscount *de Turenne*, by the help of the Protestant Princes, moved with great difficulty for want of money, and expected that for the drawing together and maintenance of them, a great sum should be furnished from England;



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land; which the Queen being to raise upon her people, who had promised to pay it upon certain conditions, matters were not so soon ordered, nor did the conditions prove of mutual satisfaction: for the English continuing desirous to re-establish footing in France, and particularly in Normandy, a Province in former times long possessed by them, had promised the Queen three hundred thousand Ducats to be spent in the affairs of France, provided she got some convenient Sea-port to be given her, not onely for security of their money, but also for a landing-place of Commerce, and that they might more commodiously traffique in the Kingdom of France: which being at first demanded, and now again, under pretence of the earnest importunity of her Subjects, effectually urged by the Queen, no lesse then liberty of conscience for the Hugonots, kept the King in a great deal of trouble, not being willing to deprive himself of *Diepe*, the place where he had tried to sustain the first encounters of his fortune; much lesse of *Lais*, upon which the English had too strong pretensions; and the other places were in possession of the League: wherefore he at last propounded, and (by sending the *Sieur de Sales*, a Hugonot Gentleman) gave firm promise to the Queen that he would lay siege to the City of *Roüen*, towards the taking whereof if the English would help with men and money, he would give them some reasonable jurisdiction in it, to the end that they might freely and securely traffique; and then if he could take *Caudebac* and *Harfleur*, Towns neer that City, he would consign unto them one of those Ports, which might serve for a free open retreat for their shipping. To which Conditions while the English unwillingly consented, and while they were treated of on both sides with usual caution, the coming of the Germans was protracted; nor could they ever be got to move, till the first one hundred thousand Ducats were paid down, and assignements given for the other two hundred thousand.

The Duke of Savoy obtains that the Pope's Forces marching towards France, should stay some time in his State, to strengthen his designs against the *Sieur Les Dignieres*.

On the other side, the Duke of *Monte-Marciano*, and his Forces which from Milan marched towards Flanders, at the Duke of Savoy's urgent importunities had received order to stay for some days within his State, to the end that with their countenance and assistance he might recover some places which had been taken from him, and repress the Forces of *Monte-Les Dignieres*, who fiercely bestirred himself, sometimes

lat

Dauphiné, sometimes in Provence. The Duke was troubled  
 at the King's party had taken some places, though of no  
 great importance; but he was much more troubled at a Fort  
 which *Lefdignieres* had begun to raise over against Mont-  
 millan: wherefore having obtained that the Italian Army,  
 likewise four thousand Swisſes raised by the Pope should  
 come some time with him, he spurred up *Don Amadeo* for the  
 recovery of that Fort, called *Moreſtello* from the place where  
 it was built, and he with other Forces entered into Dauphiné  
 another way, while Count *Francesco Martinengo* with the  
 greatest strength of his Army besieged and firelightened the  
 Town of *Barre* in Provence. Monsieur *Lefdignieres* who was  
 sometimes to assist in the affairs of Dauphiné, some-  
 times to help Monsieur *de la Valette* in Provence, was now set  
 forward to raise the siege of *Barre*, while *la Valette* besieged  
 and battered *Gravion*; but being arrived so late, that the De-  
 fendants had already artickled to surrender it, after some slight  
 encounters he was return'd with exceeding great celerity to  
 relieve Fort *Moreſtello*, and with four hundred Horse and three  
 thousand Foot was advanced as far as *Ponte Chiarra*, a  
 place neerer and proper for his intention; which being  
 known to the Savoyards, who were strengthened with  
 some of the Pope's Forces, they rose silently from the siege,  
 which they had continued already many dayes, and leaving  
 the Fort behinde them, encamped themselves upon the  
 way by which they saw the French Army would ad-  
 vance. But *Lefdignieres* having himself viewed and disco-  
 vered the Camp and number of the Enemy, and making no  
 great account of the raw men that were in that Army, in com-  
 parison of his old Souldiers, resolved to fight, thinking with  
 his force boldnesse easily to strike a terrour in them. Where-  
 fore both the Armies being between the Mountain and the  
 River *Isare*, in a narrow place, which favoured the small num-  
 ber of his Forces, he parted his Infantry into two Bodies, one  
 of which he sent up by the steep of the hill, and the other as-  
 sailed on the bank of the River, and he keeping the Plain with his  
 Cavalry divided into four Squadrons, with some Musketiers  
 mixed and placed among the Horse, advanced resolutely to  
 attack the Enemy. The Savoyards having drawn up the  
 Army in very good order, advanced likewise, and received  
 the encounter in the Front very couragiously; but while they  
 fought

The Duke of  
 Savoy besiegeth  
 the Fort of  
 Moreſtello.



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The Savoyards  
are routed and  
defeated by the  
French.

President Jeannin  
returns from Spain; but  
brings no resolution  
to the Duke of Mayene.

The Duke of Mayene since the taking of Noyon, to put in order and increase his Army, had stayed still at Han (where the King victoriously advancing over-ran the whole County) in which place President *Jeannin*, being returned from the Court of Spain, found him, but brought back no pleasing answer to any of those things he had negotiated with the Catholick King. The Duke of Mayene had been of opinion, that the artificiall reserv'd proceedings of the Spaniards sprung from the nature and will of the Ministers ill-affected to his person, or desirous to do more then what was given them in charge by the Royal Council; he thought that the Duke of Parma, a very wary prudent Souldier, would not willingly hazard his reputation against the King, followed by almost an invincible Nobility, and in his actions prompt, fearlessse and resolute; he believed that *Diego d'Ivarr*, nor *Mendoza* (who for many particular accidents were ill-imposed towards him) either to make him lose his credit, or out of covetousnesse, did convert those moneys that were given to other uses, and often disposed of them without his pr

cy at their own pleasures, and did assuredly think that as  
on as the Catholick King was once fully informed of the  
airs of France, of the interests of every one, and of his  
ins, endeavours, and authority, he would soon resolve in  
our of him, give him sufficient assistance to make an end of  
e War, and permit him to negotiate the getting of the Crown  
himself : for this cause he had deprived himself of the help  
d counsell of President *Jeannin*, sending him to the Court,  
one privie to all his most secret thoughts, well informed of  
particulars, full of wary prudence, and for experience and  
quence able to undergo the weight of so difficult a busi-  
lle. But both he and the Pesident found themselves much  
ceived in their opinion ; for (whether that had been the  
n of the Spaniards from the beginning, or that the counsell  
ven and imprinted by the Ministers that resided in France  
d caused that resolution) they in Spain desired the War  
ould be drawn out in length with a slow progresse ; that the  
uke of Mayene should not rise so high in credit and autho-  
y with his party, as to be able to dispose of things by him-  
ef, and that by degrees the way might be facilitated, either  
the union of the Crowns, or to the election of the *Infanta*  
*Isabella*, which could not without long time and much patience  
obtained ; and at least (if nothing else could be done) they  
ould make themselves sure, that so many expences and  
oubles should redound to the profit and augmentation of  
hir Monarchy : Wherefore when *Jeannin* was come thi-  
ht, he in his first audience found that King *Philip* was fully  
nformed in all things, and very far from that inclination which  
th Duke of Mayene at so great a distance had fancied to him-  
se : yet did he with all possible arts labour in his following au-  
diences to take away those impressions w<sup>ch</sup> he thought contrary  
to the Duke's interests, & to perswade the King to concur with  
him in his own ends ; but all was in vain, nor could he see that he  
advanced or profited any thing ; for treating about mony, he not  
only found the King indisposed to allow a greater sum then he  
w<sup>as</sup> wont ; but even those very moneys which before were given  
to the Du. of Mayene, he had now determined should passe thro-  
ugh the hands of his Ministers (though with the Duke's partici-  
pation) alledging that he had seen but very smal fruits of so many  
expences, and that he would not have his supplies to be secret,  
but that every one should see & know from whence they came ;

The King of  
Spains answers  
to President  
*Jeannin*.



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and should be obliged for them to the principall Authour. Then concerning the Armies, he said, his will was they should advance into France to help against the danger of Religion, and to establish a Catholick King that might be generally liked of; but that the Duke of Parma could not so soon leave *Flanders*, the States of *Holland* having taken *Zutfen* in *Frisland*, and other places in *Brabant*, and that it was needfull not to proceed longer by chance, without knowing what was to be done; and that therefore it was necessary to assemble the States to resolve upon the election of a King, to the end that they might go on with order and deliberation to a certain determinate end: Finally, as for the paying of the Duke of Mayene's French Forces raised and commanded by him, he said he was ready to do it when the principall resolution was once taken; wherefore he concluded, that he would send a new Ambassadour into France to declare his intention to the States, and to cause that to be determined of which was necessary for the perfecting of the enterprize; and that in the mean time he would give order to the Duke of Parma to return into France as soon as the affairs of Flanders would permit; but that time was not to be lost, and that the Assembly of States ought to be appointed and called; til the end of which he was not disposed to make any more powerful expedition of men or moneys. This was the last conclusion; nor could *Jeannin*, by urging the state of affairs, the confidences of the French, the interests of that party, the merits of the House of Lorain, the pains and authority of the Duke of Mayene, obtain any thing more; And with this resolution he was returned to give the Duke an account thereof, who more perplexed then ever he had been, and having lost the confidence that his arts should overcome those of the Spaniards, was also overtaken with new trouble, at the liberty of his Nephew *Charles* Duke of Guise.

That Prince, since the death of his father, had always been kept prisoner; nor, though his freedom had been much treasured of, had any attempt ever succeeded; and the King had always stiffly denied to change him for any body, alledging that he was not a prisoner of War, but of Justice: nor (though his mother made great complaints and exclamations) had the Duke of Mayene ever cared much to get his liberty; foreseeing that his freedom would endanger the division of his party.

reason of the dependance that many would have upon him; respect of the memory of his father, and of benefits received from him; and that the common people would willingly incur to exalt him: so that if he would not acknowledge his inferiority, but should attempt to put himself in the place now held by his Father and Grandfather, the League was without doubt like to be divided and disunited: wherefore he determined not to apply himself in good earnest to procure his freedom, till things were reduced to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to disturb them if he were at liberty: But now, whether the King (as some believed) foreseeing the same, had underhand given way to his enlargement, or that the *Sieur de la Chastre* an old servant and dependant of his father's, who had the neer Government of *Berry*, had prosperously procured it; certain it is, that having plotted and agreed with a Lackey & a *Valet de Chambre* with a very swift horse, sent *la Chastre*, should stay for him in the fields under the Castle of *Tours*, in which he was kept prisoner, he upon the fifteenth of August, being risen from table about noon, and having forwarde shut himself up in his chamber to take his rest, while the Guards that kept him and his other servants entertained themselves merrily eating and drinking, he having locked them dexterously into the room where they were at dinner, went to the top of a Tower that stood toward the field, and with a ladder of silk, which had been secretly sent him in a Pie, let himself down the wall, with exceeding great danger; and becoming safe to the ground, ran along the side of the River *Cher* towards the fields, where he found the horse and those who expected him; and with infinite speed galloped to find the *Baron de la Maison* son to the *Sieur de la Chastre*, who stayed with him some few miles off beyond the River *Cher*, with three hundred Horse; wherewith being convoyed into *Berry*, he was received with infinite signes of joy in the City of *Bourges*. Monsieur de *Souvray* Governour of *Tours*, and Monsieur de *la Roche* (who since the wound received in his left arm in those *combats*, had ever stayed in that Town) having heard news that *la Chastre's* Horse were roving about those parts, and suspecting some intelligence in the City, had for some days kept the Gates shut, and looked more strictly to their Guards than they were wont: but being suddenly advertised by Captain *Souvray* Governour of the Castle of the Duke's flight, they

*Charles Duke of Guise having been long kept prisoner at Tours, escapes at noon-day, and flees to Bourges.*



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entered, or feigned to enter into a much greater suspicion, and caused the Gates to be opened with so much caution (because they would first draw all the Souldiery into Arms, and make a diligent discovery without) that the Duke having had the advantage of above an hour and half, could not afterward be overtaken by those that followed him; which confirmed the jealousie some had that the King had secretly commanded he should be permitted to escape, since that all those days, Letters and Messages were without restraint suffered to come to him, and Presents to be sent, among which was the Pie with the silk ladder in it, without which his escape could not have been effected.

The Duke of Mayene inwardly afflicted for the Duke of Guise's escape, strives to shew signes of joy, and treats underhand with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the other Lords that endeavour to set a third party on foot.

This news being brought to the Heads of the two parties, as it did not displease the King, who hoped some good would grow out of that evil; so did it pierce the Duke of Mayene the quick, especially in that present conjuncture of time, when he was diffident of the Spaniards, and of many French of the party, who were ill satisfied with him: yet dissembling this affection, and not losing courage, having expressed fitting joy at the freedom of his Nephew, he exhorted him as soon as he could to come unto him, thinking that not being well informed of matters, nor known to many, as soon as he should come with him, he would yeeld to his age, prudence, and the position wherein he was of governing all things: and having taken course to art, to bridle the arts of the other Confederates, presently, by the means of Monsieur *de Villeroy*, caused a Treaty of Intelligence to be begun with the Cardinal of Bourbon and the other Princes of the blood, whom he knew (by the relation of the *Sieur des Portes*) to be discontented with the King, and to try to set on foot a third and different party; judging that he should by that means beget a jealousie in the Spaniards, and necessitate them to consent, if not to all, at least to many of his demands. Nor was *Villeroy* (being always desirous that the War should end in an Accommodation) slow, by the means of his brother the Abbot *de Chesny*, to promote that Treaty, which with hopes and imaginary Conditions was artificially kept alive.

But the King (who had got an inkling of the businesse) standing between the machinations of these, which did necessarily lead him to his conversion, & the earnest desires of the English, and the Princes of Germany (who urged him to give them place in hi

Kingdom, and securities for the liberty of Religion, where they pretended that he must still persevere, if he would have their assistance ) was no lesse afflicted then the Duke of Mayene : which affliction increased much, after he was arrived at Sedan : for the moneys of England were not yet disbursed, and the Germans had therefore delayed their coming so long, that it was thought the Popish and Spanish Forces would get into Lorain before them ; and to his other troubles was added, that *Charlotte de la Mark* Heireffe of that Dutchy, being not in that City, of an age ripe and marriageable, he was forced to take a resolution of matching her, lest the Duke of Lorain preventing him ( as he had a most earnest desire ) should give her to wife to one of his sons. As the importance of that Dutchy, and particularly of the City of Sedan, did necessitate the King to provide that it might not fall to the Duke of Lorain ; so did it keep him in great doubt to whom he should give that Lady in Marriage, who carried with her the possession of a state of so great consequence. *Carlo Gonzaga* son to the Duke of Nevers, aspired to this Match, confining with her lands by the Dutchy of *Retelois*, whereof he bore the title ; and her being of the Hugonot Religion, as likewise the people and Gentry of those places, was the cause the King would not resolve to satisfie him, lest he should alienate that party from him, and discontent those whom he laboured to keep with so much pains and industry. On the other side, he doubted that the Duke of Nevers ( of a nature apt to take dis gusts ) should be offended, if he should propose any other Match of inferior quality to his son : Which contrary considerations, since they had held him some days in suspence, it being necessary to resolve, at last he concluded to marry her to the Viscount of *Turenne*, as well because of the confidence he had in him, as because he was of the same Religion ; and much more, to reward him for his excellent service done in raising and bringing in the forraign Army : but it presently produced that effect which the King had before apprehended : for the Duke of Nevers was incensed to such a height, that he began to incline to those that pressed his conversion, and to hold secret intelligence with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Angueville* his son-in-law, and with the rest of the new party who made shew to move principally for Religion, which he said was trampled under foot, and themselves deceived, while

*Charlotte de la Mark* Heir to the Dutchy of *Bouillon*, is given in Marriage to *Henry de la Tour Viscount de Turenne*; at which the Duke of *Nevers* is dis gusted.



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while notwithstanding all promises, those were advanced in strength and power, who openly professed to live and die Hugonots. Nor was there any other remedy for this mischief, save to be incessantly in action, & not to suffer idleness to give nourishment to those thoughts, but to let victorious enterprises put to silence and quiet those spirits which were yet kept hidden in the breasts of men: for which cause, he laboured so much in soliciting the march of the German Army, and in sending them those sums by little and little, which with infinite diligence he had been able to get together from several parts, that in the end he joyned with them, before the Popish and Spanish Armies were come up to crosse that union, as the Duke of Mayene had ever striven and endeavoured to do: so great an error, that it rendered vain all those so vast expenses made, and so many labours undergone, for the gathering together and bringing in of those Forces: for they having considerably spent their time in Savoy, to attend business that did no ways advance the sum of the War, arrived not soon enough to hinder the King's joyning with the Germans, upon which depended the principal point of the War of this year.

The King being joyned with the German Army, takes Attigny, whither all the wealth of the neighbouring people had been brought in, and grants the pillage of it to the Germans.

Now the King united, without opposition, with the Viscount *de Turenne*, and having taken many Castles about *Meuse* and *Sedan*, at last assaulted *Attigny* a great Town, into which all the riches, goods and cattel of the neighbouring places were reduced; and having very prosperously taken it, he gave all the pillage (which was very great) unto the Germans, who being ill provided of money, were refreshed and quiet for some time: after which booty, the King (always ready to embrace valiant counsels) thought good to try whether the Commanders of the League had the heart to come to a Battle, wherefore having known that the Forces of the Pope, the Duke of Lorain and the Duke of Mayene were also at *Verdun*, he would needs draw up to them, and provoke them by his presence, and all other possible means to put it to a day, judging the Italian Forces to be yet raw, and the Duke of Lorain's not well assured, and therefore no way to be compared to his.

Wherefore being departed from *Attigny* upon the first of October, he quartered that night with his Van-guard at *Gratipré*, upon which day Monsieur *d'Amblise*, who commanded

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of the Lorain Forces, having marched from *Montfaulcon*, joined with the Army of the League. The next day about on the King arrived with his Army within sight of *Verdun*, making his Squadrons largely imbattelled along the plain. On the other side, they of the League who were encamped about the City, drew themselves up in battalia under the Duke of Lothringen; the Italians having the right Wing, the Duke of Lothringen the Battell, and the Duke of Mayene's French the left; the Duke himself commanding and ordering the whole as he pleased. At the first arrival there began so great a skirmish between the two Armies, that many of the commanders themselves thought it would be a Battell; for the Duke of Praslin, de la Curée, d'Arges, and the Baron de Guiry of the King's light-Horse in four divisions advanced to the face of the Enemy to skirmish, being seconded on the right hand, and on the left, by the Count de Brienne and the Count de Marivaut with two hundred Cuirassiers; and on the other side, Cavalier Avolio, Ottavio Cesis, and Ascanio della Rovere were likewise advanced with the Pope's light-Horse, and the Sieur d'Amblise seconded them with a body of Lorain musketeers. But though the skirmish was very fierce in the beginning, the Sieur de Praslin's horse being killed under him, and the Sieur de la Curée thrown to the ground with the shock of the Lance, the Italians behaving themselves very gallantly everywhere; yet were the Dukes of Lorain and Mayene resolved not to fight, because the Catholick King's Forces that came out of Italy (following their wonted counsels) had resolved to follow them, and were marched straight to join the Duke of Parma, and the Pope's Swisshes were not above three thousand: wherefore not thinking themselves strong enough to deal with the King's Army in so open a place as is the Plain that lies before *Verdun*, the skirmish by order cooled by little and little, and they drawing back their men under the walls (yet without shew of fear) the King took up his quarters, and entrench'd himself within sight of the town, and of their Army.

The King reinforced by the German supplies brought by the Viscount de Turenne, offers battell to the Duke of Mayene in the Plain of Verdun.

All sorts of provisions came in plentifully to the Camp of the League, and the City furnished them with many conveniences, not onely for victuall, but for lodging under cover; whereas the King in the midst of an Enemies Country, and the weather being very rainy, suffered both for want of victuall, and



and conveniency, nor could his souldiers (accustomed to another kinde of discipline) endure the hardship and incommodities of lying in the field in so contrary a season. To other things was added a most cruell storm that night, with thunders, whirlwinds, and infinite rain, which spoiling all the souldiers huts, and overflowing all the Plain, put the whole Army in wonderfull confusion: wherefore next day, the King, although he had stood firm in battalia for many hours, and none of his enemies appearing in the field, faced about with his Army, and marched back to quarter again at *Grandpré*. There the Germans were like to have mutinied, not being paid the money that had been promised them: wherefore the King, who could not do no lesse then perform his promises to the Queen of England, that he might receive the other two hundred thousand ducats, having made provision at *Sedan* (with the jewels and credit of the *Princesse Charlotte*) of a certain sum of money to quiet his Germans, took without delay the way toward *Normandy*, to besiege at last the City of *Rouen*.

The Duke of Mayene, contrary to whose expectation the Pope's Forces had so long delayed their coming, and who had also seen the King of Spain's march streight toward *London* without making any stay, presently dispatched the Count of *Brissac* to the Duke of *Parma*, to protest unto him, that if he entered not into the Kingdom, or sent not such Supplies as should be sufficient to oppose the King, the affairs of the League, and the state of Religion would be very much endangered, and that he should not be able to hinder many from making their peace, as (seeing the slownesse and ill counsels of the Confederates) they daily threatened. The Duke made this protestation more at large to *Diego d'Ivarra*, who was there present, shewing him the wonderfull ill effect which the delays and secret practices of the Spaniards did produce: for if all the Catholick King's expences and forces which he had granted severally, to this man, and to that, in *Bretagne*, *Provence*, *Savoy*, and *Languedoc*, had been put into one Boy, and all imployed to the root of the businesse, and to the spring head of affairs, the victory over the King would thence have ensued, and also the suppression of their enemies in all places: but whilst the division of the League was endeavoured, whilst his counsels were not believed, and whilst the Duke of *Parma* would not advance, the King had found opportunity to

receive his forreign forces, and now being grown powerfull, he over-ran all France at his pleasure, to the admiration and grief of all good men. But these protestations and reasons not availing with *Diego d'Ivarra*, who had received another impression, and was otherwise inclined; and the cause from whence this hardnesse proceeded being cleerly seen by the resolution of President *Jeannin*, the Dukes of Lorain and Mayene not being able any other way to hinder it, agreed together (though secretly) in this generall, to keep close and united together, and not to suffer that any should be admitted to the Crown, not onely who was a stranger, but who was not of their own Family; and that if they were constrained to yeeld to any other persons, a Prince of the Bloud of the Catholick Religion should be chosen, and never to consent either to the alienation or division of the Kingdom. With this firm resolution, confirmed also by a Writing which they signed, the Duke of Mayene set himself in order to prosecute the War, and being departed from *Verdun*, with the Pope's Army and his own, and with the Supplies he had obtained from the Duke of Lorain (who gave way that the Count *de Vandemont*, the Count *de Chaligny*, and the Sieur *de Bassompierre* should follow him) he took the way toward Champagne, that he might not go too far from the Confines, till he heard the demonstrations of Flanders.

The Dukes of Lorain & Mayene agree secretly not to condescend to the election of any to be King of France, nor only that was a stranger, but also that was not of their Family, or at least a Prince of the Bloud of the Catholick Religion.

When the Duke was arrived at *Retel* in Champagne, the Duke of Guise came up to him, accompanied with six hundred horse, all Gentlemen, who upon the fame of his being at liberty, were come in to him; and though at his arrivall their greetings and outward actions shewed kindnesse and confidence in one another; yet did not their secret discourses correspond either to that kindnesse or confidence: for just as the Duke of Mayene had suspected, all those that were unsatisfied with him, turned their eyes upon this young Prince, full of high spirits, of an handsome presence, courteous and affable in his behaviour, and which imported more then all, heir to his Father's name, and to that love which all the people of France had profusely born him. The Parisians, and particularly the Council of *Sixteen*, who could not endure to be kept under by the Duke of Mayene, and that he should dispose of the Offices of the Citie as he pleased, without confiding in any of their number, did openly call upon the name, and desire

The Duke of Mayene being at Retel, the Duke of Guise comes to him well accompanied, and is received with outward shews of love, but in their secret conferences their confidence is not correspondent.



1591 the exaltation of this Prince ; and even the Spaniards applying themselves to do him all possible honours, set him as counterpoise against the Duke of Mayene, with whom they had no good intelligence, because they saw him little inclined to favour their designs. The *Sieur de la Chastre*, the *Sieur de Vins*, and Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul* followed him particularly as in the generall all those that had been obliged by, or had depended upon his Father ; and he, though new come into play, and little informed of affairs, was not in any way failing unto himself : wherefore being by the Duke of Maye and the *Sieur de Bassompierre* made acquainted what they had agreed upon with the Duke of Lorain, *viz.* not to suffer another to rise to the Crown that was not of their Family ; and in case they were forced otherwise, to name a Prince of the Blood he at first excused himself, that he had not yet any information of businesses, and afterwards demanded time to confer with the Dutchesse his Mother ; and finally concluded, that he would not alienate himself from the Spaniards, but would first hear the Duke of *Parma's* opinions, and after dispatch men expressly to that Court, to treat of his affairs with the Catholick King : Neverthelesse the Duke of Mayene full of moderation, and accustomed to overcome all encounters with patience, commending his Nephew's resolution, and making shew that he would favour his advancement, laboured to keep him neer himself, not to give him means or conveniency to thinke or treat of new designs.

Whilest they passed the time here in these businesses, expecting the Count of *Brissac's* return, and the answer from Flanders, the news of the Pope's death arrived, which brought new difficulties in all things ; for the Duke of *Monte-marciانو* not knowing what the Cardinals would determine during the vacancy, nor what the Pope that should be chosen would do, began to interpose delays, and to say he would not stir from what the Duke of Parma should resolve, and *Monsignore Matteucci* Arch-bishop of *Ragusa* Commissary of the Camp, having but little money, proposed the dismissing of the Swisss till new orders (which were to be expected from Rome) should come ; which things, while they detain the Duke of Maye in the same place, a new troublesome accident had like to have turned all the affairs of the League upside down.

The Parisian Council of *Sixteen*, most neerly united with

At the news of the death of Pope *Gregory the 14.* the Duke of *Monte-marciانو* interposes delays, and declares that he will depend upon the will of the Duke of *Parma.*

Preachers, and with the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, having from the very beginning been the *basis* and foundation of the League, had always pretended to rule matters their own way; wherein carrying themselves with those passions and affections that are proper to factious persons, without any regard to the conservation of the members of the Crown, or to the decency and reputation of the French Nation, they onely laboured for those things that might suppress the King, whom they perfectly hated, extinguish the name and party of the Hugonots, and put the reins of Government into the hands of persons that might rule according to their desire and appetite. But the Duke of Mayene, though he owed to these the beginning of his exaltation, the maintenance of the League, the support of the War, and the late defence of Paris, was not yet inclined to follow their ways, but rather (wholly intent upon keeping the Kingdom entire) strove to bridle and moderate their turbulent spirits; wherefore he had from the beginning constituted the Council of State, contradistinct from this, where were many prudent moderate men, who did counterbalance and restrain the course of things: among these, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, President *Jeannin*, the Bishop of *Meaux*, and the *Sieur de Viderville*, who were all averse from the Spanish attempts, and from the inconsiderate zeal of the Preachers. The Duke had also ever endeavoured to maintain the authority of the Parliament in credit and vigour, referring many important businesses unto it, and paying great respect to the Decrees which in divers matters were made by those Counsellours: and though the fidelity of the first President *Brissson* and many others had been suspected, as if they would have laboured to make the City revolt to the King's party; yet he dissembling the matter, was not sorry that one Council should counterpoise the other, and was always displeased when the *Sixteen* accused him and many others of the Council of treachery: for though he saw that some of them were inclined to the King, and managed businesses in favour of him, he did not believe they could do much hurt, but rather help exceedingly to restrain the impetuous determinations of the *Sixteen*, by which he feared to be turned about, if the Parliament should sink in credit and authority. This secret emulation between the Parliament, and the Council of State on the one side, and the Council of *Sixteen* on the

The Council of 16 falls into an emulation with the Parliament of Paris, & with the Council of State chosen by the Duke of Mayene.



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other, discovered it self by little and little, and proceeded so far, that as these were partial to the greatnesse and authority of the Duke of Mayene, so the others made themselves favourers of the Spanish demands, and in many things contrary to the Duke. These were those who in the siege precipitately made many of the Citizens to be executed, that were suspected to be for the King: these, fomented by the Duke of *Nemours*, contradicted the election which the Duke had made of the Officers of the City; and these were the very same that were authors and introducers of the Spanish Garison; and they did often labour that the Catholike King might have the *Marks of Justice*, and be acknowledged as Patron of the League, and Protector of the Crown of France. But now, the passion of these not still increasing, being unsatisfied with the Duke of Mayene, whom they taxed of fear and meannesse of spirit; and being mad against the Parliament, whose gravity they saw withstood their power, they were grown bold and presumptuous since the Duke of Guise was at liberty, and since the Spaniards (having discovered the agreement between the Dukes of Mayene and Lorain) began openly to try to pull it down, and to draw unto themselves the Forces of the party, the strength whereof consisted in the City of Paris. These had the common people at their devotion, not onely by reason of their natural dependence as fellow-Citizens, but also because they were weary of Contributions, which the greedy nature of the Duke of Mayene did often multiply beyond what was fit; the disburdening of them afterwards not excusing the weight of those burthens with his honour and equity. Wherefore some of the chief of the *Sixteen* that were most affectionate to the party (whom they called *Zealots*) began to contrive the way to abase the authority of the Parliament, that they might be able more easily to dispose of the affairs of the City, and put it either under the Duke of Guise, or the immediate protection of King Philip. The Spanish Ministers assented to, or rather concurred in the attempt; and no lesse then they, the Bishop of *Piacenza*, since the Pope's death was wholly turned to favour Spain; and the principal men were the *Sieur de Bussy* Governour of *Bastille*, the *Sieur de Cromay* Counsellour of the Great Council, Commissary *Louchart*, *Ameline* an Advocate, *Olivier* a Treasurer, *Boucher* a Divine, Father *Commolet* a Jesuite, and divers others of the same condition. After many consultations

and debates among them, by advice of the Bishop of *Pia-*  
*enza*, they chose four of the *Sixteen*, who should go to the  
Duke of Mayene to carry their complaints, and to demand  
that the Council of State might be replenished with sufficient  
able men, and such as the City might confide in; That that  
Council might always reside in Paris; That the Treasurers  
accounts might be overlooked, and especially of one *Ribes*,  
who kept the Duke of Mayene's particular coffers; That this  
might be done by select persons approved of by the Council  
of the *Union*; That the *Gabelles* might be taken away, which  
were newly imposed by the Governour *Belin* and the *Prevost*  
of the *Marchands*; That the City-Garrison might be payed and  
treasured for their security: and finally, That President *Bris-*  
*son* (against whom they carried a whole heap of complaints)  
and some other principal men of the Parliament, might be put  
out of their Offices, and severely and exemplarily punished  
and rooted out, as *Traitours* and *Rebels*.

These four Deputies came to *Rheims* at the time when the  
Duke of Mayene was gone into *Lorain*; and having waited  
for him many days, they at last found him at *Retel*; where ha-  
ving been heard by him, they were at first sharply reprehended,  
when that demanded too much, and aspired unto an absolute  
power: but afterward, not to exasperate them utterly, he used  
them more favourably in their other audiences, shewing them,  
that whilst he was busied with the enemy, he had not leisure  
to attend those matters: That in due time and place, he would  
come personally to Paris, to give them all possible satisfaction;  
that in the interim they should abstain from meddling with  
his designs, which put all things in confusion, and doing  
themselves harm, did wonderfully advantage the enemy. But  
the men being returned to Paris, not much edified by the  
Duke's Answer, and particularly offended at his first reprehension  
of them, instead of moderating, increased the boldness of  
their request, exclaiming afresh against the Duke, and saying it was  
necessary to take some resolution, for that they had found him  
very averse from their intentions: wherefore all of them boild  
with anger, thinking themselves undervalued by the Duke,  
at last being resolved either to abase, or absolutely to change  
the Parliament, that they might govern the City their own way,  
they began to stir up the people, perswading them that Religion  
was betrayed, and that the Parliament endeavoured to put  
the City into the hands of the *Navarrois*. It



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It happened that *Brigard*, one of the first fomenters of the League of Paris, having been accused, as if (having changed his minde) he held intelligence, and plotted secretly in favour of the King, was by the instigation of the *Sixteen* violently cast into prison: but in the mean time, while they proceeded slowly against him with due proofs, he found means, either by money or his own industry, to escape out of the place where he was kept, and also to get secretly out of the City, and out of the hands of his enemies: which thing seeming very foul to the Council of *Sixteen*, and thinking he had been maliciously let go, by the Judges themselves who made his Proccesse, being raised to the height of their fury, and with this incentive mented by the Spanish Ministers, and by the Garison which depended on them, they put the people in Arms upon the twentieth of November in the morning, and, without further consideration, being led by the *Sieur de Buffy* and *Commisary Louchart*, having taken and blocked up all the ways that lead to the Palace of Justice, they took prisoners the first President *Brissson*, *Claude l'Archer*, and *Jehan Tardif*, one Counsellor of the Chastelet, and the other of the Court, who were the same men that had made the Proccesse of *Brigard*; these being brought fast bound to the Chastelet, the same day, without any lawful form of Proccesse, but some precipitate informations taken by the *Sieur de Cromay*, were strangled in prison, the next morning ignominiously hanged up in publique upon the gallows. Then, as if they had obtained some signal victory, running up and down the City with the common people armed and furious, they set their Guards in many places, and threatned to take the same course against many others. The Governour desiring to put some stop to these proceedings, being also advised to it by the Dutchesse of *Nemours* and *Montpensier*, began to try whether the strangers of the Garison would obey him: but having found them all disposed to favour the Council of *Sixteen*, and their present actions; *Alessandro de Monti* having freely said, that he would not fight against those who sincerely managed the Cause of God and all good men; he thought it a better way to go out unarmed to parley with them, and to endeavour to appease the people, and in part remedy those mischiefs that were like to follow. But neither did this succeed: for they valued him but little, and the *Premost des Marchands* much lesse, desiring ardent

*Brigard*, who had been imprisoned upon suspicion of Plots against the League, being escaped, the Judges that made his proccesse are by the people in Arms tumultuously put in prison, and by the Council of 16 are caused to be strangled, as accomplices in his flight.

them both out. All the sixteenth day was spent in this  
ult ; and on the seventeenth in the morning, their Coun-  
cil met in the house of a Divine named *Pellettier*, Curate  
of *Jaques de la Boucherie*, they resolved to put themselves  
under the King of Spain's protection, and in the mean  
time to present some Articles to the Council of State, for the  
governement of the City ; which by all means they would have  
voted and put in execution. The Articles contained, That  
the Court of Justice should be formed of men of their party,  
who should proceed against Hereticks and favourers of the  
*Parrois* ; thinking with the Judgements and Executions of  
to destroy and annihilate the Parliament : That all Com-  
munes with those of *S' Denis* should be broken ; which the  
Duke of Mayene had established, to facilitate the concourse of  
Soldiers : That the Imposts upon Wine should be taken away ;  
That the Account of all those should be overlooked, who  
managed the moneys raised by the Contributions and *Ga-*  
*bles* of the City : That the moneys that came in by the or-  
dinary Imposts, should not be spent but in the payment of the  
Army, which should be increased with forraigners, either  
Germans, Italians, or Spaniards : That the Council of State  
should be filled up to a certain number ; and the men that  
should be chosen of it, were named by them : That likewise  
the Council of War might be framed, whereof some Colonels  
of the City were to be, and the chief Commanders of the  
Royal Militia ; without the consent of which Council, the  
Governour should not be able to resolve any thing : and fi-  
nally, That the Seals of the Crown, which the Duke of  
Mayene carried about wheresoever he was himself, should re-  
main constantly in the City, and not be removed to any other

This being resolved on, they presently dispatched *Fa-*  
*ulandio Mattei* with Letters to King *Philip*, in which they  
desired him to take upon him their protection and government:  
Having with cries and clamours made the Council of  
State to be assembled, they propounded the Articles, to the  
end they might be confirmed and executed. The Governour  
of *Prevost des Marchands*, with some of the gravest *Esche-*  
*quiers* endeavoured to get the benefit of time, alledging that  
the day was too far spent, and hoping that by delay, the ar-  
mour of the people would be cooled : but the Council, ac-  
cording to their advice, having determined to stay till the next  
day ;

The Council  
of Sixteen re-  
solves to put it  
self under the  
protection of  
the Catholike  
King.

The Contents  
of certain Ar-  
ticles made by  
the Council of  
Sixteen.



1591 day, the *Sixteen* with the people in arms stopt *Madame de Montmours* as she was going out from the Councel, and would by all means have the Articles confirmed; which the Councel having chosen to do, as the lesser evill, the Dutchesse herself carrying forth the Decree that was made about it, prayed with gentle words to forbear the execution of it till her Son the Duke of Mayene had given his consent, without whose knowledge it was not fit things of so great importance should be done; that the delay was but for a few dayes, that he would call the Councel, and she herself would dispatch the *Sieur du Bourg* to the Duke to carry him the Decree, and bring back his confirmation of it, and she assured them they should remain fully contented and satisfied. The fury of the people being in part appeased with this grant, they began to lay down their arms, and to be quiet again, expecting the resolution of the Duke; who from *Retel* being gone to *Laon*, to meet with the Dutchesse, Mother to the Duke of Guise, upon the twentieth day in the evening received the news of what had happened in Paris.

He was wonderfully moved at so dangerous an accident which was about to strike directly at his authority, but he would not shew any trouble of minde, lest the Duke of Guise who was present, should take notice of his anger against his dependants, but only said, that he would expect the *Sieur du Bourg* (who the Governour wrote him word, was immediately to that part) to be better informed of the businesse, and that it was good to remedy popular commotions with gentleness, and not to be incensed against them, to avoid greater scandal, and more pernicious errors; for the people drawn by a great zeal, do ordinarily move without consideration. These words settled the minde of the Duke of Guise, who was afraid lest he should prove cruell against his dependants, and his discourses of the next day quieted him much more; for although the Duke of Mayene said he would go to Paris to prevent those mischiefs that might happen by the division of mens minds, yet he let himself be perswaded to stay, because he had the command of the Army, and was to meet with the Duke of Parma; who being come to *Valenciennes*, was in the end of the month to be at *Guise*, that they might resolve together of the time and manner of his coming. The *Sieur du Bourg* arrived the day following, from whom the Duke

whole narration of the businesse, and of the Decree that  
been made in the Council of State to appease the peo-  
; whereupon being resolved to depart, and determining  
himself to establish his own power and authority by this  
asion, he dispatched Monsieur *de Rosne* to the Duke of  
*ma*, to excuse him if he could not be at the place appoint-  
upon the prefixed day, and left the charge of the Army,  
of meeting with the Duke of Parma to the Duke of Guise;  
with such caution, that to the end he might not be able  
o any thing in arms, he gave secret orders to *Rosne* and  
*annes*, who were Mareschals of the field, that they should  
her draw forth Artillery nor Ammunition, which were  
*la Fere*; and he gave the Duke of Guise no information  
l of the particulars that were to be treated of with the  
e of Parma, to the end he might not be able to conclude  
y thing of moment; and having obtained of the Duke of  
*te-marciano* and of Commissary *Mattenucci*, that the Swit-  
might not be dismissed at that time, and that all the For-  
ould stay till his return, shewing haste and want of time,  
ook with him the Counts of *Vandemont*, *Chaligny*, and  
*ac*, the Sieurs *de Bassompierre* and *Villeroy*, with seven hun-  
of his best Horse, part French, part Lorainers, and departed  
n the 25<sup>th</sup> in the morning towards *Paris*, leaving President  
*min* with the Duke of Guise, to moderate his Counsels and  
serve his carriage.

The same night *Don Diego d'Ivarra* went the same jour-  
(though the Duke had desired him to stay) not being  
ing to let himself be deceived as the Duke of *Guise* had  
e, but being by all means resolved with his help and  
sell to assist against the danger of the Spanish adherents.  
Duke making speed in his journey, would yet neverthe-  
take with him two Regiments of Foot that were at *Soif-*  
and having received the Sieur *de Vitry* with two hun-  
other Horse at *Meaux*, he arrived neer the City of *Paris*  
the twenty eighth day in the evening. The *Sixteen*,  
the Preachers, and the Colledge of *Sorbonne*, seeing the  
e come armed, and knowing that the Governour and the  
*ost des Marchands*, with the dependants of the Council  
State and Parliament would be powerfull in the Citie  
ugh *Bussy* kept the *Bastille* for them) being much affright-  
propounded to appease him with words and demonstra-

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tions,



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tions, and sent four of the chief of them, with many of the Citizens to meet him, to the end they might endeavour to diminish the anger which they imagined he came withall. These met at the Abby of *S' Anthoyne* without the walls, and with a discourse full of submission strove to perswade him, that all that had been done to an extreme good end, for the safety of the City, the conservation of Religion, the maintenance of his own authority, and to satisfie the people, that were desperate because there was no shew at all made against those Rebels and disturbers of the publick Peace: that this had been chosen as the least evill, to the end that the people enraged might not make some bloody tumult: that those who had been executed were manifestly guilty, as he might see by the proofs which though they were not accompanied with the worst forms of justice, were at least true, reall, and manifest: that the Articles propounded to the Councillors of State, were by them accounted reasonable; yet that nevertheless they committed them to his censure: and finally, they put him in mind how much they had done and suffered for the greatnesse of his House, and for his own exaltation, and besought him to make himself be known for an indulgent loving Father, not for a punctuall severe Prince. The Duke, who desired not to receive any obstacle at his entring into Paris, but to be let in with his Forces without resistance, excellently resembling the injury he had received, and the anger that was kindled in him, welcomed them all severally, and answered them in general, that he came to the Citie for no other end, and with no other intention but to secure it, as he that knew well, the sustentation of Religion, and his own hopes were all founded and placed in that people; and in the Council of *Sixteen* the first authors and framers of his party: with words and outward shews, having in great part assured their minds, he entered that night into the City when it was dark, and being conducted to his *Hostel*, he held the same discourse with many, knowing that by proceeding so, if he should finde opposition, he might attribute the pardon to his own will; and if he could execute his intentions, those outward demonstrations could not hurt or prejudice him in any manner. A while after him arrived *Diego d'Izarra*, who being come to him with the other Spanish Ministers, they strove together to perswade him not to shew any resentment of

past, but to give satisfaction to the people for the time to come, since the things that had happened, though they were done without due orders and forms of Justice, were yet good in themselves, and profitable for the conservation of Religion; That in the distractions of Civil Wars, the ordinary rules of a good Government cannot be so well observed, but many things are done to a good end in the heat of dangers, which in peaceful times would in no wise be suffered; That he himself had proceeded in that manner at *la Fere*, without forming any Proceſſe against the *Marqueſſe de Menelay*, whom he caused to be killed; for otherwise that place could not have been kept; That therefore it was better to quiet all things, approving what was fallen out, then, by going about to quarrel with any one, to kindle new discords, and more dangerous tumults. The Duke answered with the same moderation, and so parted with the Spaniards: but having taken information of the Forces that were in the City, and having been told by the Governour and the *Prevost des Marchands*, that the greater and better part of the people would be at his devotion, he caused the Colonels of the City to guard their several Quarters that night; and in the morning, having put in Arms the Foot and Horse he brought with him, he went up the *rue d'Antoine*, and sent to command the *Sieur de Buſſy* at that instant to deliver up the *Baſtille* into his hands: he exhorted himself, interpoſing delays, and demanding security, that he should be harmleſſe; the Duke caused the Artillery to be taken out of the *Arcenal*, and began to make cannon be drawn that way: whereat the Governour of the *Baſtille* affrighted (being a man more accustomed to any thing but the exercise of Arms) and not seeing that any in the City stirred in favour of him; for the Governour and *Prevost* had poſſeſſed and blocked up all the ways; he at last, after many Treaties, agreed to leave the *Baſtille*, receiving a promise not onely from the Duke, but from many others, that his life should be given him; and yet being come near to his house, he was assaulted the same evening, and was necessitated to save himself, by getting over the tops of the houses, with much ado, and with very great danger; and after a few days (the Duke winking at it) he fled secretly from the City, and went to live in another place. *Buſſy* being out of the *Baſtille*, the Duke chose the *Sieur du Bourg* (a man va-



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The Duke of Mayene being come to Paris to appease the Insurrection, takes the Bastille, kept by the Sieur de Buff; & having set strong guards in the several quarters of the City, causes four of the chief of the Council of 16 which were most guilty to be strangled.

liant and trusty ) Governour of it, and put such a Garison to it, as secured it from all danger that might happen : which done, he the next morning sent the Sieur *de Vitry* with his Horse, ( the streets being still blocked up, and the Militia in Arms ) and caused to be taken prisoners at their own houses, Commissary *Louchart*, Captain *Emmonot*, *Barthelemy Aurore*, Colonel of the Quarter of the Carmelites, and *Ameline* the Advocate, *Cromay* the Counsellour being stolen away, and secretly fled : for being hid by the Spaniards, he continued many days in the habit of a Souldier, among those of the Garison, and went afterwards into Flanders, where he lived in great necessity. These four, judged to be the most faulty of the Sixteen, were the next day strangled by the Hang-man in a chamber of the *Louvre*, and after publicly hanged upon the gallows ; this example sufficing the Duke to recover his authority and reputation, without shewing cruelty in the blood of so many others that were guilty of the same crime. This severity did wonderfully terrifie the Preachers and the Cledge of *Sorbonne* : but the Duke, not willing to lose this, nor to put himself upon an enterprize that might be sinisterly interpreted, nor yet to make so great a confusion as might cause some division in his party, went personally to the Church of the *Sorbonne*, and there with grave and moderate words assured them of his favour and protection ; and said, that in consideration of their former vertue and constancy, he pardoned the present disobedience and conspiracy ; and, making shew to do it for their sake, he caused an Edict to be published wherein declaring that he had satisfied Justice by the punishment of four seditious persons, he granted pardon to all the rest, imposing silence and oblivion to what was past. Of this Pardon he excepted the Counsellour *Cromay*, *Admiral* *Cocher*, and the \* *Greffier* that wrote the Sentence against *Blaizot* ; who afterwards perished diversly by divers ways. At the same time he also decreed, that experience having shewed how pernicious those Meetings and Conventicles were which were made secretly without the presence of the publike Magistrate, none should upon pain of death any more assemble any other Councils within the City or without, but the ordinary Council of the *Union*, with the assistance or presence of the lawful Magistrates. These Decrees, registered with full consent of the Parliament, put an end to the po-

\* Or, Notary.

the *Sixteen*, and did something slacken and retard the designs and machinations of the Spanish Ministers.

But as soon as the Duke of *Parma* knew distinctly the things that had passed in Paris, he shewed himself infinitely satisfied at all that had been done, publicly blamed the consideration of the other Ministers, who, to get a vain dependence of the basest dregs of the people, disgusted and alienated the Duke of *Mayene*, in whose hand the Arms and strength of the party were, and without whom, it was not to be thought that any good could be brought to a conclusion: he testified to the *Sieur de Rosne*, that those things were done without his privity; praised the Duke of *Mayene* for punishing the delinquents, and for his prudent moderation: and when the Duke of *Guise* came to him to *Valenciennes*, though he honoured him with all possible demonstrations, yet he refused to treat with him about any thing without his Uncle's presence and consent. He saw that all the rest of the party were ill founded; That there was no sure foundation to be made upon the people; That the Nobility depended upon the Duke, and the strong places were held by men that he confided in; That he alone, with his prudence and valour, was fit to manage all the rest: wherefore he assented not to the counsel of exasperating him, and putting him in despair, from whence he drew the resolution taken with the Duke of *Lorain* had proceeded; being certain, that when he should once see himself unable to keep up his dignity and the Place which he held, he would presently make an Agreement with the King: nor did he doubt but all other French-men, except some few, would follow his counsel and authority. Wherefore he saw early, that having a desire to prosecute the designe that was begun, it was necessary to proceed slowly and cunningly, and not to put all things in confusion, and the mindes of the French in terrour and suspicion, by a precipice of furious resolutions.

To this effect he wrote into Spain, and gave the same advertisement to the Ministers of State that were in France; though in both places they were of another minde, and particularly, in the Council of Spain they thought that by sending small supplies into several Provinces, they should gain themselves many dependants, alienating them from the Duke of *Mayene*, and so the War would be nourished and prolonged, with lesse expence

The Duke of Parma declares that he had not been privy to the commotion of the Parisians, praises the Duke of Mayene for having punished the delinquents; and having met with the Duke of Guise at Valenciennes, refuses to treat with him without the presence of the Duke of Mayene.



1591 expence and more advantage: to this purpose they had granted assistance of men to the Duke of *Joyeuse* in *Guaſcogne*, to the end that he might ſuſtain the War on that ſide neer the *Pyrenean* mountains: for this purpose they had ſent the Duke of *Savoy* three thouſand Foot, and three hundred thouſand Ducats, that he might maintain the War in *Provence* and *Dauphiné*; and for the ſame effect they had ſent *Aquila's Tertia* into *Bretagne*, to gain the Duke of *Mercœur*; who with the aſſiſtance advancing his own affairs, this yeer in the beginning of the Spring had almoſt driven the Prince of *Dombes* out of the confines of that Province: but the Engliſh being come who landed at *Breſt* without any hinderances, buſineſſes were equally balanced; ſo that after many petty encounters, which imported not much to the ſum of affairs, the Armies at laſt came to face one another.

The Spaniards grant ſmall ſupplies to divers French Heads of the League, to alienate them from the Duke of Mayenne, and divide them from the body of the League.

The Duke of Mercœur with the Spaniards, & the Prince of Dombes with the Engliſh, face one another in Bretagne.

The Duke of *Mercœur* was ſtrong in Light-horſe led by the Marqueſſe *de Belle-Iſle* ſon to the Mareſchal *de Retz*, and powerful in Foot by vertue of the Spaniſh *Tertia*, who were no leſſe expert in Manufactures then in the matters of the War. On the other ſide, the Prince was accompanied with great ſtore of Gentry, and therefore had a good Body of Horſe though in Foot, by reaſon the Engliſh were raw men, and the French all Muſketiers, he was not to be compared to the Army of the League: For this cauſe, though they were within half a mile of one another, the Duke kept himſelf intrenched and encamped in mountainous woody places, advantageous for Foot; and the Prince was drawn out into the field, where the Squadrons of Cavalry might ſpread and enlarge themſelves as they pleaſed: and neither of them being willing to ſtir from their advantage, (after three days of obſtinate continuance in that manner, in which time there happened many encounters) they both took a reſolution to retire, and went to beſiege ſeveral places.

But the King having about this time ſent the *Sieur de Noüe* with eight hundred Germans to aſſiſt the Prince as his Lieutenant in the managing of the War, they reſolved, being thus ſtrengthened in Foot, to turn again toward the enemy and try ſome opportunity to get the better of him: but it was hard for them to meet; for the Duke of *Mercœur*, a diſcreet wary Souldier, would not put all he poſſeſſed in the Province (which was a great deal) into the power of Fortune.

having the assistance and money of Spain, endeavoured to drive out the Enemy; and on the other side, *la Noüe* moderating the Prince's forwardness with wise provident counsels could not suffer him to incur the danger of a battell without manifest advantage. Wherefore after divers encounters and various attempts on both sides, to bring the Enemy under, the Duke at last went to assault *S<sup>t</sup> Maximin*, and the Prince marched to besiege *Lambale*; which having battered, and with his artillery made a convenient breach in the wall, while the *Sieur de la Noüe*, went personally to view it and the works of the Town, he received a musket-shot in the head, of which he died within a few dayes after, having in an inconsiderable time (as it often happens) unexpectedly met death, which he had not feared in so many difficult and glorious enterprises. Being dead, the King commanded the *Sieur de Lavardin* to go into *Bretagne* to supply his place, who proceeding with the same counsels, though military encounters were most frequent thorow the whole Province with variety of fortune, yet did they never come to the hazard of fighting with all their forces; but it satisfied the Prince in so vast a Province, where his forces were inferiour to the Enemies, to keep his name alive and the affairs of his party in being.

The *Sieur de la Noüe* going to view the breach and the works at *Lambale*, is killed with a Musket-shot in the head.

The King's affairs in *Dauphiné* were much more prosperous, though the Duke of Savoy, of an unwearied minde and industry, used his endeavours in those parts, with many of his own forces, and with strong supplies from Spain; but the great strength of the Province being on the King's side, under a valiant, resolute, diligent, and valiant Commander, who obtained by policy what could not so easily be compassed by force, was the cause that after the defeat of *Ponte-Chiarra* the League was almost excluded out of *Dauphiné*, and the end of the War began to be in the Duke of Savoy's own country.

On the other side, the fortune of the Savoyards was more successful in *Provence*; for having *Marseilles* (if not wholly subject to the Duke, yet at least most partiall to the League) the cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and many other of the chiefest at their devotion; *Berre* being taken, they had made themselves terrible to the Province, in which Monsieur *de la Vaudemont* with a small force could not equall their power; so that about *Francesco Martinengo*, after the taking of many Towns and



1591 and Castles, did without much opposition over-run that part that extends it self along the Sea-shore. But having at last laid siege to *Vinon*, whilst he battered it with exceeding great fury, Monsieur *de la Valette* being resolved to shew more courage then he had strength, and rather to trust the affairs of the Province to the arbitrement of fortune, then to waite himself with retreating continually in all places, advanced that way with seven hundred Horse, and not more then one thousand and two hundred Foot, and having divided his men into four Battalions, whereof one was put in the Rere for reserve and re-inforcement to the rest, commanded by the Viscount *de Governet*, he marched streight without other advantage to assault the Enemy, who being risen from the siege, and having past a rivulet that was between them, came resolutely to meet him. Nor was the conflict unlike the valour of the Commanders; for it was obstinately fought on both sides with equall courage for the space of many hours, till the Viscount entering fresh into the Battell with the last Squadron of Horse, reserved for their utmost hope in so great need, the Savoyards already wearied with long fighting, began to give ground to the Enemy, who was fresh and eager; whereupon *la Valette's* other Squadrons also recovering vigour, charged them so home, that they made them return full speed over the water, and had pursued them with a great execution, if the mutuall losses they received had not perswaded them to end the businesse; which while it was in the greatest heat, the souldiers that were in *Vinon* sallying gallantly out of their works, assaulted them that guarded the Savoyards Artillery, and having routed them, nailed some great pieces, fired a great deal of Ammunition, and did them many other mischiefs. This defeat curb'd the Duke's proceedings, and did for some time secure the King's affairs in *Provence*.

Count *Fran-cesco Martinengo* is defeated by Monsieur *de la Valette*, and the siege of *Vinon* is raised.

The Sieur *de Sancy* who was at *Basil* to raise men in that Canton, having heard of 100000 ducats that were carrying from *Milan* toward Germany to leave Forces there, places himself in ambush in a wood, assaults the convoy, and with much ease takes the money.

Nor was the War lesse hot in the Territories of *Geneva*; for the Sieur *de Sancy*, who being retired to *Basil*, to obtain some number of Swisles in that Canton, having had intelligence that a hundred thousand Ducats were on the way from *Milan* to make Leavies in Germany, and that they were conducted by a few men, without any considerable Convoy, he laid an ambush for them in the Forrest of *Basil* with so good successe, that he took the money, and being come with it to *Geneva*, had in a few days hired a Regiment of Swisles of

Canton

anton of Berne, where there being also arrived three hundred Horse raised in the State of Venice by Monsieur de Metz King's Ambassadour to that Re-publick, and commanded by Count Mutio Porto, and Pausania Brazzoduro Vicentines, and Captain Nicolo Nasi a Florentine, he had in a short time recovered the Territory of Geneva, and was advanced to assault the places that were held by the Savoyards; during the siege one of which, named Boringes, some Companies of Neapolitans and Milanefes belonging to the Catholick King, and that were there to assist the Duke of Savoy, marched up to disturb them; but being fiercely charged by the Italian Cavalry, desirous to make themselves remarkable in gallant actions, they were routed and dispersed, and Boringes surrendered himself to the discretion of the Enemy.

In this interim Don Amadeo having rallied his Forces, advanced to stop the Enemies incursions, and being come near to their Army, they sent back their great Canon to Geneva, and encamped themselves in an advantagious place, keeping the top of an hill with the Body of their Army, and with their Van-guard a wood that was at the bottome of it. There Don Amadeo having discovered how the Enemy was quartered, commanded forth his Van-guard to make themselves Masters of the wood, where they of the King's party making small resistance, retired little lesse then routed to the rest of the Army, which stood in battalia upon the wayes of the hill: but the Italian Cavalry going down into the plain field, violently charged; and repulsed the Enemies Van-guard with the death of many; so that they also retired in like manner half defeated to their main Body. But the Duke of Savoy knowing that in the strength of narrow places, which fill the whole Territories of Geneva, his men could make but small progresse, with the hazard of receiving much damage; while these Forces employed themselves with those of Geneva, commanded Don Amadeo to retire, and onely to defend his own, till the Supplies should either be dissolved, or be sent for away to other places. Nor was he deceived in his hopes; for the Sieur de Guitry who commanded the French Forces, and the Italian Cavalry seeing the Savoyards retreated to defend their own, resolved to go and assist the Marechal d'Aumont in Bourbonnois, where he had much adoe to resist the Duke of Nemours, since that with his fiercenesse and courage kept all those

S s s s s

places

\* The French sayes Vitry.



1591 places which confined upon his forces in very great terrour. But the progresse of the war was also weak on that side; so the Marechal having attempted to besiege *Autun*, a Town which because it was strong, and well mann'd, molested all the Country round about; after many assaults and divers attempts, he was by the Duke of Nemours forced to retire with no ordinary losse.

\* *Quercy.*

About the same time that the Duke of *Mayene* was troubled in the businesse of the Parisians, there was a Battell in the Country of *Cahors*, where the Marquesse *de Villars*, who governed the party of the League, and the Duke of *Vantadour* who held for the King, encountred one another, with much Gentry on both sides, and with a very great number of Foot in which action, after a valiant fight of two long hours, at last they of the King's party had the better, and having slain six hundred of the Enemy, among which were many Gentlemen of great renown, remained Masters of the field, and of the carriages; and afterwards took *Cadenet* an exceeding strong place, and many other lesser Towns; in which businesses the courage of the *Sieur de Temines* and Captain *Vivans* appeared most clearly, the greatest merit of the victory, and the progresse of so fair achievements being attributed to their valour.

While they labour thus with various successe, in the other parts of the Kingdom, the King marched with his whole Army toward *Normandy*, being resolved to besiege *Rouen*, as well because of the promises wherewith he had engaged himself to the Queen of England, either to give her some jurisdiction in that Citie, or to assigne her some other place upon the Sea-side; as out of a designe to reduce all that large and exceedingly rich Province to his party; for except *Rouen* and *Havre-de-Grace*, there was no place of moment that held not for him; and by reducing it to his devotion, besides the very considerable profit which he should gain by the Imposts and Revenues thereof, He absolutely made himself Master of a large Country, full of great Towns, and a great many Castles, bounding in Gentry, numerous in people, plentiful in victual, and so situate, that on the one side it was open to the Ocean, convenient for the neer Supplies of England; and on the other, it extended it self neer the City of *Paris*, cutting off from it the passage of the River *Seine*, which was most im-

portant

tant for its present conservation ; wherefore being intent  
with his utmost endeavours upon this enterprife, he had given  
charge to the Marechal de *Biron* (who when he went into *Lo-*  
*rain*, stayed behinde with part of the Army in those parts) to  
to possesse himself of all the places about it, and to make  
the greatest provisions he could of victuall, ammunition, and  
other things necessary for that siege. *Biron*, after the taking  
of *Louviers*, where he had found wonderfull great store of  
corn, which he caused to be very carefully kept, had assaulted  
and taken *Gournay* ; and then passing further into the Coun-  
try of *Caux*, had likewise taken *Candebeac*, seated upon the Ri-  
ver *Seine*, between *Havre de Grace* and *Rouën*, and possessed  
himself of the Castle of *Eu*, which stands upon the great high-  
way of *Picardy* ; after which successes, being already absolute  
Master of the field, he set himself diligently to make provi-  
sions, storing up corn, some at *Eureux*, some at *Ponteau de*  
*Me*, and most of all at *Pont de l'Arche*, because it was the  
nearest place to *Rouën*. At *Caën* he caused great store of  
Tents to be made, and other clothes for the souldiers use. At  
*Dieppe* he gathered together plenty of Ammunition, and of  
those iron instruments that were fit for the intended siege ;  
and in all places businesses went on with infinite diligence and  
order, but without any noise or apparent stir.

And yet there was not any of the contrary party, who per-  
ceived not that things were setting in order to besiege *Rouën* ; &  
the Duke of Mayene being confident that that was the King's  
intention, did with no lesse diligence busie himself in making  
those provisions that were fit for the defence of it ; and to give  
reputation, he had sent his son *Henry* thither, to give such or-  
ders as were needful, to confirm the people, and to give them  
assurance that they should not remain without relief. The  
Military affairs, and the weight of the defence, he laid wholly  
upon the *Sieur de Villars*, a Cavalier not onely of high spirit  
and courage, but absolutely depending upon his name and au-  
thority ; who going first to *Havre de Grace*, a Fortresse abun-  
dantly furnished by former Kings, and leaving the Government  
of it to the *Sieur de Guion*, who likewise was a *Provençal* by  
birth, returned to *Rouën* with two and thirty Pieces of Ca-  
nion of several sizes, and with every thing necessary to make  
use of them ; all which he caused to be carried in great Boats  
up the River ; and brought thither six hundred Horse of that

The course tak-  
ken by the  
*Sieur de Villars*  
in ordering,  
disposing, and  
preparing  
things to re-  
ceive the siege,  
which was go-  
ing to be laid  
to *Rouën* by  
the Kings Ar-  
mie.



1591

\* The French  
says Towards the  
East.

Country, and one thousand and two hundred of those Provençal Foot which had long followed the War under his command in those parts: and as a man to whom Learning (which he was adorned withal) suggested generous spirits, and the experience of many yeers, supplied with wary prudent counsels, knowing how much good, order is wont to produce in Military affairs, and desiring therefore that all things might proceed with a due disposal, under their proper Heads, and that every one might know and execute his own Charge; he called all the Heads of the Clergie, the principal men of the Parliament, the chief of the people, and the Officers of the Souldiery, and distributed to every one his part of those labours that were to be undergone in their future defence. He destined the *Sieur de la Londe* (an old Souldier, well known in the City by having lived there many yeers) to the Office of Serjeant Major: to the defence of *S' Cathelines Mount*, wherein the sum of the businesse consisted, he chose the *Chevalier Piccard* with his Regiment, and two hundred other Musketiers commanded by the *Sieur de Jéssan*. The old Palace standing between the *Porte de Caux* and the River *Seine* on the North-side, he gave to the *Sieur de Banquemare*, first President of the Parliament, with one hundred Swissers and three hundred French: the old Castle, with the part adjoining towards \* *Maistre*, he assigned to his brother the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, to whom he gave the Regiments of Colonel *Boniface* and of *Commendatory Grillon*; and the West-side towards the *Fauxbourg de S' Severe* beyond the River, he gave to Captain *Giacopo Argenti* of Ferrara, with his Regiment: *Carlo Siginfred* a Neapolitan Engineer of great experience, commanded the Artillery; Captain *Basin* the Fire-works, which were made in very great abundance: and at every Gate, one of the ancientest Presidents, and one of the Counsellours of the Parliament assisted, as well for security as reputation. The Citizens were divided into ten Companies, under ten Commanders chosen by them; whereof eight were to guard eight Bulwarks or great Towers lined with earth, which were in the circuit of the City; and the other two had the Main-guard in the great Market-place; and in the Palace of Justice were lodged two hundred Swissers, and as many French Fire-locks, to be ready to help where need should require. The Governour also caused some little Barks to be furnished with small Pieces of Art-

Art-

Artillery, and manned with twenty Souldiers in each of them, as well on the upper as on the lower part of the *Seine*; which under the command of their Admiral the *Sieur d'Anquetil*, were to run up and down the River, to make prize of such vessels as should stir, and to take Cattel and other provisions along the banks of it, to keep the City in more plenty of Vi-  
tual. Two Counsellours of the Parliament, and two Deputies of the City, were employed in the distributing of bread; and the old *Sieur de Courfey* had the care of delivering out the Ammunition. With this order, very well contrived, and exceeding well executed, by the diligence of the Governour, and the experience of those to whom it was intrusted, things went on so quietly and so happily, that during all the time of the siege, there neither happened any disorder, nor did any body suffer for want of Vi-  
tual, the price of provisions not much differing from the ordinary rate.

Against these provisions, the *Mareschal de Biron*, after he had received three thousand English Foot that had landed at *Bulogne*, and were led by the Earl of *Essex*, had under his Colours between nine and ten thousand Foot, and one thousand and eight hundred Horse: and to give a beginning to the siege, he came and lay within sight of the City at a place called *Darnetal*, upon the eleventh of November; which day the Cavalry of the Camp over-ran all the Plain, to the very walls of the City, and of *S<sup>t</sup> Catherine*: Captain *Borofey* a souldier of great valour, with two hundred Horse, and Colonel *Bonifas* with five hundred Foot sallyed out at the *Porte Can-choise*, the Earl charging first the Cavalry, and then the Regiment of English, skirmished fiercely for many hours, though at last, being weary on both sides, they retired willingly without advantage; yet the besieged vaunted of a happy beginning, by reason of the death of a \* Nephew of the Earl of *Essex*, who, discouraged having drawn him into the most dangerous place of the fight, was slain by *Borofey* with a pistoll-shot in the throat. On the other side, Captain *Perdriel* with two hundred other Horse, and Captain *Basin* with four hundred Foot sallied at the *Porte de Martinville*, and having skirmished long with the French light-Horse, led by *Francesco Orfino* *Sieur de Chappelle*, they were forced to retire, though they received no much harm, because they were defended in their retreat by the Artillery of the neereſt Bulwark.

The *Mareschal de Byron* lays siege to *Rouen* Nov. 11. 1591. In the first skirmish before *Rouen*, the Earl of *Essex* his Nephew is slain by *Borofey*.

\* The Author is a little mistaken in this particular; for it was the Earl of *Essex* his Brother, *Sir Walter d'Evreux*.

But



But the Marechal, as soon as he had entrenched Darnetal, to the end his Army might lie secure from the sprightly forwardnesse which he saw in those of the Town, set himself for some days following (without advancing towards the City) to divert the course of the *Robec*, which little rivulet running thorow the field, and entering into the Town, drove eleven Mills neer the *Porte St' Hilaire*, to the great conveniency of those within; nor was it very difficult to turn it another way; which would have much incommodated the Town and made them suffer exceedingly, if *Villars*, fore-seeing the diversion of the water, had not provided against it before by having caused a great many hand-Mills to be made, which were continually kept going by the Country-men, who, to fly the Enemy, were in great numbers gotten within the walls. While they wrought to divert the water, the Marechal not lesse intent upon art, then he was upon force of arms, held treaty with Captain *Graveron*, who was in the City, to get into his hands the *Porte de Beauvais*, which he was appointed to guard; and this was managed by a kinsman of his, who was one of the Marechals servants, and who before the siege had often gone disguised into the City for that purpose. But *Graveron* having revealed the treaty to the Governour, and received orders to draw the Enemy by night into an Ambush, he could not faile so well, but that the art was discovered, whereupon this treaty vanished with little damage on either side. But the next day the *Chevalier Piccard* falling out from *S' Catherine's* to skirmish, and the Earl of *Essex* with the English coming out of the wood of *Turinge*, they contended with words no lesse then deeds: for *Piccard* upbraiding the English, that not having courage enough to revenge the death of the Earl's Nephew, they sought to advance their designs by treachery, they came to ill language, and to give the Lie, for which, as soon as the skirmish was ended, there came an English Trumpet from the Earl of *Essex*, to challenge the Governour; which the *Chevalier Piccard* (who had spoke the words) having answered, it came not to a duell; for the Earl refused to fight with any other then the Governor; and the Governor, though he refused him not, yet he referr'd the decision til another time, when he should be free of the charge of the present defence, to which as a publick cause, he was both more and more deeply engaged.

A double practice is discovered, which vanishes without effect.

The Earl of Essex challenges the Sieur de Villars to a duell, who refuses it not; but refers it to another time, and so nothing is done.

All the month of November was spent in continuall  
 skirmishes, and hourly encounters, the Marechal in the mean  
 being imployed in fortifying his quarters, drawing Ar-  
 my and Ammunition, and causing provisions to be brought  
 expecting the King's coming up to the siege with the rest  
 of the Army; who being come into the Camp upon the third  
 of December, sent an Herald to summon the City; but be-  
 ing very stoutly answered by those within, the next day they  
 took the ground to make their approaches to the wall. The  
 French lay at Darnetall with the Marechal *de Biron*, and the  
 best part of the Nobility that followed him, having the  
 ranks flanked with the Regiment of his guards, for the de-  
 fence of his own Quarters. The Viscount *de Turenne* (whom  
 the right of his Wife we will begin to call the Duke of *Boi-*  
*mon*) was quartered on the right hand, with the Cavalry, and  
 German Infantry, spreading themselves a great way in the  
 neighbouring Villages, upon the way that leads toward *Diepe*.  
 The French Infantry (having lost the *Sieur de Chastillon*, who  
 was wont to command it, he being dead a while before of a  
 violent death) was led by divers Colonels of renowned fame,  
 lay close by the Germans, but on the right hand of the  
 French Quarters, towards the *Porte Can-choise*, and the *Porte*  
*Bauvais*. The English Foot lay on the left hand of the  
 French and the Swisssers entrenched under the wood of *Turinge*,  
 next the *Porte S' Hillaire*, and the Mount of *S' Catherine*:  
 the *Baron de Giury*, and the *Sieur de la Chappelle* with the  
 English Horse, spread themselves on the left hand of these, upon  
 the way that leads to *Pont de l' Arche*, and thence towards *Pa-*  
*ris*. And the Count *de Soissons* with Captain *Raulet* beyond  
 the river *Seine* (over which there was a passage made by a bridge  
 of boats) were quartered right over against the *Fauxbourg*  
*S' Severe*.

When the whole Town was thus girt round, there being  
 neither the hinderance nor the conveniency of Suburbs (for  
 the Governour at the arrivall of the Army had caused them to  
 be burnt) the King commanded Colonel *S' Denis* to take up  
 his Post in the Church of *S' André*, which was the onely build-  
 ing that (because it was built of stone) remained yet stand-  
 ing, though they had endeavoured to demolish it: but he soon  
 perceived that *Villars* had foreseen the mischief which he  
 might receive from thence, and provided a very convenient  
 remedy

The King with  
 the rest of the  
 Army comes  
 up to the siege  
 at Rouen, he  
 sends a Herald  
 to summon the  
 Town, but is  
 refused.



1591 remedy: for two exceeding great Culverins were discovered

\* A Mount raised on purpose to plant Canon on. Some call it a Cat.

upon a \* *Cavalier* raised within, which did so batter place, that the French had scarcely possessed themselves when they were forced to quit it. This attempt having proved ineffectuall, the King began to cause two trenches to be cast up, one to approach *S<sup>t</sup> Catherines Mount*, which (being drawn from the wood of *Turinge*) was wrought at by the English; and the other to end just against the *Porte S<sup>t</sup> Hilaire* at which the French Infantry wrought by turns. But the *Su de Villars* (besides the other works which were thrown up day and night by a great abundance of labourers, who within a short space had dammed up the *Porte de S<sup>t</sup> Hilaire* (in the earth) having raised a very high *Cavalier* close by it, filled the moat with *Casamats*, and fortified the *Counterescarp* with little *Ravelines*, had also before the Forts of *S<sup>t</sup> Catherine* (where the utmost force of the siege was applyed) drawn a breast-work eighteen or twenty foot thick, flanked with two *Ravelines* only for the use of Musketiers, having neither Shoulders

\* Orillons are the round shoulders at the ends of the faces of Bastions next the Flanks, which cover the covered Flanks; little used in Holland, but much in Italy and France.

\* *Orillons*, nor *Retreats*; and before this a Moat of thirty foot wide, and ten foot deep; which was a very fit obstacle to hinder, and keep in play the first fury of the assailants: besides these Fortifications, finding the City strongly and fully manned, (for besides the Towns-men most ready for service, there were in it five thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse) he resolved with frequent Sallies to trouble the Enemy, so that their works should go on but slowly; in manner of defence seeming to him very profitable, by reason of the hinderance it gave to the Enemies approaches; in very generous, by reason of the fame and honour which (if they succeeded prosperously) he should gain thereby: wherefore the two trenches were scarcely begun, when five Companies of Foot, seconded by *Boresey* with 120 Horse, sallied out at the *Porte Cauchoise*; and on the other side three hundred *Provençals* arm'd with Corslets and Halberds, or Partizans flanked with a hundred French Fire-locks, came down upon *S<sup>t</sup> Catherines*, and with infinite violence assaulted those who were at work making the Redouts. On the one side the English ran to oppose this Sally; and on the other, Colonel *Sinis*, *la Luferne*, and *Parabere*; and the fight grew so hot on both sides, that it lasted above three hours with great execution till the Baron *de Biron* being come up with a Body of

ousand Germans and two great Troops of Horse, sent back  
ose of the Town, whereof (with the *Sieur de S<sup>t</sup> Sulpice*) there  
ere slain above forty; but on the King's party above two hun-  
ed.

The Pioneers were terrified with this assault, to which the  
cousness of the weather being added (which first with ex-  
cessive rains, then with very deep snow and hard frosts, hin-  
dered all manner of working) the approaches went on but  
slowly; and yet the besieged, who with ease and conveniency  
under cover, did not for the same difficulties slacken the  
works they had begun; but every day Casemats, Trenches,  
Bavelines, and Cavaliers were seen to rise, and their sallies  
were so fierce, and made to so good a purpose, that they kept  
the besiegers almost continually in arms. Herein appear-  
ed most clearly the prudence and valour of the *Sieur de Vil-*  
*las*, who, though he could not stir up and down without diffi-  
culty, being lame of one Foot, would yet himself in person  
(sometimes upon a pad-nag, sometimes upon a gallant horse)  
be in all encounters, surveying himself, and ordering and go-  
verning the actions of his men by his own presence: And a-  
mongst the most couragious Sallyers (at last known also to all  
the King's Army) were Captain *Boresey*, Captain *Basin*, and  
the *Goville* a Priest, who much fitter for the exercise of arms,  
than in his Ecclesiasticall function, being bold beyond measure,  
and a despiser of the greatest dangers, was ever the first in all  
sallies, and as often as he chanced to encounter any one man to  
fight, he always got the victory, with infinite applause of his  
own party.

One *Goville* a  
Priest, one of  
the stoutest de-  
fendants, noted  
both by the  
Kings party &  
his own, as of-  
ten as he fights  
single, still gets  
the victory.

At last the approaches that were making at *S<sup>t</sup> Catherine's*  
were brought to perfection, though they proved very streight,  
and had onely three Redouts; but they were favoured on the  
right hand by a long battery of fourteen pieces of Canon, and  
on the left with seven more; but planted so far off, that the Com-  
missaries that had them in charge did not care to fill their  
gallies: yet under favour of their shot the works were ad-  
vanced so forward, that they were brought to the Counter-  
scarp of the Fortification that was newly made, which being  
something high, and the Trench of the besiegers very streight  
at that end (all defects of the English Engineer) a great  
number of men were slain by the incessant storm of Musket-  
shot, which was poured from those that were behinde the

T t t t t

Parapet,



1591

Parapet of the same Counterscarp : wherefore it being necessary to beat them away, and that not being to be done by day in regard of the defence which they received from the Curtine, from whence the Muskietiers of the Fort with very good order shot perpetually, the King coming personally into the Trench with three hundred Gentlemen, accompanied by four hundred gallant Fire-locks, gave a fierce assault to that place in the greatest darknesse of the night, which it not being possible for the defendants to sustain, they quitted the Counterscarp, and (as souldiers say) filing off to the right and left hand, under favour of their fortifications, they retired into the Moat. Sir Roger Williams a valiant Colonel entered presently with eight hundred English, and gabions being brought with wonderfull speed, he covered himself, working all night upon the edge of the very Moat; but the night following the *Sieur de Villars* (having placed a thousand Muskietiers upon the Curtine, who without intermission shot even in the dark against the angle of the Counterscarp) sent forth the *Chevalier Piccard* and Captain *Basin* with four hundred Provençals, and at the head of them compleatly arm'd sixty Gentlemen defended with targets, who falling on the same way by which they had retired the night before, valiantly regained that post, beating the English from thence, who being hailed upon with a thick shower of Musket-bullets, durst not stand up to handle their Pikes; but being terribly vext at the affront they had received, prepared themselves the two days following, and on the third at night assaulted the Counterscarp so precipitately in the King's presence, that the defendants being driven out, they lodg'd themselves there, and with infinite speed and diligence fortified and covered themselves more then sufficiently.

The end of the Trench was thrown open into the Moat upon the twenty ninth of December, and upon New-year's Eve two Batteries were raised; one of fourteen Canon, which battered the old Fort, and the other of seven, planted against the new. These, though they thundered all the day, and continued all the night following, not to give the Enemies leasure to repair their works; yet did they make but little progress, the Forts being all of good earth, and newly rurf, and the Artillery being lower then the Forts, battered more weakly, and made much lesse impression. Wherefore upon

the second day of the year 1592, they began to make a platform in the midst between the two Batteries, that they might play more strongly against the Forts. The besieged would not suffer that night in idleness, but coming down between the Hill and the City, assaulted the trenches that were at the Counterscarp of the old Fort; and having put the guards in confusion, killed above sixty of them, carried away many of their materials, and would have thrown down all their work, if <sup>\* Or, digging tools.</sup> Roger Williams making opposition himself, with a few second him at the Gorge of the first Redout, had not long sustained the violence of the Enemy; for laying hold of a Pike, and with him two Captains, an Ensigne, and a Serjeant doing the same, he so bravely stood the fury of the assailants, that a few other souldiers working a little behinde made a gap in the Redout, and fresh men still coming up, who at the noise of the fight ran to assist their fellows, the heat of the assault was first sustained, and then other Squadrons of the Army coming one after another, they of the City were at last forced to give over the enterprize, and retreat, though with much gallantry and reputation: nor did the fight end because they were retired; for with their Artillery, *Harquebuzes* &c, throwing fire-works, and a thousand other ways, they refused not to molest and hinder the progresse of the Battery.

At the other Trench which was cast up against the *Porte de St. Hilaire*, and finished the third day of January, there was a Battery raised of four pieces of Canon and two Culverins, which having found the gate damm'd up with earth, and making no progresse that was considerable, it was propounded to leave that place, and go to work against the *Porte de Beaurevoir* that stood lower; which proposition was favoured by the French Colonels, because the place was more convenient for them, and neer the quarters where they were lodged. But in the mean time, while the Commanders are deliberating, and that the consultation, by reason of the contrary opinion, proves long, the *Chevalier d'Oyse* sallying at the *Porte de Choise*, assaults that very Trench, and in the mouth of it makes a great slaughter of the souldiers of *S. Denis*, not being repeld by his wonted conduct and courage, because it being then in debate whether or no the Post should be quitted, he was gone to the consultation, and to receive the Marechal



1592 *de Biron's Orders.* The next day the Work was remove from thence something lower, and the French (out of emulation to the English Foot, whom they saw upon the Counte scarp of *S' Catherines*) with infinite diligence in a few day brought the Trench to perfection; which after it was ended and the Gate battered with seven pieces of Canon, Colonel *S' Denis*, without staying till the breach were made very large, presented himself valiantly to assault it; and at the same time Colonel *Piles* with his Regiment falling out of the same Trench, set up many scaling ladders against the Curtine which joyned to the same gate. The assault was fierce, and no less fierce the defence; but the breach in the wall being high and narrow, and a thick cloud of fire-works, stones, and scalding water powring from the Curtine, the assailants were constrained to retire, leaving above seventy of their souldiers dead upon the place: this businesse happened upon the fourteenth of January.

Whilest their arms are courageously imployed on this side, they that were on the other side of the River, at *Fauxbourg S' Severe*, having no other Commission but to hinder the entrance of men or victuall into the Town, made weaker and lesse bloody skirmishes; in which the besiegers having taken one *Landon* a Lieutenant of *Commendatory Gilon's* Regiment, they laboured to corrupt him, and bring him to give them a promise, that as soon as he should have the guard, he would let them into the Fort of the Bridge which was upon the *Seine*; *Landon* dissembling a consent unto, because he had formerly served under Captain *Raulet*, and had received some courtesies from him, was set at liberty; and faining to keep his promise, upon the eighteenth of January at night, he having the guard, gave the signe that was agreed upon, which being understood by those without, Captain *Raulet* on foot compleatly arm'd, with twenty Gentlemen and thirty fire-locks, drew neer to the Fort to be received in, Count *de Soissons* standing in arms with the rest of his forces, intent to follow him upon all occasions: but *Landon* having discovered all to the Governour, at the first appearance of the King's souldiers, sallied out of the Fort with sixty gentlemen, and fell so fiercely on the Enemy, that the rest running away frightened at that unexpected encounter, Captain *Raulet* who stood to it, was taken prisoner by him; and the Count

Lieutenant *Landon* being taken prisoner by the Kings party, promises to let them in at a gate of the City: but being set at liberty, he discovers the businesse to the Governor, who on the night appointed takes Capt. *Raulet* and others that came for that purpose.

*Soissons* advancing to disengage him, could not come time enough to effect it. But about this time there was another intelligence which was not fained, held with the *Sieur la Montaine*; which being discovered and revealed by one *Meclere* an Advocate, who was conversant in the same case, all the accomplices were taken and condemned to the gallows.

1592  
Another practice, but not a fained one is discovered, and those that are guilty condemned to the gallows.

They wrought now more diligently in many places than they were wont; for the souldiers had already (for their own honour) taken an affection to the enterprise, and the emulation between the Nations made the work go forward with great speed; to increase the which, the King having taken a new Post between *S<sup>t</sup> Catherine's* and *Martinville*, quartered three thousand German Foot there, who laboured no lesse than the rest to make their approach with a Trench to the Counterscarp of the Moat. On the other side, the besieged, encouraged by the prosperous success of their Sallies, agreed among themselves in all things belonging to the defence, moved by the Governours example, who putting his hand to all employments, was present at all things; and solicited by *La Roche*, who with unwearied vigilancy went about, and proceeded against all wants in all places; laboured continually, sometimes to make up their works which the Artillery had beaten down, sometimes in raising new Forts, and making new Casemats, sometimes to put in order warlike instruments and fire-works; but above all things, they were diligent and forward upon Sallies, to which not onely the souldiers ran with infinite readinesse; but many times even the Companies of the Townsmen also; so that upon the one and twentieth day sallying out of the *Porte Cauchoise* on the one side, and out at the *Porte de Martinville* on the other, they made an hot and furious conflict; but the King having caused some Field-pieces to be secretly planted on the flank of his Posts, they were driven back by the violence of them with great losse, having slain the Lieutenant of the Governour's guards, two of the Citie Captains, and above thirty souldiers. Much more dangerous was the encounter that happened on the three and twentieth day, when three hundred Horse and a thousand Foot sallying out at the same Gate, divided themselves into severall places; for the Cavalry went toward the field which leads streight to *Darnetal*, to attacque the Regi-

There sallyed out of Roüen 1000 Foot, and 300 Horse.

ments



1592 ments of guard in their quarter, and the Foot to march more covertly, entered into the dry channel of the *Robec*, and came to the wood of *Turinge* to the English. The fight began about noon, weak at the first, because *Grillon* Colonel of the Guard was scarce able to get an hundred of his men together, and the English shooting coldly at a distance, did not close up resolutely with the Enemy; but afterwards by the coming up of the Commanders, the action rose to such a height, that at last it proved to be like a Battell: for the Baron *de Biron* and *François de Montmorancy Sieur du Hallot*, with two Squadrons of valiant Gentlemen assisted in both places, and the Baron *de Giury*, and *la Chappelle* with the light-Horse ran to reinforce their party: and on the other side, *Villars* seeing the danger of his men, who were advanced very far, came forward himself to fetch them off, with *Boresey's* and *Perdriel's* Horse, and the *Sieur de la Londe* followed him with the Regiment of *Giacopo Argenti*, and three Companies of the Townsmen; wherefore fighting in every place as in a pitch'd field, the service grew very dangerous and bloody, fresh numerous supplies coming up on all sides to those that fought. But the King who being at that side toward the Battery of *Martinville*, advanced with a few horse, passing with great danger over a little bank that was wont to stop the course of the *Robec*, to the place where the fight was, having heard that the *Sieur du Hallot*, wounded with a Musket-shot in the thigh, was carried to the next Quarter, and that the Baron *de Biron* (though but slightly) in the face, was in great danger of being slain, he presently sent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with a squadron of *Reiters* to relieve his Forces, by whose fury *Villars* his Horse being killed under him, he himself hurt slightly in one of his hands, and many of those that were about him knocked down, he had wonderfull much ado to retire under the Artillery of the walls. In this action were killed Captain *Laurier*, the *Sieur de Plumetant* a Gentleman of the Country of *Caux*, *Bois-Pulein* a Captain of Horse, the *vernour's* Captain of his Guard, the *Sieurs de Molart*, *Brebion*, with above an hundred souldiers: and on the King's side were slain above an hundred and fifty, and many wounded, among which *Grillon* the Colonel of the guards being received a dangerous shot with a brace of bullets under the elbow, remained a long time disabled for service.

The Baron de Biron wounded.

The skirmish increased almost to a Battell; many Commanders are either killed or wounded, and the *Sieur de Villars* also being hurt hath much ado to retire to the walls under the protection of his own Cannon.

The same night the *Chevalier de Varneville*, of the Order Jerusalem died in the Citie of his wounds formerly received; and the *Chevalier Piccard*, being shot with a Canon-bullet in the thigh, departed this life within a few dayes after. His losse was increased by the death of Captain *Basin*, that much honour had engaged himself in all occasions, who being out at a \* *Skyt-gate* to discover the Enemies works, was hit with a Musket-bullet on the forehead, and lay dead a good while before any body took notice of it. *Goville* the Priest was likewise slain in a skirmish the next day; for having strain'd his foot in getting up a Work, and being there necessitated to retire softly, he was overtaken by many, and having long defended himself, lost his life by a Musket-bullet in the throat. The number of the defendants being very much decreased by the death of these, they slackened their sallies, and therefore the approaches of the Army still advancing, the assailants were in many places fortified upon the Counter-scarps, and at the old Fort of *S<sup>t</sup> Catherine*, and under the Curtain of *Martinville*, having also passed the Moats, they were digging mines under the Walls; and at the *Porte de Beau-* they had already sprung a mine, though with but little effect: which Works being diligently hastened by the Marshal *de Biron*, the souldiers laboured with so much ardour, by the sappe they brought themselves under the Bulwark of the old Fort; and having reduced it all upon props, the commanders believed that without powder it would all fall of itself, as soon as the props should fail; wherefore having drawn up two Squadrons in a readiness to go on to the assault, the props were set on fire; but the earth, which was admirable good, and well beaten, sunk down so gently, that without shaking it self or falling in pieces, it onely sunk down upon the ground, the Bulwark remaining lower, but not broken, and composed on any side, which was the cause that without any further attempt the Foot returned all into their Trenches. They then began to make a mine in the same place, to the effect which could not be done with the props, and in the mean time the Germans also wrought under the Curtain of *Martinville*; in which place *la Fontaine-Martel*, and *de Ville* a young Gentleman of that Country, drawn by the emulation that was between them, sallied out at one of the *Skylates* of the next Bulwark, each with ten Fire-locks and

\* A *Skyt-gate* is that gap in the Parapet where the mouth of the Canon lies out, called in French l'Embrasure, or Canoniere.

*Goville* the valiant Priest is killed with a Musket-shot.



1592 twenty Corslets, and gallantly assaulted the principall avenue of the Trench; but being exceeded by so much a greater number, and there being no means to help them from the Works, because the works were beaten down, after a long and gallant fight, wherein almost all their men were slain, they had much ado to get themselves drawn up at the same Skyt-gate. The mine at the old Fort was already perfected, and was to be sprung the next morning, when Colonel *Boniface* going to be Round to visit his guards in the still silence of mid-night, heard the noise of the working in that place, and having caused many fire-works to be cast into the Moat to discover what the Enemy did, those fires running up and down, and scattering themselves into many places, by chance found the mouth of the mine, and gave fire to it before the time, in such manner that the blast striking backward, and carrying part of the Bulwark with it, burned and overwhelmed with earth all the out-guard, and hurt many of those that were preparing themselves against morning to give the assault; yet the ruine was so large, and the earth so overturned at the point of the Bulwark, that it might easily have been assaulted, if that sudden accident, and the death of the chiefe of them, had not terrified the assailants; so that the Baron de *iron*, who was to give the signe for the assault, not being in the Trench, and the Foot that were to make it not being drawn up in readinesse, the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Roger Williams* standing firm upon their guards, sent away in haste to receive orders what to do, and in the mean time the defendants with sacks full of earth and brush fagots repaired the breach in short space.

But the siege of *Rouen*, by reason of the importance it had from the beginning bred great anxiety in the Duke of *Mayene*, who being departed from *Paris*, and returned to his Army, had dispatched the *Sieur de Rosne* to *Landrecy* where the Duke of *Parma* then was, to sollicite his coming, at least to know his resolution. The Duke of *Montemar* and Commissary *Matteucci* had also dispatched *Antonio* and *Pallavicino* to him, to let him know, that if he by the end of December were not entered with his Army upon the confines of France, they had a Commission from Rome to disperse their Forces; and likewise *Diego d'Ivarra* was gone thither as well to inform him of the businesse that had fallen out

ris, as to represent unto him the importance and danger of  
 the Siege already laid before Rouen. The Duke governing  
 himself according to his Commissions, and his own designe  
 never to let the King's party have so much the better, that the  
 League should be suppressed by it; and seeing that he could  
 no longer delay to assist the Duke of Mayene, he resolved to  
 do it, but still persevering in his determination, not to shew  
 any interested end, but simply a desire to succour and sustain  
 Religion, that he might not put things in disorder, and beget  
 an unreasonable jealousy in the French. *Diego d'Ivarra* was  
 of another mind; who by his own opinion, and that of the  
 other Ministers who were in France, perswaded, that upon  
 occasion of the present necessity, which was most urgent, the  
 Duke of Mayene and the other French Lords should be con-  
 vained to assemble the States, and cause the *Infanta Isabella*  
 to be declared Queen, who should afterward, with the consent  
 of the confederate Princes, take such an Husband as should  
 be resolved on; which coming to passe, he thought best to  
 proceed with a free hand, and with all their forces to assault the  
 King, and never to draw off their Army from him till he was  
 absolutely suppressed and overcome. But the Duke, though  
 he knew this to be the last intention of the Catholick King,  
 and of the Spanish Council, did not judge the present time  
 reasonable for that businesse, as well because the French Lords  
 holding themselves deceived, and that upon occasion of their  
 present exigency, they meant to bring their necks into a  
 noose, would in despair cast themselves into the King's mer-  
 cy, who with many inticements sought to make them his  
 friends; as also because there was not time to manage that  
 designe with that patience and dexterity it required, while  
 Rouen was already besieged, and the necessity of relieving it  
 admitted no delay. The Spaniards, and particularly *Diego*  
*Ivarra* (a man of a most fiery wit, and naturally of a sting-  
 ing tongue) added, that the Duke of *Parma* being an Itali-  
 an (for his own interest, and that of the other Italian Princes)  
 did not desire the so great growth of the Spanish Monarchy,  
 and that therefore he went interposing doubts and delays, no  
 less than the French Lords did: But the effects of after times  
 have clearly shown how prudent and profitable the Duke of  
*Parma's* opinion was; who being resolved to help in the so  
 great need of the Confederates, was come to *Guise*, where he

The Duke of  
 Parma is of o-  
 pinion to suc-  
 cour the League  
 without shew-  
 ing any other  
 end save that of  
 Religion, and  
*Diego d'Ivarra*  
 thinks it better  
 (the League  
 being in a  
 strait) to force  
 them to call an  
 Assembly of  
 the States, and  
 to declare the  
*Infanta Isabella*  
 Qu. of France.



1592 met with the Dukes of *Mayene* and *Monte-marciano*, and leaving left Count *Mansfelt* in the Government of the Low-Countries, gave order to his Son Prince *Raunuccio* and the other Commanders to draw together, and lead the Army toward the Confines.

The Duke could do no lesse then give the Duke of *Mayene* and the rest a touch of what King *Philip* had with his own mouth spoken to President *Jeannin*: That it was thenceforward necessary not to doe things by chance, and without a determinate end, but to assemble the States; who (having understood the Catholick King's intentions, which he would cause to be made known unto them by new Ambassadors) should resolve upon future things, which could not always go on in the present uncertaintie: and when he saw that the Duke of *Mayene* answered him very coldly to that particular, he caused it afterward to be spoken of to him by President *Riccardotto*, one of his Counsellors; but the Duke not refusing the convocation of the States, said it was necessary to refer it till another time, and that first it should be treated on with the Dukes of *Lorain*, *Nemours*, and *Mercœur*, and that the ends which they should unanimously tend should be agreed upon, lest they should proceed indeed by chance, and cause some division among the Confederates: which reasons being very conformable to the sense and opinion of the Duke of *Parma*, and having observed that at this proposition all the French Lords were put in suspence, and no lesse then they, *Madame de Guise*, who was then present, he seemed to remain satisfied, and imposed silence to that point; but fell onely to command *la Fere* for his retreat, whither he might bring all the Artillery, Ammunition, and Baggage of his Army, it not being fit that they should remain open to the Enemies incursions; and that he, advancing into the bowels of an Enemy's Country, should not have one place whither he might retreat at his pleasure. There was enough to do to obtain this point, for the Duke of *Mayene* refused to alienate any place from the Crown: but having discovered that the *Vice-Seneschal de Montelimar* Governour of that Fortresse held intelligence with the Spaniard, doubting that they howsoever would get it against his will, he was at last contented that the Duke should bring in his Arms and Artillery thither, and that he should leave a Garison there of five hundred Walloons paid by the Catho-

Catho-

tholick King; but still under the same protection of the  
own, the same French Magistrates residing to administer  
Justice; and not satisfied with that, he would also have a bill  
from the Duke of Parma's hand, to leave it free to him again  
whenever he should draw forth his Artillery.

The Duke of Parma about that time gave great satisfacti-  
on to the Confederates by a very prudent and generous acti-  
on; for certain Deputies being come to him from the Citie  
of Orleans, to let him know that their Citizens (not having  
been able to pay the souldiers of the Garison, who were  
many months behinde, and seeing that the Duke of Mayene  
had no great care of their interests) were desirous to put them-  
selves under the Catholick King's protection, being ready to  
receive what Garison he should think fit: he reprehending  
them for seeking to swerve from the obedience of the Lieute-  
nant of the Crown, refused to accept of them, though *Juan  
Baptista Tassis*, and *Diego d'Ivarra* were of a contrary opini-  
on; to whom he answered, that if they thought to get posses-  
sion of the Crown of France by reducing the Cities one by  
one, the world would be at an end before they had absolutely  
achieved it, and that it was necessary to strike at the root, and not  
to be themselves in pruning off the boughs.

Matters being set right with the French Lords, it was ne-  
cessary to set them right also with the Ministers of Rome; for  
after the death of *Gregory* the XIII<sup>th</sup>, *Giovanni Antonio Fa-*  
*chinetto* Cardinal of *Santi Quattro* being chosen Pope, who  
took the name of *Innocent* the IX<sup>th</sup>, the affairs of the League  
seemed not to be hearkened to by him with the same inclina-  
tion wherewith his Predecessours had imbraced them; for he  
told both the French Agents and Spanish Ministers freely, that  
he would not stir to give any relief to France, till a free Ca-  
tholick King (but such a one as was generally liked of) were  
chosen; whereby he seemed to point at a Prince of the Bloud-  
Royal; for *Scipio Balbani* had communicated the Cardinal of  
*Barbon*'s designe to many, and their mindes were much en-  
gaged with it; nor was the Pope himself much averse from  
his new thought: whereupon, being earnestly solicited to  
assist the so urgent necessities of the League, and not to forsake  
because of Religion; he answered, that he could not make  
herint of the foot longer then the foot it self, and that the  
experiences made by his Predecessor exceeded the abilities of the

*Pope Gregory*  
the 14 dies,  
*Giovanni Anto-*  
*nio Fachinetto*  
Cardinall of  
*Santi Quattro*  
succeeds, with  
the name of  
*Innocent* the 9.  
His inclinati-  
ons concern-  
ing the affairs  
of France.



1592 Apostolick See, and that he would contribute fifteen thousand Ducats a month till businesse were settled, after which settlement he would strain himself to do the most that the strength of the Treasury should be able to bear; which things written into France by many, did not onely disturb the mindes of the French Lords, but also made the Duke of *Monte-marignano* and Commissary *Matteucci* doubtfull which way they should carry themselves. Neverthelesse, he created the Bishop of *Piacenza* Cardinal, and appointed him Legate in France, a man experienced, and who already had the management of his hands, it being commonly said, that new Ministers of main businesse, before they have time to understand and apprehend them. The Legate being chosen, he wrote, that the Duke of Parma came into the Kingdom by the fifteenth of December at the farthest, then the Forces of the Apostolick See should follow his Camp; but if he entered not within the said term, they should certainly be disbanded: which did not much please the Spanish Ministers, who saw the Pope little inclined to follow their ends; but much lesse the Duke of *Mayene*, who saw that he could not hope for those Affairs that were fit for his designe. But his death, which happened in the second month of his Popedom, did so confound the mindes of the Legate and the rest, that the Duke of Parma was necessitated with his entreaties and authority to constrain them to follow him in the present need, and to promise the Swissers to pay them with his own money, if they were not satisfied by the next Pope.

The death of  
Pope Innocent  
the Ninth.

All things being thus settled, and the Forces drawn from all parts, the Armies joyned, and advanced with easie march towards *Nesle*; where being arrived upon the fourth of January, the Duke of Parma would needs make a generall Review of his Forces, which he mustered, and caused to be paid a weeks pay; and likewise the Duke of *Mayene*, Count de *Vandemont*, and the Duke of *Monte-marignano* reviewed their Forces; and for that purpose, and to stay for Artillery and Ammunition, which moved more slowly, they lay twelve days in the same Quarters. They set forward upon the sixteenth in the morning, and by the way of *Amiens* (though the longer, yet the better, and more abundant in provisions) marched directly toward *Rouen*. When they had passed *Amiens*, and left behinde them the River *Somme*,

Upon the 4 of  
January 1592,  
the Duke of  
Parma being  
come into  
France, and  
joyned with  
the Popes and  
the French forces,  
musters his  
Army. Upon  
the 16 day the  
Confederates  
march to relieve  
*Rouen* with  
24000 Foot  
and 6000 Horse.

Duke of Parma would needs distribute the parts of his Army, and march continually in battalia, since they entred into an Enemies Country, full of uneven places, Woods and little Rivers; which cause he would not expose himself to the danger of being assaulted unawares by the King's readinesse and celerity, which by past experience was exceedingly well known unto him. There were in the Army about six thousand Horse; eight hundred *Reiters* commanded by the Baron of *Swarzemberg*, two thousand light-Horse (in the absence of the Duke of *Pastrana*) commanded by *Georgio Basti* Commissary of the Cavalry; four hundred Flemish Lances under the Prince of *Simais*, an hundred Italian Lances of the Generall of the Church, led by his Lieutenant *Lodovico Melzi*; seven hundred Lorain Lances and Cuirassiers commanded by the Count *Vandemont*; and two thousand Horse of the French Gentry, that followed the Dukes of *Mayene* and *Guise*, and the other Princes and Lords of that party. The Infantry amounted to the number of 24000, whereof two thousand Swislers; so small a number were they reduced that were raised by the Church; three Spanish *Tertia's* under *Antonio Zuniga*, *Lodovico Velasco*, and *Alonso Idiaques*; two of Germans, under the conduct of the Counts of *Barlemont* and *Arembergh*; one of Walloons, under Monsieur *du Vert*, Count *Octavio Lasfelt*, the Count *de Bossu*, and Colonel *Claude de la Berlotte*; one *Tertia's* of Italians, that of *Camillo Capizucchi's*, and a part of that which formerly was *Pietro Gaetano's*, led by his elegant Major, and four thousand French, under the Sieurs *Bois-Dauphine* and *Balagny*, and Colonel *S'Paul*. This Army was divided into three Battalions; the *Van-guard* led by the Duke of *Guise*, accompanied by the Sieurs *de Vitry*, and *de Chastre*; the *Battell*, in which were the Dukes of *Parma*, *Mayene*, the Count *de Vandemont*, and the Duke of *Montecitorio*; and the *Rere-guard*, commanded by the Duke of *Male*, and the Count *de Chaligny* with many other Lords. The first flying Squadron of Foot was led by *Camillo Capizucchi* wherein were all the Italians; the Swislers guarded the Artillery, which were under the command of the Sieurs *de la Roche* and *Bassompierre*; *Georgio Basti* with a good Body of Carbines and light-Horse marched before the whole Army, to clear and secure the ways; and the Sieur *de Rosne* had the charge of Serjeant-Major-Generall.

The description  
of the Com-  
federates Ar-  
my.

The



The King having heard the news of the coming of the Army of the League, consulted maturely what was to be done; and having the example of Paris before him, resolved to leave the Mareichall *de Biron* with all the Infantry, and part of the Cavalry before *Roüen* to continue the siege, and to go himself with a good strength of Horse to meet the Enemy, not to fight with them in the open field, but to hinder them upon passes, to retard and interrupt their march, and to take hold of those opportunities which the quality of situation, and the motions of the Confederates should afford. He was perswaded to this resolution by finding himself so strong and powerfull in Horse; for the Duke of *Nevers*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Count *de S' Paul*, and many other Lords being newly arrived at the Army, there were in all above ten thousand Horse, and in the Camp between seven and eight and twenty thousand Foot; wherefore the King putting confidence in this number, left the major part of the German Cavalry, hard to be governed, and also some number of the French in the Camp before *Roüen*; and he himself with 2000 Cuirsiers, five hundred light-Horse, a thousand *Reiters* commanded by the Prince of *Anhalt*, and 2000 Harquebuziers on horseback, departed upon the nine-and twentieth of January, and march up toward the Enemy.

The Kings Army before *Roüen* amounts to 10000 Horse, & above 27000 Foot.

The King at *Folleville* having intelligence that the Army of the League was marching neerer, advanced with some Horse to view it, and being met by two Troops of the Enemy, skirmishes, and retires with all his men to *Berreville*.

At his arrivall at *Folleville*, a little Town at the entring into Picardy, he received intelligence, that at that very time the Enemies Army keeping the right way toward *Roüen*, was passing a little lower, toward the field that encompasses the passage of the great high-way: Wherefore having sent the *Sieur de Rambures* before with fifteen light-Horse to make discovery, he drew out the *Grand Esquier* with forty Gentlemen upon the right hand, and the *Sieur de Lavardin* with thirty upon the left, and he himself in the midst with sixscore Horse advanced, that he might conveniently view what order the Army of the League kept in marching; when they had advanced in this manner little lesse then a league, *Lavardin* discovered some Spanish Foot, who resting themselves under a tree, had set up their Pikes round about it; and being about to draw neerer to fall upon them, they on the right hand perceived two strong Troops of Horse (which had been upon the guard at the end of a high-way) were already moving toward them; wherefore crying out that the fruit of the tree was ripe,

they were the cause that *Lavardin* taking notice of the enemy, turned couragiously about, and at the head of his most valiantly charged them; who having in the first encounter killed his horse under him, made a brisk onset on each side upon him; but the fight was short; for the King came up with his Troop, the Horse of the League retired to their main Body. Then saw they the whole Army as they still, but the guards being diligently placed thorow all the field, the King found that he could not draw neerer them, therefore being joyned with the rest of his men he retired that night to *Berteville*.

From thence following his designe, he came upon the fourth of February to *Aumale*, a Castle seated upon a River which divides the Confines of Picardy from upper Normandy, where he quartered all his men in the Suburb; and the next morning, being desirous himself to see the order, and view the Camp of the Enemy, he advanced in person with the Archers for his guard, two hundred other light-Horse, and three hundred chosen Gentlemen, upon the way which the Army of the League marched, leaving the care of the rest that were in *Aumale* unto the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Longueville*. But as it happened to that Prince, (that being led on by his courage, and the curiosity of making discovery with his own eye, the first ranks of his souldiers, he was suddenly entangled in wonderfull great dangers,) so it fell out that day; for having past a field exceeding full of Vineyards, which spreads it self from *Aumale* beyond the River to the bottome of a hill, and being gone up the steep thereof to the top, where there was a spacious Plain, he fell unexpectedly among the *Avant-coureurs* of the League, which he thought had been yet above the League from thence. The encounter was so sudden (because the hill being between them, had hindered each party from discovering the other) that having neither time to retire nor get up in order, it was necessary to handle their arms, and fight pell-mell without any consideration. There were at the head of the French the King himselfe, the Baron de *Bi-  
brassin*, the Count de *S' Paul*, the Sieurs de *Marivaut*, de *Chaseron*, de *Baslin*, d' *Aubigny*, de *Rambures*, and de *Champlivant*, with many other valiant souldiers; so that there was no doubt but the *Avant-Coureurs* of the League, being both in number and courage much inferiour, must give place to their fury and valour,

The King going from *Aumale* with a few Lords to discover the enemy, is forced to fight upon the sudden in disorder; yet notwithstanding after a short resistance puts them to flight.



lour; and indeed, after a short resistance they betook themselves openly to flight.

Then appear'd the Duke of Parma's Army, which being drawn into Battalia with military order, marched on its way along the same Plain. The whole form of their Battell was four square, and had an open intervall in the *Front*, through which the Squadrons in the middle might draw forth to fight; and at the angles of the *Rere* there were likewise two intervals; that of the *Front* being shut up by the flying Squadron, and those in the *Rere* by two Bodies of Horse which were to advance first into the Battell. The Flanks were defended by the wonted carriages, which in admirable order went on without stragling: and by the side of them were the Foot of all the severall Nations drawn up in divisions: without the Body of the Army, and of the four-square-form, the light-Horse and Carabines in very great numbers, being divided into many Squadrons, filled up the extent of the Plain on every side; and in the midst of the whole Camp, the Duke, carried in an ornate chair, went himself observing what was amiss, and setting all things in order. But the King had hardly made a stand upon the Plain to take an hasty view of this excellent order, when *Georgio Basti* (advertised by the *Avant-Coureurs*) coming with the Carabines and light-Horse of the Army, he found himself entangled by two great clouds of Harquebusiers horse-back, who hailing upon them on both sides, forced him, though very late, to think of the means of retiring. Almost all the Gentlemen that followed him were without their head-pieces, because in such an unexpected accident they did not had time to take them; and fought confusedly in disorder, because haste had not suffered them to draw themselves up to a Body; so that onely courage, and sense of honour, and the King's presence restrained them from flight, which was necessary if they would save their lives: but a great number falling dead on every side (since even the best of their armour was not proof against the violence of those bullets that flew from the extraordinary wide bore of the Carabines) and the first flying Squadron of Foot already appearing, which having heard the beginning of the fight, came up a great power to fall in amongst them, the King commanding his men to wheel about, but not to charge, went on at a round trot toward the descent, to meet with his light-Horse and Harquebusiers.

siers on horseback, which being led by the Baron *de Giury*  
 and the *Sieur de Lavardin*, followed him not very far off.  
 The Enemy with no lesse readinesse was at his back, and on  
 sides the Captains of the light-Horse made haste to cut off  
 retreat; for being known by his countenance, plume, and  
 bit, every one cryed out to his companions, that it was the  
 King of *Navar*, and mutually exhorting each other to follow  
 on, they put all their utmost endeavours to get him into  
 their hands. The fury of their retreat downward (making  
 many horses stumble and fall) did so much hinder their speed  
 and order, that it was necessary the King himself, with evident  
 danger, should stay among the last, to sustain the violence of  
 the Enemy, and be in the greatest storm of shot, one of which  
 striking at last thorow the cantle of his saddle, wounded him  
 though without danger) under the reins. As the Kings hurt  
 necessitated him to fly full speed to save himself, so did it ut-  
 terly rout his men, who being come into the field below, were  
 hindered by the impediment of the stakes, and branches of the  
 trees, and by the abundance of the hedges; so that men and  
 horses fell at every step, and were exposed to the fury of the  
 enemies, who made such a slaughter with their Carabines, that  
 besides the great number of Gentlemen which were slain, the  
 others of the Kings guard were almost all left dead upon  
 the place. But the light-Horse who were already come up  
 to the midst of the Plain, which being but short, spread it  
 between the Town and the place where the fight was, be-  
 ing met by those who fled away, carrying news that the King  
 was wounded and almost dead, disordered themselves with-  
 out fighting, and facing about, fled back for company to *An-*  
*ubigny*; onely the Baron *de Giury*, who was at the head of them  
 with their Captains, advancing with thirty in his company  
 to assist in the Kings so manifest danger, covered him with his  
 own cloke, which he threw about his shoulders, and upheld  
 him for a while, till he saved himself from the fury of his ene-  
 mies. At the same time the *Sieur de Lavardin* advanced  
 with threescore of his Harquebusiers on horse-back, for the  
 rest had also taken flight, and placing himself behinde the  
 bank of a ditch that was by the way-side, endeavoured to stop  
 the pursuit of the Enemy; but he being wounded at the  
 first volley, *Giury's* horse killed under him, which in falling  
 broke his left leg and knee very dangerously, *Aubigny* unhorsed,

While the  
 King views the  
 Enemies Ar-  
 my, their Ca-  
 valry come up  
 to him, and he  
 being in won-  
 derfull great  
 danger, comes  
 off wounded.

XXXXXX

Chaseron



1592 *Chaseron* wounded, *Rambures* bruised and bloudy, not one of them would have been saved, if the Duke of *Nevers* with a great Squadron of Cavalry (wherein were the Counts of *Torigny* and *Montgomery*, the *Sieur de Montigny*, and the *Grand Esquier*) had not advanced to disengage them. The Duke after he had heard of the beginning of the skirmish, and that the King was put to the worst, had wonderfull discreetly disposed that part of the Harquebusiers on horse-back which he remained with him, along the bank of the River to make good the ford, and favour the passage of those that fled; and himself with the main Body of the Cavalry, all armed, and in excellent good order, had past the River to relieve and sustain his men, which he saw afar off were overpowred and oppressed by the violence of the Enemy; and his coming was very seasonable; for if he had stayed longer, both the King himself and all the rest that were in the Plain, would certainly have been either killed or taken. The Duke went on till he came to a place where (by reason that the River was overflowed) he was faine to passe along a narrow bank, and there not onely seeing the Spanish Carabines (incouraged by the beginning of the victory) furious in a close pursuit, but also the *Sieur de Vitry*, the *Baron de la Chastre*, and the Count of *Chaligny*, who leaving the body of the Army behinde the were run to re-inforce the fight, he took a resolution to retire without passing any farther, lest he should lose the Gentlemen that were with him, if with so great disadvantage and to no purpose he should have exposed them to the Enemies whole Armie, which was like to charge them every minute; wherefore having fetch'd them off, who (their horses being lost) retired with much difficulty, having recovered *Ginry* and *Lizardin*, both very sore hurt, and having gathered up many Gentlemen that were scattered about the field, he returned wheeling off, and facing often about till he came to the River of *Aumale*, where being sustained by the Harquebusiers that lay along the bank, he passed it again without any disorder, and drawing up quickly, followed the King's steps, who with very great speed had taken towards a wood to retire the more securely.

The Duke of Nevers relieves the Kings Cavalry that was retiring to Aumale, & makes good their retreat.

The Duke of Nevers having fetch'd off the Kings Cavalry, follows the King, who had saved himself in a wood.

It is most certain, that if the Army of the League had advanced quickly (with the same fury as did the Carabines) on the right hand and on the left, (for in all that Country they might

might have marched freely as far as the bank) the King surrounded and encompassed on all sides before the Duke of Nevers had arrived, would with all his men have remained in their power, since that notwithstanding they did not, he had both much ado and exceeding great fortune to save himself; but at the same time the news being confusedly brought, that the Enemy was present, that the King himself was there in person, that they were fighting, and that they fled; the Duke of Parma, not suffering himself to be carried away with common reports, and not thinking it possible that the King without some secret stratagem, would have adventured himself inconsiderately among the *Avant-Coureurs*, doubting lest in that Country where he was not well acquainted, some ambuscade might be laid for him; and therefore causing his Army to take a halt, and having stopt the flying Squadron that was ready upon its march, before he advanced, he would make himself sure that he should not be caught in a trap; which prudent wariness nevertheless gave the King conveniency to save himself; for though the Duke of Mayene (who in vain had urged that the whole Army might advance) set forward with a Body of Horse at a large trot to follow him, yet it being already night when they entered into Aumale, he was out of hope to do any good, and therefore resolved to stay and passe no further.

The King caused himself to be hastily dressed in a wood about halfe a league from Aumale, and having found that the wound was not very deep, (for the bullet being deaded by passing thorow the saddle, stuck but in the flesh) prosecuted his journey with very great speed, and stopt not till he came within the walls of *Neuf Chastel*; where the Duke of Nevers having done the part of a prudent and valiant souldier, arrived also, though many hours after, with all his men perfectly safe. It was feared lest the next day the Duke of Parma should follow on his voyage speedily, and hasten directly to *Rouen*; where the report of the King's being routed and wounded might have bred a fright and a confusion in the Army, with very great danger of being defeated and scattered; nor did there appear any other remedy to retard his march, save to defend *Neuf-Chastel*; which place standing upon the Road, they did not believe he would leave at his back, especially if it were strongly garison'd, lest it should obstruct the wayes, and

The King causes his wound to be dressed in the wood, which found not dangerous, hee goes presently to *Neuf-Chastel*.



1592 hinder the bringing in of provisions, which were all of necessity to passe thorow those parts. But the Town being weak and the exigency requiring a speedy resolution, the *Baron de Ginry*, though his foot was very sorely hurt, proffered himself to stay, and to defend it so long, that the Enemy might not come unexpectedly to *Rouën*; but that the King's Army the present terrour being overpast, might have time to settle it self again, and that the King himself being grown better of his wound (which they hoped he would be within a few days) were able again to get on horse-back, and with his presence put courage into the actions of his souldiers, which was the onely means to sustain himself. So three hundred Cuirassiers, and four hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back being left at *Neuf-Chastel* with *Ginry*, the King with the *Baron de Biron* went to *Diepe*, that they might be the better cured, and the Duke of *Nevers* with the remainder of his men returned to *Rouën* to re-inforce the Army.

The King leaves the *Baron de Ginry* at *Neuf-Chastel*, he having undertaken to defend it, & goes to *Diepe* to be cured of his wound.

The Duke of Parma quartered the next day at *Aumale*, and the French Lords murmuring, that if he had advanced that day, the War might easily have been made an end of; he answered, That if he were to do it again, he would take the same resolution, because it was dictated by reason, having till then believed that he had had to do with a Captain-Generall of an Army, and not with a Captain of light-Horse, which he now knew the King of Navar to be: but this business bred a discontent among the Commanders of the League for the Spaniards and Italians commended the Duke of Parma's warinesse, and his secure way of managing the War, and the French praised the forward humour of their Nation, and would have had him proceed in the same manner which they saw the King hold in the promptnesse of his resolutions, but the condition of the one was very different from that of the other; for the King being Generall of a voluntary Army, and having no other hope, nor any other security but himself, was necessitated to venture his own person upon all occasions, making way with his danger for those that followed him; but the Duke of Parma coming onely to succour the Confederates, would not hazard at once the hopes of France, and the possession of *Flanders*, without expectation of some fruit by his Victory that might countervail so great a losse; and therefore with art and prudence, as he had done at *Paris*, he proceeded

The Duke of Parma's answer to the French Lords.

tende

ed not to conquer, but not to be conquered. However  
ere, it is most certain, that from hence there began to rise  
ferences and discontents between him and the Duke of May-  
which afterwards encreased every day.

The Army of the League advancing with commodious  
ahes, laid siege to *Neuf-Chastel*, which by reason of its  
eknesse, they believed would have made no resistance; but  
Duke of Parma incensed at the boldnesse of the defen-  
is, and at the impediment which he received thereby,  
ed his Artillery to be planted with as much speed as was  
ble, and with wonderfull fury to batter that part of the  
which stood toward his Camp, which being old, and  
lined with earth, within a short space afforded a breach  
convenient to be assaulted; which Monsieur *de Giury*  
eng began to capitulate; and though the Duke were at  
highly incensed at his resistance, yet being appeased by  
intercession of Monsieur *de la Chastre*, *Giury's* Father-in-  
and admiring the valour of that *Cavalier*, (who to give  
sparty time to recover breath, had thrust himself into so  
et a danger) granted him honourable conditions, about  
performance whereof there arose some dispute; for Mon-  
*de Rebours* a Colonel of French Infantry, who had shut  
self up in the Town with *Giury*, not having been par-  
ticularly mentioned in the Capitulation, the Duke of Par-  
pretended that he not having been named, ought  
to enjoy the benefit of the Articles, but to remain a pri-  
er; and Monsieur *de Giury* argued, that having made  
position for himself and all his souldiers, though *Rebours*  
not named with the other Officers, because he had not  
hen there, was yet comprehended, and ought to go free  
in all the rest; which after it had been a while disputed,  
Duke of Parma generously remitted the difference to the  
ig's own decision, who knew whether he had left *Rebours*  
in command or without command for the defence of the  
ce. But the King having called a Council of War, and  
ing heard every ones opinion, gave judgement that *Re-*  
was to be understood as comprehended in the Capitu-  
tion.

But the obstacle of *Neuf-Chastel*, though it was but for  
days, gave great help to the King's affairs; for that time  
not onely very considerable, but in that interim part of  
the

The Duke of  
Parma besieges  
*Neuf-Chastel*,  
which though  
weak, is gal-  
lantly defend-  
ed by *Giury*; but a breach  
being made, &  
the assailants  
ready to fall  
on, *Giury* ca-  
pitulates. The  
Duke of Parma  
angry at his re-  
sistance, shows  
himself unwill-  
ing to treat;  
but being ap-  
pealed, grants  
him honoura-  
ble conditions.



1592 the victuall being spent which was brought along with the Army of the League, it was necessary to stay to make new provisions; for the Country destroyed in a siege of so many months, in the sterility of the Winter, did not afford any thing, and the victuals that were to be brought from Picardy were of necessity to be accompanied with strong Convoys, and backed by the Cavalry of the Army, because the King and the Baron *de Biron* from Diepe and Arques where they lay, caused all the ways to be obstructed with their Horse. This stay was of ten days, to the great murmuring of the French, for the Duke would not engage himself in an Enemies Country, all ruin'd, and not well known to him, without such abundant provisions of victuall as were necessary to feed his Camp, not being accustomed to remit the event of his counsels unto fortune. In these dayes there happened many violent encounters; for the King being cured of his wound, suffered not the Enemy to repose without suspicion, nor without danger; but matters proceeded almost alike, the encounters being between the Cavalry, wherein the number of the Gentry on each side equalled the proceedings, with bold attempts, prompt resistance, and gallant resolutions.

A skirmish  
grown almost  
to a Battell.

*Chicot* the Kings  
Jester takes the  
Count de *Chaligny*  
prisoner.

It fell out that the King, being advanced upon a hill to lay on the right side of the great high-way by which all the enemies Army marched, caused the *Sieur de Montigny* with his Squadron of light-Horse, and the *Sieur de Praslin* with another of Cuirassiers to fall suddenly into the Quarters of the Duke of Aumale (who brought up the Rear) just at the time when he newly entered into them; but after a short skirmish rather than fight, being in their retreat, charged by the Count *de Chaligny* and the *Sieur de Rieux*, there followed in the adjoining Plain a great encounter, in which the *Sieur de Ferwaques* and the Count *de Torigny* were slain, to the Mareschal *de Matignon* coming up with the Troop of Normandy, they fought above two hours with singular bravery; but when they of the League would have retired, they found themselves engaged by the Baron *de Biron*, who with another Troop fell in upon their Flank, so that to save themselves they were faine to turn their backs and run full speed, which the Count *de Chaligny* scorning to do, and gallantly fighting in the midst of his enemies, was taken prisoner. *Chicot* the Kings Jester, but a notable sturdy lad, who in his

tal

ing of him received a wound from him in the head, whereof  
died not many days after. The Count being brought into the  
King's presence, and being much afflicted to have been taken  
a fellow of so base a profession, the King comforted him,  
telling him that *Chicot* was a valiant fellow, and that he  
ought rather to complain against himself for having engaged  
himself so far; to which the Count answering, that the de-  
sire of seeing and learning had made him so forward: the King  
replied, that those of his party knew not how to teach him,  
and that if he would learn the art of War, he ought to fight  
under his Colours, and neer his Person. These were the ordi-  
nary sayings of the King, who gave the Counts ransome to  
the Dutchesse of *Longueville* and her Daughters, who having  
been taken at *Corbie*, after many months imprisonment were  
to buy their liberty with 30000 Ducats.

The next day, just as the Army of the League came out of  
their Quarters, the Baron *de Biron* in the Plain attacqued the  
divisions of them led by the Sieurs *de Vitry*, and *de la*  
*Roche*, where the skirmish with infinite courage on both  
sides began to grow exceeding hot; but the Army still march-  
ing in battalia that way, the Baron resolved to retire among the  
woods, which being very wooddy on all sides, gave the King con-  
fidence to molest the Enemy with his flying Army, and al-  
so to make his retreat in time of need. By reason of these so  
frequent and dangerous encounters, which ceased neither  
day nor night, the Duke of Parma marching with his Army  
in order, advanced but slowly, not stirring if the day  
was not very cleer, and if the Country were not well disco-  
vered, and taking up his Quarters betimes in the evening,  
so that he might have leasure to fortifie and entrench his  
camp.

But he was now come neer to *Rouen*, and it was necessary  
to resolve upon some way either to raise the siege, or relieve  
the place: *Georgio Basti* profered himself with a certain num-  
ber of light-Horse, and two Squadrons of Lances to march a-  
way, and arriving by night, to passe thorow the midst of one  
of the Kings quarters, and dispersing it, to enter into the Ci-  
ty. The same did *Camillo Capizucchi* offer to do with his Ter-  
cento accompanied with a certain number of Horse; but the  
King thought not these propositions proportionable to the  
present need of the City, which was not onely of necessity

The Duke of  
Parma draws  
neer to Rouen.

A generous of-  
fer of *Georgio*  
*Basti*, and *Ca-*  
*millo Capizuc-*  
*chi*.



1592

to be relieved, but totally freed ; and besides that, it was dangerous to hazard a Body of good men, though small, against the preparations of a whole Royall Army. And therefore after mature deliberation, he resolved to relieve the Citie with all his Forces in this following manner. The King with the greater part of the Cavalry was moved into the midst of the way on the right hand, toward Diepe and the Country of Caux, to keep strong parties abroad, that he might obstruct the passages, and make it difficult to the Army of the League ; and being drawn from *Rouen* the space of five or six leagues, had dispersed his quarters in places separate from one another, yet near among themselves. The Baron *de Biron* lay at Diepe and Arques with the remainder of the Horse, to shut up the passage to the Army of the League, and by following them in the Rere, to hinder the bringing in of provisions. At *Rouen* there remained onely the Foot with the Mareschal *de Bir*. Things being thus disposed, the Duke of Parma resolved to move in the afternoon from the place where he was quartered, and taking the way upon the left hand, which leads straight to *Pont de l' Arche* (after he had gone round the wood of *Belancomble*) to turn upon the right hand, and marching all the night, to arrive unexpectedly at *Rouen* by break of day, and without delay to assault the Posts of the Mareschal *de Bir*. Infantry ; which (the besieged falling out of the City with their wonted valour) he doubted not but would be totally defeated and dissipated, before the King (who at the first intelligence of their moving would be uncertain of their extraordinary march) could have time or opportunity to assist with the Cavalry.

With this intention (the weather being very fair for that season of the year) he moved suddenly upon the twenty first of February, taking upon the left hand toward *Belancomble*. But upon the twenty fifth day the diligence and valour of *Sieur de Villars* had already prevented his designe : for he finding the King was absent with all his Horse, and that the Foot of the Camp was divided at many severall Posts, and not being willing to suffer another to have the glory of raising the siege, if he could do it by himself, he determined to try if by a bold sally he could put the Enemies affairs in disorder : and being advertised by an Irish-man who was run away from the Camp, that since the departure of the King with the prin-

the Lords, the guards were not so diligently kept, because the  
*Mareschal de Biron* could not be in all places, and the Cardi-  
of Bourbon, and the High-Chancellour, with the Lords of  
the Council who were remaining at Dernetal had no expe-  
rience in military matters, he set himself in order to sally in  
at severall places, and assault all the Posts at once. He  
ordered the Townsmen armed in their severall Companies to  
guard the walls, under the command of the *Sieur de la Londe*,  
and he himself being resolved to go forth in person, dispo-  
sed his busineses in this manner following : Colonel *Boniface*  
was to sally from *S<sup>t</sup> Catherines* with his Regiment of Foot, and  
two hundred Gentlemen and Officers at the head of it, being  
attended by the *Chevalier d'Oyse* with two Troops of Horse  
that sallyed from *Martinville*, and were to assault the Post of  
*Tringe*. *Pericard* with his Regiment seconded by Captain  
*Bosey* and the *Sieur de Quित्रy*, was to assault the Batteries  
directed against the old Fort. Captain *Giacopo Argenti* with  
his Infantry, followed by the *Sieur de Canonville's* Horse to re-  
pounce them, sallying at the *Porte Canchoise*, was to march to-  
ward the Covent of Carthusians, to make head against the  
main Body at Dernetal, in case they should move to succour  
their Trenches. The Governour himself with a select num-  
ber of Souldiers and Gentlemen, seconded by Captain *Per-*  
*driel*, sallying at the *Porte de Beauvais*, was to assault the Bat-  
tery newly raised by the French Regiments. All these things  
were in order at break of day, and the signe being given by  
Canon-shot, they sallyed with singular gallantry, and with  
much violence, that the passage to the Trenches being ta-  
ken both before and behinde, and the guards surrounded,  
they made a wonderful great slaughter in every place, took  
the Canon, some of which they nailed, some they drew into  
the Moat; they spoiled the engines and instruments of war  
in all places, gave vent to the Mines, blew up the Ammuni-  
tion and filled every place with death and terrour; so that all  
the Foot making no further resistance, fled without stop to-  
ward Dernetall. The Alarm had been suddenly given, and  
the *Mareschal de Biron* with four thousand Swissers and Ger-  
mans, and with those Gentlemen that were remaining in the  
Camp, was coming a great pace to succour his Trenches; but  
Captain *Perdriel*, who sallyed after the Governour at the *Porte*  
*de Beauvais* with three Troops of Horse, over-ran all the Plain,

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and wheeling & skirmishing briskly, endeavoured to keep them in play; and the same did the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, with *Boroy*, *Quitry*, and *Cannonville*, till their souldiers had done what they intended in the Trenches; which having fully performed, those four Squadrons likewise advanced to receive the counter of the *Mareschal de Biron*, and between the Trenches and Dernetall they made a bloody fight; in which, though the *Sieur de Larchant* a brave Cavalier, and Captain of the King's Guards was slain, and the Mareschall himself for y hurt with a shot in the thigh; yet the other Squadrons of the Germans coming up, and the English and French Infantry rallying themselves together on all sides, they of the Town were beaten back, though with much ado, and driven to their very gates. But the Ammunition being blown up, the Artillery taken, and all things put into confusion, the losse was incalculable, and irreparable for a long time. There were slain on the King's side above eight hundred souldiers in the Trenches, and amongst them two French Colonels, and fourteen Captains of severall Nations; and of the assailants not above fifty. The Governour presently dispatched the *Sieur de Franqueville* thorow the woods to the Duke of Mayene to give him notice of what had passed, and to let him know that it was not necessary to precipitate any thing to relieve the City, for the Enemy was left in such a condition, that they would be able to hurt them but little for many dayes. This intelligence being received on the twenty sixth in the evening while the Army was marching their appointed way, they made an halt, and the Commanders were called to conference.

The Duke of Parma is of opinion to follow the enterprise of Roüen, and to prosecute the Kings Forces already terrified: The Duke of Mayene is of another mind, and his advice is followed.

The Duke of *Parma* was of opinion to prosecute the design for that the Infantry being astonished by the misfortune of the day before, it would be much more easie to dissipate them and make themselves Masters of their Quarters, freeing the Citie utterly from the siege, and effecting that for which they were advanced so far: but the Duke of Mayene considered that the businesse they intended to do was already done, the Mines and Trenches destroyed, the Artillery taken, and Ammunition blown up, that there remained nothing to do, save to beat the Infantry out of their Quarters at Dernetal, whither they were all reduced, which being excellently well fortified, was not an enterprise that could be so easily effected without dispute, so that it being necessary to spend many hours time about

King in the interim would be come up, most powerful in  
 force, with whom they must of necessity fight, with their souls  
 tired with marching, and wearied with the first encounter;  
 and that the City not having need that things should be  
 precipitated, it was better to proceed with that circumspection  
 wherewith they had governed themselves till then. His opi-  
 nion was followed, though many of the Spaniards believed he  
 gave that counsel, because the Duke of Parma should not get  
 the glory of having relieved *Rouën*; and so in the same order  
 the Army faced about, and returned to the quarters from  
 whence they came.

There they consulted what was to be done. The Duke  
 of Mayene's opinion, in which the other French Lords con-  
 curred, was, that the siege of *Rouën* could not be raised with-  
 out coming to a Battel, which, by reason of the great abun-  
 dance of Gentry that followed the King at that present, he  
 judged very dangerous: whereupon his advice was (*Rouën*  
 being in such a condition, that there was no danger it should  
 be much straitned in many days, no nor in many weeks) that  
 only seven or eight hundred Foot should be sent into the Ci-  
 ty for a reinforcement, and to make up the number of the dead;  
 that the rest of the Army should bend another way, shew-  
 ing that they were no longer in fear nor care about the siege,  
 and that they would busie themselves about other enterprises:  
 the Gentry that followed the King, tired with the suffer-  
 ings and expences of all that winter, seeing there was not like  
 to be any occasion of fighting for a long while, and that the  
 Army of the League was far off, would with their wonted haste  
 returne to their own houses, and that many others would leave  
 the King's Camp in the same manner; which as soon as they  
 should see come to passe, they should speedily march back,  
 without losing time advance to *Rouën*; for that the King  
 would certainly be forced to draw off; or if he fought, the Vi-  
 ctory would be secure. The Spaniards and Italians, fearing  
 the others should enjoy the fruits and honours of their labours,  
 were minded to go forward, firmly believing that the King would  
 retire from the siege, rather then be caught between the City  
 and their Army; and since so much was already done, they de-  
 sired to perfect the enterprise: and this opinion was favoured  
 by Prince *Rannuccio*, more desirous of glory then any other.  
 The Duke of *Parma* chose to follow the advice of the



1592 French ; and having sent to Rouen eight hundred Wallo  
of the Regiment of the Count *de Bossu* and *de la Bourlot*  
who arriving by night ; entered without opposition, departed  
with the rest of his Army ; and having passed the River *Somme*,  
he marched away as fast as he could, and went to besiege  
*S' Esprit de Rüe*, a wonderful strong place standing toward  
Confines.

The Duke of  
Parma sends  
800 Horse in-  
to Rouen, and  
then goes to  
besiege S. E-  
sprit de Rüe,  
an exceeding  
strong place.

The King re-  
ceives supplies  
by the Holland  
Fleet, and ap-  
plies himself  
with his ut-  
most endea-  
vours to the  
siege of Rouen

When the Army of the League was retired, the King  
though the cause of the resolution of the Confederates was  
obscure to him, determined neverthelesse to straiten the siege  
of Rouen more diligently then he had done before ; and  
men of War being arrived, which the States of Holland sent  
to his assistance, commanded by *Philip* one of the Counts of  
*Nassaw* ( aboard which were many Pieces of Canon, great  
store of Ammunition, and above three thousand Foot ) he  
caused the Canon and Ammunition to be landed, whereof he  
had exceeding great need, by reason of the spoil made in  
the sally, and gave order that the Holland ships should  
only scowre the River, to hinder the coming of Victuals and  
other necessaries that were brought from *Havre de Grace* to  
*Rouen*, but also that they should come up close to the City  
and battering the old Palace and other places neer the River  
increase the dangers and labours of the besieged. He  
caused certain Barks to be manned in the upper part of the River  
towards *Pont de l' Arche*, which under the command of  
*Monfieur de l' Hospital* High-Chancellour of Navar, scowred  
also on that side, and blocked it up so much the more : where  
Barks, the first day they set forth, meeting with *Monfieur d'Ar-  
quetil*, made a very sharp fight, the end whereof was, that  
of the Town-ships being fired, and another sunk, though the  
King's did also receive much harm, yet those of the League  
tired under the protection of the walls. The Holland-ships  
drew neer also on the lower side, and shot an infinite number of  
Canon-shot into the Town, which neverthelesse did but  
little hurt : but the Governour having caused three Culverine  
to be planted upon a *Cavalier* which had formerly been raised  
on the River side, after that one of their ships was boarded  
and thorow with them, and the main-mast of another  
cut down, they drew off, to look to the blocking up of the River  
and landed two thousand Foot more, to reinforce the Army.

The King in the mean time set himself again to casting  
Trence

renches, and make Redoubts on all sides ; and hastening the  
 works with his own presence , the Princes and Lords assisting  
 likewise in their turns, nor intermitting to work by night, they  
 were brought to perfection in a few days. The first of them  
 down from the side of *Turinge* , was followed more eagerly  
 on the rest, to recover the Canon which at the Sally had been  
 down into the moat on that side : but the besieged perceiving  
 this designe , made an engine to raise and draw them up ; and  
 though the skirmishes were many , and that the Artillery and  
 sally-works did much mischief on all sides , yet they of the  
 Town drew them up to the Bulwark of the old Fort ; and  
 having brought them into the Citie with great joy and tri-  
 umph , set them in the Court of the Archbishop's Palace,  
 where the Governour lay , because it stood in a place equally  
 distant from those which the enemy battered at that time. They  
 fought lustily in all places ; and the Count *de Soissons* being  
 first past over into the *Fauxbourg* of *S' Severe*, had begun al-  
 so to raise a Battery on that side , to divide the Forces of the  
 defendants, and presse them on all sides : yet neverthelesse  
 the Count *Villars*, to shew that he neither feared nor was straitned, caused  
 many Cavaliers to go forth between the *Porte de Martinville*  
 and that of *S' Hilaire*, and to make a Turnament , running at  
 the Ring and \* *Faquin* , and making shew to be fully at ease,  
 unconcerned , among so great and so continual toils and  
 dangers. But the King interpreted this action , not to va-  
 nity (which *Villars* was very far from) but to weakness, and  
 he endeavoured with that cloke to palliate the extreme ne-  
 cessity he was reduced to, and therefore with greater diligence  
 showed his batteries and mines in every place. They con-  
 tinued their sallies, with various fortune , and now at last the  
 weakness of the number of the defendants slackened them, the  
 Count *de Franqueville* having been slain in one of them , and  
 the Lieutenant-Major *La Londe*, with many other Officers, wounded ;  
 yet they made so brisk a one on the side toward *S' Severe*,  
 that the Count *de Soissons* ran himself into the Trench , ex-  
 horting and encouraging his Souldiers ; yet they of the Town  
 having seized upon a Redoubt, advanced into the plain, where  
 encountering the Baron *de Giury* , who was gone on that side  
 with some Troops of Light-horse, the fight was very hot and  
 terrible , *Giury* himself being so sorely wounded in the shoul-  
 der that he was given for dead ; to the King's so great and

The King's  
 souldiers at  
 Rouen desire  
 to recover  
 their Canon  
 which the be-  
 sieged had cast  
 into the moat :  
 their designes  
 are discovered,  
 and the defen-  
 dants at last,  
 though after  
 many skirmi-  
 shes , draw  
 them up with  
 engines, and  
 bring them in-  
 to the Town  
 with great joy.

\* Or, *Quimane*.



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The *Sieur de Giury* is sorely wounded; for which the King much grieved, said, that if he should die, he had no body to whom he could commend the charge of the *Light horse*: Which speech disgusted the *Sieurs de Montigny* and *la Chappelle*; the first of which, spurred on by the King's words, continues to serve him with more diligence; and the other in despair goes over to the League.

so manifest trouble, that having heard the news, he fled with a deep sigh, that he had now no body to whom he could recommend the so important charge of the *light-Horse*; which speech offended many, and particularly the *Sieurs de Montigny*, and *de la Chappelle*, who pretended to the place: *Montigny* continuing to serve with singular valour, in process of time attained his desires; and on the other side, *la Chappelle* discontented and made desperate by the King's words, within a while after went over to the Enemy: and yet *Giury's* wound was neither mortall nor dangerous, and they of the Town were beaten back with the losse of many men.

But that which did more harm, was, that upon the 24<sup>th</sup> of March a very great piece of the wall of about seventy paces of it self between the *Porte Cauchoise* and the Monastery of *Dominique*, which while the besieged laboured to repair with earth, wooll-packs, baums, and other instruments, the King having caused some small Pieces to be suddenly brought on that side, did them so great mischief, that in all the time of the siege they had not received greater: whereupon *Villars* streighted on all sides, and having but a few souldiers left, not being longer able to resist so long and so obstinate a siege, was faine to write to the Duke of Mayene, that if he were not relieved the twentieth of April at the furthest, he should be forced to capitulate. But in the interim that came to passe which the Duke of Mayene had so confidently fore-told; for the Nobles tired out with the toils of the whole Winter, having spent their money, worn out their clothes, and quite harrassed their horses, now that there was no more hope that the Armies should fight, had according to their wonted custome taken leave to see their own houses again; and the Army was thereby so diminished, that of few lesse then 10000 there remained few more then 5000 Horse; and they, because the Country was utterly wasted round about, and destroyed by their long stay there a season when the old store was spent, and the new not yet grown up, were brought to a very weak estate; and to be wherewithall to subsist, they were forced to divide themselves, and lie at large, scattered in many severall quarters.

\* Formerly, *Le Comte de Turenne*.

The *Mareschal de Biron*, and the \* *Duke de Bouillon* had foreseen that evill, and had laboured to perswade them all to 15 or 20 days patience longer, in which time the event of this

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might be totally seen ; but so great was the necessity of many, and so precipitate the inclination of the Voluntiers, that they could not be kept, there being many even of the Commanders, who constantly believed that the Duke of Parma had lost all hopes of relieving *Rouën*, and that he had set himself in good earnest upon the enterprize of *S' Esprit de Rue*, to try if division could work any effect, and that therefore his return was not to be feared ; but that the Infantry with the new Supplies from Holland were sufficient to take in *Rouën* : Which opinion (as the French are ready enough to be vainly contented of themselves) to the contempt of the Duke of Parma and his Army, was grown so common, that it was also entered into the King himself ; so that he little thought he should have any more need of the Cavalry. On the other side, the Foot which had passed all the Winter in the Trenches, half drowned with the excessive rains that fell continually after a great abundance of snow, and consumed with perpetuall watching and toyling) were not in any better condition then the Horse, but had more need of rest, then to be employed in heavy and dangerous actions ; besides the diseases, which (according as they are wont) were spread among the Germans, and much more among the English, had exceedingly lessened the number of those Forces, and the French Infantry not being able to feel the uttermost sufferings, ran away every hour ; so could the King (though he at last took notice of the decay and tirednesse of his Army) use so great diligence as was sufficient (after above five months wasting of provisions) to keep his Camp plentifully furnished : Which things being known to the Duke of Parma, and much more particularly to the Duke of Mayene, having deferred till the very last time mentioned in the Governour of *Rouën*'s Letter, to give the Enemies Army so much the longer time to consume it self, they arose suddenly from *Rue*, where they rather made shew to imploy themselves, then taken any care to get the place, and being well provided of victuall, crossed the River *Somme* at a place called \* *Blanguetaque*, where spreading it self at large, it is lesse rapid, and more shallow, and in six dayes march came very neer to *Rouën* ; being with this celerity made that journey in so short a space, which the time before they were no lesse about then thirty dayes.

The Duke of Parma leaving the siege of Rue, drawes neer to *Rouën* to relieve it. \* Which is between *Cretoy* and *S. Valery*.



1090

*The History of the Civill Warres*

1592

The King musters his forces, and finding himself much weaker, resolves to raise his siege.

The King having heard of the Enemies sudden coming, presently made them who were in the *Fauxbourg* of *S<sup>t</sup> Sever* come back over the River to joyn with the rest of the Army, and with extreme diligence recalled all his Cavalry to the Quarters at *Darnetal*, with an intention to oppose and meet the Enemy; but having made a strict muster of his Forces, and knowing them to be so diminished both in number and vigour, that they were no way equall to the numerous Army of the League, he resolved to raise the siege, and to serve matters till a better occasion; being certain that the greater part of the Nobility would within a few dayes be come back to him again. But lest the Army of the League drawing neer apace, and without resistance, should disturb the order of his retreat, he sent forth the Duke of *Bouillon* with the German Horse, accompanied with a few French light-Horse and Cuirassiers upon the great road toward *Neuf-Chastel*, to hinder and foreslow the Enemies march. The Country through which the Army of the Confederates came was all plain, not troubled with either hills or woods, which was a great disadvantage to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who with a few men intended to make shew to be the whole Army; and yet he took his time so opportunely to assault the Duke of *Guise*'s Van-guard when the rest of the Army was not yet moved out of their Quarters, that he put the first Troops of it in some disorder, and in the first fury of the charge took the Cornet; but *Rosne*, *Bassompierre*, and the whole Van-guard coming up, and within a while after the Duke of *Parma* with the Battell, the businesse was reduced to few skirmishes upon advantage; for the Duke of *Parma* commanding out many Troops of Horse every way, endeavoured to discover his Wings and Rere, to finde whether or no the King's whole Army were there; and the Duke of *Bouillon* perceiving his designe, made as many Fronts as the Enemy sent forth Troops, and extending his Battalion to the utmost, would not suffer them to effect their intents; which arts the whole day was spent in petty incounters, till the King with his Commanders had time to raise his Camp from before *Rouën* without disorder. The Artillery were drawn off without delay, and while the Army was imbatalling, they were sent before with the Carriages to *Pont l'Arche*, toward which place the King intended to retire.

The King sending away his Carriages before, draws up his Army in battalia, and marches away from the siege of *Rouën*.

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no after he had made a stand, about half an hour facing the  
ty, left the siege just upon the twentieth day of April; and  
le Baron *de Biron* making good the retreat, marched commo-  
bushly the same way.

The Duke of *Parma*, with his Army in battel-aray, ar-  
ied the same day at *Rouen*; and having sent *Georgio Basti*  
follow the Rere of the King's Army, to observe which way  
marched, entered with the Duke of *Mayene* into the City,  
were having given infinite praises to the *Sieur de Villars* and  
rest that had been with him in the siege, he retired the same  
ht to quarter with his Army in the neighbouring Vil-  
es.

*The end of the Twelfth Book.*



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THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,  
By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Thirteenth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**I**N this Book is set down the determination of the Confederates to besiege Caudebec, thereby to open the passage of the River, and totally free the Citie of Roüen: they lay siege unto the Duke of Parma in viewing the works receives a Musket shot in the arm: the Town is taken; but things go on so slowly, that the King hath time to get his Army together again, and taking all the passes, to besiege the Army of the League in the Peninsula of Caux, many actions of importance follow. The Duke of Parma troubled with his wound, and straitened with want of Provisions, thinks of passing the river Seine to disengage himself from that danger which he found he was run into: He manages that designe with so much art, that he passes the River, and retires without receivng any losse; he draws off with long marches, repasses the River at St. Cloud, and returns into Flanders, and leaves Supplies (not very plentiful) under the Sieur de Rosne. The Duke of Mayenne being angry, goes not with him; he takes Ponteau de Mer, and

into discord with the Pope's Commissary; he enters into a treaty of Agreement with the King, who vexed at the unexpected passage of the Confederate Army, lessens his own, and follows the Enemy with a flying Camp. He lays siege to Essernay in Champagne, which had been taken a while before by the Sieur de Rosne; the Mareschal de Biron is slain there with a Canon-shot; Essernay is taken, and other neighbouring Garisons fall of themselves: The King raises a Fort upon the Seine to keep provisions from the City of Paris, the Duke of Mayene attempts in vain to divert him: There arises on the King's side a third party of Princes of the Blood, and many machinations are set on foot. Pope Clement the Eighth is created, who applies himself with great moderation to the affairs of France. The Duke of Mayene at the solicitation of the Pope and the King of Spain, resolves to call the States-Generall to elect a King; upon this there follow divers artifices, and different Treaties; King Philip sends new Ambassadors to declare his will unto the States. The Duke of Mayene meets them, they disagree, but piece up again for their own private interests. The King attempts to dissolve the States; He causes the Catholicks of his Councell to hold a Conference with the Confederates, which with the Duke of Mayene's consent is begun at Surenne; he takes Noyon; the King being necessitated to go speedily into Poitou cannot relieve it. The Catholick King's Ambassadors propose the Infanta of Spain to be elected Queen; the Proposition is ill relished by the States, and there are divers practices about it. The King takes Dreux; and being constrained by the importunities of his own Catholicks, who threaten to forsake him, resolves to turn his Religion; He removes to S' Denis, and goes publickly to Masse. He appoints the Duke of Nevers his Ambassadour to the Pope to ask absolution; the States of the League are troubled at it. The Duke of Mayene seeing that he could not obtain the Kingdom for himself, nor for his Posterity, consents that a Truce should be treated on; the Deputies at Surenne conclude it till the end of October; it is willingly accepted, and the States at Paris are dismissed.



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He relieving of Roüen effected with so much ease and without blood, by the Duke of Parma's excellent dexterity in making use sometimes of slowesse, sometimes of celerity, according as the were seasonable, filled his name with infinite honour, and did very much depresse that height of prosperity to which the King's affairs seemed to be grown up; but the busineses which followed, though they much more clearly shewed the Duke's prudence and valour, did yet within short time raise the King's affairs to their former condition.

The Councell of the League, after they saw the King's Camp was raised, began to debate what was fittest to be done. The Spanish and Italian Commanders were for following the Enemy; and now that he was so weak, and his men tired out with sufferings, advised to prosecute his suppression while the occasion presented it self of hoping with reason to effect it: but the French Lords (to whom exceeding great belief was given, by reason of the knowledge they had of the Country, and of the situations of places) shewed, that he passing the Seine at *Pont de l'Arche*, and marching into lower Normandy, would not onely leave them in a necessity of returning to Roüen to passe the River, but also make it very difficult for them to follow him thorow a Country that was wholly full of Enemies, far from supplies, retreats, and provisions; whereas he with the fervour of the Nobility, which would presently be run together to withstand his danger, encreasing his strength every hour, and refreshing his Forces in places so fertile till and abundant, would quickly be able to look them in the face, and reduce them, being surrounded in his Country, to some strange encounter. Wherefore, that they might utterly free the City of Roüen, and open the River unto it, they thought it much better to assault *Candebec*, that alone hindered the passage of the Seine; which being taken, and the intention perfected for which they were come thither, they might afterward consider what enterprize would be most advantageous to their common interests. The Duke of Parma, who desired absolutely to free Roüen, and then following his wonted designs, to return to the Government of the affairs of *Flanders*, did willingly embrace the Counsel, not taking notice (by reason he was not acquainted with the Country) that

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ting himself up in the *Peninsula* of *Caux*, environed on one with the river *Seine*, and on the other two by the Ocean. If the King with his Army should possess the passage out, which was but one, and that a narrow one of a few, he would shut him up as in a net, and by reason of the necessity of the Country, would (onely by stopping provisions from him) conquer him very easily with hunger. But French Commanders either did not believe that the King would so soon be in a condition to follow them, or else thought like *Caudebec* in a few hours, and retire before he should come up to them; and the Duke of Parma suffered himself to be led by those who knew the situations and quality of the Country better than he, out of the apparent reason of suddenly freeing the City of *Rouën*, which certainly without the taking of *Caudebec*, being deprived of the use of the river, would have remained little less than besieged: whereupon having thrown down the King's Forts and Trenches, the Army of the League came before *Caudebec* upon the 24<sup>th</sup> day of April.

*Caudebec* lies behind certain hills (not very high nor deep, but fertile and well wooded) in a large Plain, upon the bank of the River *Seine*, encompassed with very thick woods, but not lined with earth, nor bettered with any kind of fortification. There were to defend the Town Monsieur *Garde* a Colonel of French Infantry, and *Pausania Braccero*, who alone commanded the Italian light-Horse; for *lo Nasi* was dead in the Camp of a natural death. These, to fail in the duty of good soldiers, took a Post without the Town between two hills, in the passage that led from them into the Plain, intending to keep the siege as far as possibly they could from the Walls. The Walloons of the Count *de* *Ver* and Monsieur *de Vert* were sent to drive them from thence; with whom though they skirmished a long while, and spent time, yet being exceeded by a greater number, they were fain to retire to the Town, and leave the passage free unto the Army of the League; but as it marched down into the Plain, the Holland Men-of-War who were drawn close to the bank of the River, plaid upon it most furiously with their cannon, and did a very great and unexpected mischief to the squadrons: wherefore the Duke having commanded the Army that was marching to make a stand, did with excellent order,

The Army of the League with no very good advice go to besiege *Caudebec*, thereby utterly to free the City of *Rouën*.



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order, and no lesse expedition, cause his Artillery to be draw to the side of an hill, and from thence to give fire with equall violence upon the ships, so that (the Canon which were planted upon the land, shooting with more certainty then those that were upon the water) having almost sunk the Admiral, and shot many of their best ships thorow and thorow, the rest drew off from the shore, and with the stream of the River fell down to *Quillebœuf*, a place that stands something lower, but upon the same bank, and there for their security they began to draw a Line about the Town; which for the conveniency of it, respect of Navigation, and of the passage of the River, being made a Fortresse, was in after-times held in exceeding great consideration. But the ships being beaten off, and that trouble taken away, the Duke having quartered his Army, caused a Post to be taken under the walls, and the next day went in person with Prince *Ranuccio*, the *Sieur de la Motte*, and Count *Nicolo Cesis*, to view the place; and whilst he diligently surveyed all things, and because he would not trust to others, designed himself the manner of forming the Battery, he was hurt in the midst of the right arm with a Musket-bullet, which being shot from one of the great Towers of the wall, took him under the elbow, and passing between the two bones, went almost to his hand, where (being spent before) it flatted itself, and stayed, not having force enough to make its way out. He never changed his countenance, nor interrupted his discourse, nor spake of his being wounded; but it being discovered by the standers by, who saw the blood run down from under his cloke, he would neverthelesse make an end of giving those orders which he had begun to designe; and being brought home to his quarters, and visited by the Chirurgians, his hurt was not found any way mortal, but exceeding painful; and so much the more, because they having been faine to make three incisions in his arm, to finde the course of the wound, and to take out the bullet, he fell into a Fever within a while after which continuing upon him, he was constrained at last to keep his bed. After this accident, the chief Command of the Army was left to the Duke of *Mayene*, and the ordering of the Catholike King's Forces to Prince *Ranuccio*, who neverthelesse did not dispose of any thing without his Father's consent. The Canon were planted the next day, though slowly; and having battered and beaten down a great space

The Duke of  
Parma view-  
ing the situati-  
on of Caude-  
bec, receives a  
Musket-shot  
in the arm.

wall, Monsieur de la Garde (though against the opinion of Braccioduro) began to treat of surrendring, and after some time obtained the conditions he demanded; for the Duke of Parma being in no very good estate, every one desired that the progresse of matters might be facilitated. So the next day the Town came into the power of the Confederates, who to give their Army rest, and to refresh it with plenty of victuals which they had gotten there, staid there three days after the taking of it.

Monsieur de la Garde surrenders Caudebec to the Lords of the League.

In the mean time the Nobility of the neighbouring Provinces (which had been summoned from the very first notice of the Enemies return) were come unto the King; the Sieur d'Amieres with two hundred Horse from Picardy, the Sieur Sourdis from Chartres with a hundred and fifty, the Sieur Hertré Governour of Alançon with two hundred, the Count Montgomery and the Sieur de Colombiere with three hundred, Monsieur de Canisi (Son-in-law to Matignon) with an hundred, Odet (Son to the late Sieur de la Noüe) with as many, and Colonell S' Denis with six hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back. There arrived also Monsieur de Souvray and the Count de Lude with three hundred Gentlemen who had not been in the Camp before; and at last the Duke of Montpensier long expected, and the Sieur de la Verune Governour of Caën came with eight hundred Gentlemen, two hundred light-Horse, and four hundred Harquebusiers on horseback.

Upon notice of the enemies return, the Nobility return to the Kings Army with great Supplies.

The Duke of Montpensier's stay had been occasioned by his desire to obtain Auranches, a Town in lower Normandy, which was the onely one that in those parts towards the Confinnes of Bretagne held for the party of the League; for having besieged it at the later end of the yeer before, with hope of taking it within a very few dayes, the businesse afterwards proceeded otherwise; for Monsieur de Vicq, an old souldier and an untainted Cavalier, who was come from Pont-Orson, having put himself up into the Town, had gallantly made good the suburbs for many dayes, till the Walls and Bastions of the City were made very defensible. But the Suburbs at last being taken, and the approaches being begun, there fell so great a snow continuing a snow, as did not onely fill all the Trenches ready made, but also hindered the work in such manner, that the Camp was faine to lie idle many dayes, being in the mean time tormented with such excessive cold weather, that

had



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had it not been for the Suburbs (the houses whereof were pulled down, and the wood of them burned to warm the Soldiers) it had not been possible to have persisted in the enterprise. The snow being ceased, the yce continued so hard frozen, and the earth therefore so dry, and as it were turned into stone, that it could not be digged nor entered with pick-axe without wonderfull difficulty; and yet having with great toil raised a Plat-form with two Batteries, they planted upon them the Artillery which was brought from *Caën* and *Falaise*, & particularly one Canon of an unmeasurable greatness which they called *le grande Robin*, with all which the Wall being battered in two places, and also many houses beaten down by the shot that went into the Town, it was fiercely assaulted upon the second of February, and though stoutly maintained by those within, yet the death of many of the defendants weakened the hope of holding out, in such manner that the *Sieur de Vicq* was forced to capitulate, and surrendered the Town into the Duke's power; who having set his Forces again in order, and gathered the Nobility together, was come unto the King, by whom he had been often very earnestly sent for.

The Kings Army returns, being near 18000 Foot, and 8000 Horse.

Now the King's Army being in a very few dayes so increased, that in it there were between seven and eight thousand Horse, and between sixteen and eighteen thousand Foot for besides the Hollanders of the Fleet, he had dreyned all the neighbouring Garisons; and the error of the Confederates being manifestly known, who had unadvisedly engaged themselves in a nook, where they must suffer and labour very much before they could get out, resolved to cut off their retreat and pressing them on all sides, to reduce them (without any danger to himself) unto extreme necessity of victuall; for one part of the passage into the *Peninsula* towards the sea being shut up by *Eu*, *Arques* and *Diepe*, which places being strongly garisoned, did in great part obstruct the way, and the *Seine* being blocked up by the possession of *Quillebœuf* and by the Holland Fleet, there remained nothing but wholly to shut up the other part of the entrance toward the River *Somme*, which alone led from the *Peninsula* into the Provinces of Normandy and Picardy. The King therefore being departed with exceeding great celerity from the walls of *Poissy de l'Arche*, and marching without stop, though with his Arm

Battalia, came upon the last of April within sight of the Enemy's Camp, which being gone from Caudebec the same day, and taken up quarters at *Tvetot*, a great Town, which afforded much conveniency for lodging.

It was a remarkable thing, that the King also by not well considering the situation of the place thorow which he marched, put himself in manifest danger of being defeated: for that Country being all inhabited by Lords who possesse many towns there; it is for their pleasure and conveniency all full of large Parks, encompassed with great well-built walls, as high as a man on horse-back, and some of these there are that take up the space of three or four miles. Now the King advancing thorow this Country towards the Camp of the Enemy, it was necessary, keeping the ordinary way, to passe between two very great Parks, one of which was on the right hand, and the other on the left, the high-way being in the midst: wherefore the Cavalry and infantry being fain to march but few in front, the King's Army was brought into such a condition, that the Van-guard was past the Parks, the Battell was shut up between the walls of them, and the Rere-guard yet remaining on the hither side: so that if it had been assaulted, the Van-guard would have been fought withall and defeated, and neither the Rere nor Battell would have been able to assist it. The Duke of Montpensier who led the Van-guard, received it, when being come past the Parks, he discovered the Enemies Army encamped upon the side of an hill; but not being able to do any thing else, he drew his Squadrons all into order as they came, and by redoubled messages hastened the King's marching up with the Battell. The Enemy likewise perceived it, and Count *Alessandro Sforza*, a Cavalier of great fore-sight and experience, ran himself (as he hath often told me since) to give the Duke notice of it, showing with how much ease and facility the victory might be gotten by reason of the Enemies error; but the Duke very ill of a fever, in great pain with his wound, and lying in his bed, could not so soon take a resolution, and told Count *Alessandro*, That to fight with the King of Navar, live men were necessary, and not such bloodlesse carcasses as he was: yet having called the Duke of *Mayene*, Prince *Ranuccio*, and the other commanders, he gave them order, if the occasion would bear to fall in upon the Enemy, and causing himself to be set

The King marching with his Army between the walls of two Parks, puts himself in great danger, which he escapes by reason of the Duke of Parma's being in a Fever.



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in a chair, he made himself also to be carryed to the place where the King's Army was seen to appear advancing between the Parks; but at such time, when by the diligent care of the Duke of Montpensier, the Van-guard had already taken up their station, and the Battel was almost all past, and before the Camp of the League (which was come into quarters but a few hours before) could be drawn together in arms, the King's whole Army was past, and settled again in its former order; so fair, and so evident an occasion being lost by reason of the General's being hurt.

The Armies  
quarter within  
a mile of one  
another.

The Armies being quartered at lesse then a miles distance from one another, there remained a thick wood between them upon the right hand, which the dayes following gave matter for many remarkable encounters; for they of the League the night drew a Trench at the entry of it toward the Enemy, to keep the possession of the Wood unto themselves, and placed there to guard it the Count *de Bossu's Tertia*, which was two thousand Walloons. There, upon the first day of May happened three hot skirmishes, whilst the King laboured to vie that Post: The first between the Baron *de Biron* and the Duke of Guise, the second between the Duke of *Boüillon* and the *Sieur de Rosne*, and the third (which lasted till night) between the *Sieur de Montigny* and the Baron *de la Chastre*; yet was not possible for the King to discover what works the Enemy had made in the entry of the Wood; for besides the hindrance of the Cavalry, the hail of Musket-bullets which showed forthence with infinite fury, would not suffer any body to draw neer it. But the next day the skirmish being begun again, the Baron *de Biron* (though many of his men were left dead upon the place) rushed on so far, that he discovered there was nothing but a single line without any signe of Canon, and without the defence of Flankers or Redouts; wherefore upon the third of May in the morning, the King having commanded out three Squadrons of Foot, one of Germans, another English, and the third French, sent them on at break of day to assault and make themselves Masters of the Trench, who having marched very fast over the little Plain that was between, fell unexpectedly upon the Walloons, and beat them away from their Post, (who for haste of retreating, left also their baggage behinde them) and without losing time, began to fortifie themselves in the Trench. But the Duke of Mayene and

The King's  
souldiers make  
themselves  
Masters of the  
Trench made  
by them of the  
League before  
the wood.

Princ

ince *Ranuccio*, without giving them leasure to secure that  
ace, having drawn forth a great number of Carabines and  
ght-Horse upon the right and left hand, to obstruct the way,  
ommanded *Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, seconded by  
at of *Alfonso Idiaques*, to attempt the recovery of that Post.

*Camillo* out of his own fierceness, and the emulation that was  
etween the Italian and the Walloon Infantry, rushing on  
ldly to assault the Trench, entered it with so much violence,  
at the King's Foot after a short resistance were constrained  
quit the place, and in their retreat, being surrounded by  
e Carabines, would have had much adoe to get back safe to  
e Camp, if the Duke of Montpensier, the Duke of Nevers,  
d the Count *de S' Paul* with three severall Squadrons of  
entlemen had not advanced to disingage them. The Italians  
ought all that night, possessing all the passage of the high-  
ay, and having made a great Redoubt with Flankers and  
renches on all sides, they planted four pieces of Canon  
ere; so that the King was deprived of all hope of being able  
beat them out any more; and so the Wood remained in  
e power of the Army of the League, which stood them in  
eat stead for hutting, and for the security of their quarters;  
d also was of great use for cutting wood, and to feed the Ca-  
bines horses, that were accustomed to live upon what is daily  
und in the field.

*Camillo Capizucchi* with his *Tertia*, recovers the Trench again, and secures it with Fortifications.

But the King (though the passage out of the *Peninsula* was  
eady made good) having a desire to straiten the enemies  
amp more closely, that he might the sooner effect his enter-  
rise, turned his quarters upon the right hand by the wood  
le, and possessed himself of a hill, from whence he could  
etter *Yvetot*, in which Bourg the Duke of Guise lay with the  
anguard; and having planted seven Pieces of Canon behinde  
a Trench, which was brought to perfection in a very few hours,  
began to play upon the enemies in the flank, in such man-  
er, that the Duke of Guise was forced to quit the Bourg, and  
tire unto the quarter of the Battel. In his retreat, the Duke  
o *Bouillon* with the *Reiters*, and the Baron *de Biron* with a  
ong party of French Cavalry, followed him in the Rere; but  
bringing up the last ranks himself in person, and still vali-  
atly facing about, retired with his Baggage safe and entire,  
ad with his men in order, though in the skirmish some were  
ken prisoners, among which were the Barons *de Contenan*

The Army of the League being in the *Peninsula* of Caux, the King strives to shut up their passage out, being but one, and that very narrow.



1592 and *de la Maison*. But the King, not onely out of a desire the more to straiten the enemy, but to the end that continual action, and the hope of fighting, might from hour to hour keep the French Gentry from being weary, did not suffer so much as a minutes rest; and at last, upon the twelfth of May, would needs attempt to shut them up more closely, by possessing himself of an hill that lay more forward beyond the Fortifications of the Wood, and about the distance of Canon-shot from the Camp of the League, which was guarded by three Companies of Wallons under *Ottavio Mansfelt*, and three others of Spaniards under *Ludovico Velasco*. To that end, about break of day he sent forth Count *Philip* of Nassau with his Troops who marching on secretly by the Wood side, and afterwar having left it upon his right hand, assaulted that Guard so unexpectedly, that within half an hour the defendants were beaten from it, and the Count began to intrench himself, and to give signe that Canon should be brought up thither: but they of the League considering the great inconvenience which they were like to receive from that Post, presently sent the Wallo and Italian Infantry to recover it; the Swissers, with the French and Spanish Foot, standing in Battalia to keep the field; and likewise the Cavalry in Arms stood ready without the Trenches to back the Foot. The King on the other side had drawn up his whole Army out of their quarters, and caused his Light horse to scowre the Plain, thereby to hinder the Hollander (who had gained that Post) from being encompassed; for which purpose also the Duke of Montpensier with eight hundred Horse on the one side, and the Duke of Bouillon with one thousand *Reiters* on the other, being upon the wings of the Battel, stood ready to reinforce them. There was a sharpe fight about the recovery of that Post, and they laboured at it with much blood, for the space of two hours; but at last the Italians overcoming all obstacles, regained the hill, and with great execution drove back the Hollanders; the Cavalry of both Armies running on each side, to suppress, and to disorder them, which made it generally thought that they should fight that day with all their Forces: but neither would the Duke of Mayene hazard the whole sum of affairs without the presence and consent of the Duke of Parma, nor did the King desire to put it then to a Battel, being confident that within a few days he should overcome the enemy by want of Viſual. Yet

The King's souldiers take a Post from those of the League, which after a long dispute is recovered by the Italians and Wallons.

fought

ight they still, with great and redoubled encounters, for the  
ce of ten hours; the Canon thundered on all sides, and the  
ommanders engaged themselves more then once; particular-  
Prince *Ranuccio*, who (his horse being shot under him) was  
great danger to remain a prisoner to the English; and the  
ake of Parma causing himself to be taken out of his bed, and  
be set on horseback, advanced to the Front of his Army,  
ubting that either opportunity or necessity might draw the  
my to a Battel. Night put an end to these encounters. But  
e next day the King, who could neither take nor give rest,  
ving intelligence that the Light-horse of the League was  
ldged in a quarter very assaultable, and that might be beaten  
before the rest of the Army could stir to relieve it (an er-  
ur always pernicious in all occasions of War) fetching a  
eat compasse, went thither himself in person; and having  
nd them in no very good order, by reason of *Basti's* ab-  
ce, (who being sick of a Flux, was retired to *Caudebec* to  
over his health) he put them in so great confusion, that ha-  
g lost their quarter, two Captains, and their Carriages, they  
d much ado to get to the main Body of their Army, which  
ough it was diligently making ready to give relief, yet the  
sinesse having been very soon dispatched, the King had time,  
er he had beaten and driven away the enemy, to retire to his  
n quarters.

The King  
bears up the  
quarters of the  
Light-horse of  
the League.

But the Duke of Parma being so ill, that he was often trou-  
d with long tedious swooundings, had great need to take  
ne rest; and having already begun to think of the means of  
ting out of that dangerous place wherein he found himself,  
judged it very fit to draw back his Army neerer to the walls  
Caudebec along the bank of the River, whereby he might  
ke use of the conveniency of the Town; and the Army  
nging quarters, might avoid the cause of diseases, and be  
re opportune for his designe: wherefore, upon the 16 of  
y, the weather being dark by reason of a thick mist, which  
erward turned into a very great rain, he caused the Camp to  
e in the morning by break of day, without noise of either  
um or Trumpet; and the Canon and all the Baggage going  
ore, he led the Army to quarter in a place half a league  
m the Town, between two hills, before which there was a  
ge Plain. Now to deceive the King, that he might not dis-  
ver the moving of his Camp, (besides the advantage of  
the



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The Duke of  
Parma sends  
Prince Ranuccio  
to assault  
the King's out-  
guards; and  
while they are  
fighting there,  
being favour'd  
by a mist, he  
removes his  
Camp without  
noise of either  
Drum or  
Trumpet.

the weather, and the silence and order wherewithal his soldiers marched) Prince *Ranuccio* advanced as far as the entrance of the Wood before any thing stirred, and fell upon the King's out-guards, making as if his designe were to enlarge himself, and that to that end he would have beaten them from the Post; which whilst they of the King's party are intent upon with their utmost endeavours, whilst their mindes are wholly taken up there, and while thick volleys of shot rattle on all sides, there was no noise at all heard of the moving of the Camp; and the Prince, after a continued skirmish of three hours together, lessening his Forces by little and little, and sending the squadrons one by one to joyn with the Rereguard brought up by the Duke of Aumale, at last himself also, with one or two hundred Horse, followed the rest of the Camp at a round trot, leaving the King astonished, when after the air was grown clear, he saw what an artificial retreat the Army of the League had made. But the Prince being come to the place where the Army had been encamped, found three Pieces of Canon left there, either by the negligence or fear of him that had the charge of drawing them off; wherefore, not to leave them, to the lessening of his reputation, in the enemies power, he was constrained to recal his fleeing squadron to disengage them, and to bring them off safe: which though it were done with great celerity, yet would it have spoiled and frustrated the admirable art of this retreat, if the King had been more ready to follow them: so subject oftentimes, in the affairs of War, are the greatest actions to miscarry by the least disorders.

But the King being come to quarter that night in the place which they of the League had quitted, advanced the next day to discover them; and having considered the situation of the Country with no lesse sagacity then they, marched to the opposite hills, and there prudently disposed his whole Army in quarters, persisting still to straiten and shut them up, as his designe had been from the beginning. The Duke of Montpensier with the Vanguard very strong in Horse, lay upon the right hand, and spread himself so far toward Diepe, that the Garisons of those places which obstructed all the ways, met mutually with his parties that scowred the field. The King with the Battel, in which was the greatest strength of Infanterie, lay encamped upon the foot of the hills upon the great road of Picardy. The Duke of Bouillon with the Rere, where

wee

were the *Reiters*, kept the left hand, possessing that passage which leads from the Country of *Caux* towards *Roüen*; so that all passages being stopt, there was no part of the way that remained free. The Army being encamped in its severall Posts, the King (contrary to his ordinary custome) strove to secure himself, that the Enemy might not force him to a Battel; and therefore he strengthened and fortified all his quarters, spoiled and blocked up all the wayes, and laboured with all industry, to prevent the Enemies Commanders by making some brisk attempt might not be able to force his Quarters.

The Camp of the League was already reduced to such want of victuall, that it could subsist no longer; for neither the River (obstructed by the Holland Fleet) furnish it with Provisions, nor did the Country longer afford any convenience to feed it, that Corn being spent which was found at the taking of *Caudebec*, all the Country eaten up, and all that was wasted which industry had been able to supply; and not only of other things, but even of water there was very great want; for that of the River being spoiled by the flowing of the tide, was not onely very ill tasted, but also wonderfully unwholesome. To this was added the sufferings of their horses, which besides the scarcity of forrage, being harrassed in the fields with continual rains, died every hour in great abundance; and the Foot being many payes behinde, and without money to relieve themselves in their present necessity, was afflicted and consumed with the many tedious sufferings. On the other side, the King having *Diepe* and *S<sup>t</sup> Valery* neer him, and besides the way open into the most fertile Provinces of *Normandy* and *Picardy*, though no better stored with money then the Enemy was, did yet abound in Provisions, and his souldiers leading themselves far abroad to forrage, supplied the want of their pay with plundering the Country.

Wherefore the Duke of *Parma* seeing himself reduced to such a trait and so necessitous a condition, thought there was no other remedy for it but to passe over to the other side of the River *Seine*, and getting out of the *Peninsula*, to remove into the spacious Plain of lower *Normandy*, and so disengage himself from the King's designs, who already believed he had him sure in the net. But as this was the onely some resolution for the safety of his Army, so was it most difficult to be effected: for it was not to be doubted, but if the

The Army of the League shut up in the *Peninsula*, is reduced into necessity of victuall, and is in a great strait.



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the King were aware of it, he might easily destroy him in crossing the River, and they were so neer neighbours, that it could not in reason be hoped that passage could be concealed. He communicated his thought to the Duke of Mayenne and the *Sieur de la Motte*; but it seemed to them not onely dangerous, but impossible, knowing how hard it is to pass a little ditch, when the opposition of the Enemy is neer much lesse was a good event to be hoped for in passing a mighty broad River, swelled in that place by the salt waters, with an entire Army, full of baggage, hindered with Ammunition and great store of Canon, a fierce and powerful Enemy being at their back; yet necessity urg'd, and the safety of that Army could no other way be provided for: Wherefore the Duke being straitned within himself, resolved to try if by dexterity he could bring that thought to passe. To which purpose having made eight Ensignes of *Berlotte's* Regiment by little and little to crosse the River in certain small Boats, he caused Fort to be raised upon the other bank, which in the form of a Star, had three spurrs toward the River to command and secure it; and made another to be raised over against that upon the bank where the Army was, but with the Redoubt toward the River, and the Front opposite to the place from whence the Enemy might appear, and in it, besides the Count de *Bo* with a thousand Foot, whereof most were Muskietiers, planted four pieces of Canon, that might command a great way off, and keep the passage of the field open. At the same time many great Boats were making ready at Rouen with wonderful secrecy, whereof in that place there were a great number, which were wont to carry Merchandize upon the River, and they fastened pieces of timber and planks together after the manner those bridges are made whereby great Rivers are commonly wont to be passed. Other little boats likewise were prepared with six Oars in each, to help and tow the greater with more facility, and some great floating Bridges like Rafts were made of exceeding thick beams, sufficient to sustain and carry the Artillery. These Boats (which with the benefit of the stream of the River, and the ebbing of the sea were come from Rouen in a few hours) being arrived, (the evening before the one and twentieth of May) without losing a moment of time, the same night the weather being cleer, the French Cavalry and Infantry passed over with the Duke of Aum

The Duke of Parma, to free the Army, which was in a manner imprisoned in the Country of *Caux* resolves to passe the river Seine, and his attempt succeeds.

in the Artillery and all the Baggage of the Army, after them  
Swisse Infantry, and about peep of day the Walloon, Spa-  
n, and Italian Foot, Prince *Ranuccio* remaining on this side  
River, with *Appio Conti*, who (the Duke of *Montemarcano*  
ng gone for Italy) commanded the Forces of the Church;  
with them a thousand Italian Foot of *Capizucchi's*; and  
hundred Horse, with which turning in arms towards  
Enemy, they made as if they would skirmish in the  
d.

The King seeing a small number of men upon the hills;  
that they stirred not, though his light-Horse ran up and  
wn the Plain, began to suspect that (as the time before)  
Enemies were changing their quarters, but not at all that  
y were passing the River, which enlarged by the flowing  
he tide, is in that place more like a Sea then a River. To  
re himself of the truth, he sent forth the Baron *de Biron*  
discover what they were doing, who having got up to the  
of a hill, upon which no body appeared, returned gal-  
ing with great speed, and related how the Enemies were  
sing the River; at which news the King, without further  
ught, hastened that way with all the Cavalry, and left the  
t to follow him. But the Cavalry could not hinder the  
emies passage, unlesse first the Count *de Bossu's* Fort were  
en, which with Canon and Musket-shot scoured the whole  
in on every side, and was a shelter to protect those that  
ed the River; which the King having at last taken notice  
and thinking that enterprise too difficult, and of too great  
ay, possessed himself of another hill that commanded the  
er, and gave order that with all possible speed the Artil-  
y should be brought thither, to play upon and sink the  
ts that were passing. But while they were making ready  
drawing thither in a confused haste, the whole Army was  
ady past over; whereupon the King almost transported  
n despair, not being able to do any thing else, ran to  
ge Prince *Ranuccio*, who last of all, retiring by little and  
e, was gotten under the protection of the Fort. The King  
anced precipitately within reach of the Canon and Musket,  
her then was sitting, but he was quickly forced to retreat  
in some losse, but with no effect; so that the Count *de*  
*ou's* Regiment, and *Capizucchi's* thousand Foot did also  
e the River one after another, and the Canon that were in

The King per-  
ceiving the E-  
nemies designe  
(though too  
late) goes to  
hinder their  
passage over the  
river; but they  
were past al-  
ready.



1592 the Fort being drawn off piece by piece, were put upon one of the great floating bridges; and last of all Prince *Ranuccio* embarked with his Horse, at which time the King's Artillery were come up to the hill, and began to fire upon the boats that passed over, and likewise upon the Fort *de la Berlotte*; but the Canon shooting under metall did but little harm in all places.

Greater was the danger in regard of the King's Men-of-war, which at that very time appeared upon the River from *Quilbœuf*, and went to fall upon that Raft that carryed the Artillery which were taken last out of the Fort, for being but slenderly guarded, it was doubted they might easily fall into the Enemies power; but Prince *Ranuccio*, who in this whole Action gained infinite praises, not being able to suffer the loss of his Artillery before his eyes, in the safety of which consisted the greatest reputation of that enterprise, getting on of the boat in which he was passing aboard a little bark, made haste in person to relieve them, which the *Sieur de la Motte*, *Camillo Capizucchi*, Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, and many other Gentlemen and Officers having likewise done with other little bark, and the Fort *de la Berlotte* playing with great violence crosse the River, the King's Ships desisted, and the Artillery coming last safe to the shore, were landed in a moment by two Spanish *Tertias* commanded to receive and accompany them, though the King's Artillery no lesse then the other thundred with infinite violence upon the place. The whole Army, Cannon and Carriages being past, without leaving any thing that was of moment, Prince *Ranuccio* would not stir from the River till all the bridges and boats were burned in every place, so the end they might not serve the King to passe over and follow them, and having entirely perfected all hee intended without any show of disturbance, he came up towards evening to the rest of the Army, that was marched off from the River.

But neither could the passage of the River (which had been effected with so much industry, and (which imported most of all) without having received any losse at all) quiet the minde of the Duke of Parma, doubting that the King might passe over his Army at *Pont de l'Arche* and resolve to follow him; which if it had come to passe in the condition he was in (the wearinesse of his Forces being considered, and principally

pally his not having money to maintain his Camp) he doubt-  
he should incur very great dangers and troubles : wherefore  
ving quartered at *Neubourg* ( which place was sacked and  
rnt by his Army ) he marched with so great speed toward  
ris, that he came to *S' Clond* in four days ; and not willing to  
sse thorow the City, lest he should give his Forces occasion to  
band, he caused a Bridge of boats to be made, and having re-  
ssed the Seine, never slackned his haste till he came to the  
alls of *Chasteau-Thierry* in Champagne, far from the enemy,  
d upon the way to return straight into Flanders.

In the mean time the King, who was unexpectedly fallen  
om a certain hope of suppressing his enemies, to a certain as-  
rance that he had lost his pains, labours, and expences, and  
e blood shed from his own Person and his Subjects in the  
ace of so many months, seeing the City of *Rouen* relieved,  
e Army of the League gotten away safe to another place, his  
entry wearied and wasted, the Germans diminished in num-  
r, and tired out with their late sufferings, after he had been  
o days, not onely afflicted in minde, but also perplexed and  
ubiguous in his thoughts, resolved to lessen his Army, as he  
d likewise done after the siege of *Paris*, and freeing himself  
d those of his party from trouble and expence, to expect,  
th a fleeing Army, what resolution the Commanders of the  
ague would take. The Nobility departed, the Lords returned  
their Governments, and the King having mustered the Ger-  
ns, and reformed their Companies one into another, with  
ree thousand Horse, and between five and six thousand Foot,  
rched after the enemy to the confines of *Champagne* and  
*Cardie*.

But the sufferings of all the winter past bred such grievous  
eases among those that had been in the Camp, that a won-  
ful great number of Gentlemen and valiant Commanders  
her died or lay long sick ; among which, *François de Bour-*  
*Duke of Montpensier*, being sick of a Fever, in his re-  
un to his Government of Normandy, was stayed at *Lisieux*  
the violence of his disease, where he departed this life up-  
the third of June. A Prince of infinite high courage, and  
nstimable goodnesse, and for those qualities very worthy of  
most eminent Command whatsoever, if nature had afford-  
him more vivacity, and a more perspicuous understanding.  
About the same time, not far from *Beauvais*, died Monsieur *de*

The King dis-  
solves his For-  
ces, and sends  
the Lords to  
their Govern-  
ments, & with  
a quick fleeing  
Army follows  
the march of  
the enemy.

*François de*  
*Bourbon Duke*  
*of Montpen-*  
*sier*, as he was re-  
turning to his  
Government  
of Normandy,  
dies at *Lisieux*  
the third of  
June, 1592.



1592 *Guitry*, a man of exceeding great valour, and who, for prudence and experience, had lived in a singular reputation among the Hugonots, who, next to the Duke of Bouillon, had placed all their hopes in him and Monsieur *de la Noüe*.

The Duke of Mayene murmurs against the Duke of Parma, ascribing the glory of all the actions to himself.

At the departure of the Army of the League from the River Seine, the discords and discontents between the General were discovered to burn more then ever : for the Duke of Mayene, who was not pleased with the drawing off so soon from the King, and leaving matters again to his discretion, did publickly attribute unto himself the honour of having relieved Rouë without striking a blowe, and of having by patience and industry caused the King's Army to dissolve, without having committed the sum of affairs to the uncertain event of a Battell. That likewise as the removing of the impediment of *Candebec* and the clearing of the passage of the Seine, was necessary ; so had been propounded and obtained by him : That if afterward the Duke of Parma, not trusting any body, would need without occasion put his person in danger in a place and in an action that was not worth the cost, and if his wound had given the King time to recruit, and to shut them up in a corner (from whence quickly disingaging themselves, they had found conveniency to retire) it was no fault of his counsel, which was very good and wholesome, but a defect of the execution, which had not been remitted to him : That the industry of passing over the River, could not but be praised ; but if it had been employed in making a Bridge to come and go freely over the River, the passage of Victuals would thereby have been opened on that side ; whereupon the King, being without money, and his Army wearied and consumed, would have been constrained to march off with shame, and to leave the field open to them to effect profitable and signal enterprises : but because the Spaniards would spend but sparingly, and because they would afford but petty supplies, and yet were obstinate to rule, command, and govern all things their own way, it was come passe that now all the past toils and expences were thrown away, and the King recovering strength, would again make himself superiour, both in force and reputation.

On the other side, the Duke of Parma said publickly, that with the Arms of the Catholike King alone, he had two several times happily delivered the League, and redeemed the two principal Cities of France out of the enemies hands : That

had taken away the victory and reputation from the King of Navar, who oppressing the French in all places, had been opportunely bridled onely by the power of his Army: and that also, though the Count *de Vaudemont* with the Forces of Spain had left him, and though the chief French who were interested had come but slowly to the Army, he would have made an end of suppressing the King, if they would have agreed to follow him, and if by imprudently thrusting themselves into a net shut up on all sides, they had not spoiled the fruits of the Victory, and lost the opportunity which presented itself of ending the War victoriously at the last: That the Catholic King poured out the gold and blood of his Kingdoms prodigally for their benefit; and they on the contrary, having no other aim but to grow rich in particular, cared but little for publike good, and much lesse for the safety of the Kingdom: and finally, That he would not stay unprofitably and without fruit at Rouën, and suffer not onely the affairs of the Netherlands, but even also those of France, to go to ruine without remedy.

1592  
The Duke of Parma shewing that he had twice delivered the League, attributes the cause unto the French why the King of Navar was not utterly suppressed.

From these words their actions were not different: for the Duke of Mayene pretending a necessity to take physick, would needs stay at Rouën, and not follow the Army that was detached away; and the Duke of Parma, vexed that he would not go with him, would not leave him any Forces at all; but on the other side, taking with him the Duke of Guise, gave out that he would leave the Command to him of those Spanish Forces that should stay in France; which more then any thing nettled the Duke of Mayene, who (the Cardinal-Legat departing also with the Army) remained alone and forsaken, being scarce able to obtain that the Pope's Swissers and Commissary *Mattencchi* should stay with him at Rouën: and yet even this also was a stone of exceeding great scandal: for *Mattencchi*, being of a harsh carriage, and most wilful in his opinions, either having such orders from Rome, or because he had not money to pay them, would needs dismiss the Swisses within a while after; neither was it possible by any kinde of reasons, persuasions, or threatnings, to alter his determination; but the Duke of Mayene having earnestly desired him to stay them yet a month longer, offering to pay them himself, if he would not accept them in his own pay, could not prevail any thing at all: he was great highly incensed, and grieved that he was ill dealt with

The Duke of Mayene, upon excuse of taking physick, stays at Rouën.

by



1592 by them all, he gave order that *Mattenucci* should be seized upon; which though it were not effected, because he hid himself in the habit of a souldier, and departed with the same Swisse, and because the Duke, the first fury of his wrath being over, dissembled the businesse, and did not care to have his order put in execution; yet notwithstanding the Legat complained grievously about it, and the thing was very ill taken at Rome, whereupon, the Duke's discontents multiplied on all sides, which had so much power on him, that he began afresh to lend his ear to a Treaty of Peace, which Monsieur *de Villeroy* had never given over to manage, out of a desire to conclude an Agreement with the King, and by that means to free themselves from the mischief (as he said) of forraign Forces.

Monsieur *de Villeroy* had kept the Treaty alive, sometimes with one, sometimes with another of the King's party; and either side had the better, so did the Treaty vary accordingly for when the King felt himself much straitned by the enemy, he fell into a thought of satisfying the party of the League, and of freeing himself from danger and trouble; and when the Duke of Mayene found himself either ill dealt withal, or slenderly assisted by the Confederates, he also inclined towards the hopes of an Accommodation: but the insuperable difficulty that was in the King's conversion, because he would not do it at the request of his enemies, and the Duke's not being willing to conclude the Treaty unlesse he were first a Catholic like, had always cut off the practices, and put the businesse in a total desperation. But about this time, Monsieur *de Villeroy* having treated long and freely about it with Monsieur *de l'Orminie* one of the King's Secretaries of State, who had been taken prisoner, and was at *Pontoyse*; he, after he had his liberty, treated of it with the King, just at the time when, by reason of the Duke of Parma's drawing neerer, he was both in danger and trouble: wherefore he gave order to the *Sieur du Plessis Mornay*, who formerly had treated about it (being a man in whom, by reason of his wisdom and learning, he confided very much) that he should renew the discourse of it again with Monsieur *de Villeroy*, who having written severall times to the Duke of Mayene and to President *Jeannin* concerning it, at last, after much treating, the Duke, who had never been willing to condescend to any particulars, had at this time declared himself by *Villeroy*, That if the King would

ould give security of his conversion, and satisfaction to him  
and the other Lords of his party; he would agree to acknow-  
ledge and submit himself unto him: *Du Plessis* and *Villeroy*  
treated together with mutual promises of secrecy; but no eva-  
sion could be found, whereby, the King not turning his Religi-  
on at the present, they of the League could be secure that he  
ould do it for the future; since they alledged that the King  
d from the beginning promised those very Catholikes  
at followed him that he would do it; and yet had never  
performed it to them; whereupon it could not be hoped that  
e would assuredly do it at the importunity of his enemies: be-  
des, that the King would make that promise with uncertain  
and ambiguous words, & with a reservation of being taught and  
instructed, which, as they were like to afford sufficient matter of  
excuse to whatsoever resolution he should take, so did they not  
quiet the Duke of Mayene; and the Conditions that were pro-  
pounded in his particular, and in that of the other Princes and  
Lords of his party, did not absolutely satisfy them: where-  
fore after much treating, and after much writing and replying,  
at the end President *Jeannin* wrote by the Duke's order to  
*Villeroy*, and gave him Commission to propound for the last  
Conditions: That the businesse of the King's conversion should  
be referred to the Pope's arbitrement, to whom the King  
ould send the Marquesse *de Pisani* accompanied with Car-  
nal *Gondi* to know his pleasure, and to receive those con-  
ditions in that matter which the Apostolick See should judge  
convenient; and that he himself would send a person expressly,  
and would give order to his Agents at Rome to promote the  
businesse, and help to overcome the difficulties, that the Pope  
might be brought to some reasonable determination; That for  
security that the King should persevere in the Catholick Re-  
ligion, and maintain the peace, the Places, Cities, and For-  
tresses should for the space of six yeers remain in the hands of  
those that possessed them at that present, to restore them to  
the King, and to his free disposing within that time, if they  
w the peace go on sincerely; That the Government of Bour-  
gne with all the places also that held for the King, should be  
given to the Duke of Mayene, which Government should be he-  
reditary to his Sons, with authority of disposing & distributing  
the Benefices, Offices, Governments and Places which should  
come void in that Province for the time to come; That the

The Sieur du  
*Plessis Mornay*  
Secretary of  
State to the  
King, and the  
Sieur de *Ville-  
roy* for the Du-  
ke of Mayene,  
treat of an Ac-  
commodation,  
with mutuall  
promises of se-  
crecie.

President *Je-  
annin* by order  
from the Duke  
of Mayene si-  
gnifies those  
conditions to  
Monsieur de  
*Villeroy* (who  
was in treaty)  
which the Du-  
ke desires for the  
effecting an  
Accommoda-  
tion.

King



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King should give him an Office of the Crown superiour to the rest, as it might be of Constable, or of his Lieutenant-General; That he should give him such a sum of money as should be sufficient to pay those debts which he was run into upon the present occasion; That to the Government of *Bourgogne* that of *Lyons* and *Lyonois* should be added; That the King should provide another Government for the Duke of Nemours, which should be equivalent to it; That the Duke of Guise should have the Government of *Champagne*, and two strong Holds for his security, the Duke of Mercœur that of *Bretagne*, the Duke of Joyeuse that of *Languedoc*, the Duke of Aumale that of *Picardie*, and for his security *S<sup>t</sup> Esprit de Rue*; That all the Lords of the League should be maintained in their Places, Offices, Dignities and Governments which they had possessed before the beginning of the War; That the Catholick King should be comprehended in the Peace, and reasonable satisfaction given to him for his pretensions; that there should be an Act of Oblivion concerning all things that had befallen in the War, and that the Narrative and Preamble of the Accommodation should be written in such manner, as it might clearly appear the Duke of Mayene had not acknowledged the King till then in respect of Religion, and that now he did it by reason of his conversion with the Pope's consent, and that also it might expressly appear he had had no hand in the death of the late King *Henry* his last Predecessor.

These conditions the *Sieur de Villeroy* imparted to *Monsieur du Plessis*, and gave him an extract of them, they being set down at large, with their causes and reasons in the Presidents Letter. *Du Plessis* first made small show to approve of them; but *Villeroy* replied, that this was not an Agreement with the Hugonots, who by all Laws divine and humane were obliged to acknowledge their King established; but a capitulation, whereby the Lords of the *Union* were contented to acknowledge, or to say better, upon certain conditions to make one King who was not possessor of the Kingdom; that that acknowledgement of theirs coming to passe, the King would thereby attain the Crown of France, which he possessed not; and that therefore the conditions ought not to seem strange unto him: That the Lords of the League did now require all which they thought fit for their security, because when the acknowledgement was once made, they should be the

en no longer able to treat or demand any thing, but as  
jects simply to beseech their Sovereigne Lord; that it was  
wonder they should demand much at one time, being very  
tain that after that they should never obtain any thing  
ore during his reigne, nor perchance in that of his Sons nei-  
er; That the Duke of Mayene had shewed himself so good  
rench-man, that he would rather acknowledge a French  
ng, though an Enemy, upon these conditions, then a stran-  
g, though a friend and a Confident upon much greater ones;  
at the King had alwayes said he would content and se-  
e the Lords of the House of Lorain, and all the others of  
ir party; and lately while the War was in the heat before  
udebec had affirm'd as much with his own mouth to the  
on de Luz, with whom he had discoursed long about it in  
field, telling him, that if the Lords of the *Union* would  
nowledge and follow him, he would not refuse any condi-  
ns; and particularly, that to his power he would give  
rthy satisfaction to the Duke of Mayene; whom he knew  
be a good Prince, and a good French-man; That the Ma-  
chal d'Aumont had by his orders repeated the same to the  
e Baron, and therefore that ought not to appear strange  
w, which he himself had proffered but a few dayes before.  
the Sieur du Plessis considered, that to refer the businesse  
he King's conversion to the Pope, from whom, by reason  
the Spaniards power nothing at all would be obtained;  
lyed, That it was not a thing to be expected from any other  
ns, but from Gods divine inspiration, after such instru-  
ns as should make him know himself to be in an error;  
otherwise it was an unlawfull thing to demand it, and  
ch worse to grant it, the soul being first to be thought of,  
then the affairs of the world: And as for the other con-  
ons, repeating them one by one, he shewed, that if all the  
vernments, and all the Places and Benefices should remain  
he gift of the Lords of the *Union*, the King would neither  
e any thing to reserve, nor to grant to those of his own  
ary, and that it would be a monstrous thing to see all the  
vinces in the hand of one onely Family, and the Princes  
he Blood, and so many other Lords excluded, who had  
bured, and endangered their lives for the King's Crown.  
ly yet after having again promised secrecy (which the Duke  
Mayene required above all other things) he said he would



1592 speak with the King himself concerning it, and refer the resolution to his pleasure.

But being come into the King's Councell at *Bussy* where they were, he was so far from favouring the treaty of Peace, and the Conditions propounded, or from observing that increase he had promised, that publickly in the presence of all the Councell, he demanded pardon for having till then, not in any way out of an evill intention, but through inadvertence deceived his Majestie, since such conditions had been propounded to him, that he was ashamed of them, and did much disdain to publish them; hee confessed that he had believed too much, out of his desire of peace, and out of a will to serve the publick Cause, but the conditions that were propounded were so unjust and dishonourable for the King, and so pernicious for the whole Kingdom, that they plainly shewed the Duke of Mayene and those of his party had no thought of peace, but that they sought to hold the King in hand, and to work a jealousy in the Spaniards, to draw money and satisfactions from them: That the things propounded were such as did not deserve any answer, nor did he think them worthy to be heard by that Councell; and yet having proposed them with this Preamble, not only the whole Councell, but even the King himself thought them not so exorbitant as he represented them; and so much rather, because every one knew that demands are high in the beginning, but afterwards in the course of a Treaty they diminish by little and little; so that they were all scandalized at *Du Plessis*; nor was there any one who was not of opinion, that he as being an Hugonot, abhorred the King's conversion, and therefore desired not, but rather crossed the peace. The King being of the same minde, gave the *Sieur de Villeroy* to understand that he would willingly treat with him by word of mouth; and the *Mareschal de Biron* and the Duke of *Bouillon* desired to confer with him, though both of them were little inclined to peace; *Bouillon*, because he was an Hugonot; and *Biron*, because his whole fortune depended upon the war, whereupon by the continuation of them he hoped to rise to the height of power and honor, and those Offices and Titles which the Duke of Mayene demanded, he grounding himself upon his own merits, aspired and pretended to for himself.

*Du Plessis* continuing his intention, and publishing his

et thoughts to men of understanding, divulged the whole Treaty, contrary to his faith given to *Villeroy*, and to many persons shewed copies of the Articles propounded; whereby they were not onely known to all the King's party, but also the Princesses who were in Paris saw them, and believed them; so that they made grievous complaints that the Duke should go about to establish a Peace, without making it known to them, and to the Lords of his party: and, which was much worse, they came also to the knowledge of the Spanish Ministers, who though they believed not the businesse could so easily be established, were yet filled with jealousy and suspicion. *Du Plessis* believed that at one time he should work two good effects for his own intentions; one, to crosse and totally break all Treaty of Peace, because he thought he had discovered that the King, to obtain it, enclined to change his Religion, which the Hugonots feared above all things; the other, to make the Duke of Mayene be distrusted of his own party, and particularly by the Spaniards, whereupon the disunion and ruine of the League would more easily follow. But as counsels that have too much of a man's particular interests, have often (either by the will of God, who is not pleased with them, or by reason of their own deceitfulness) very different events from what the intenders of them confidently designe unto themselves, this divulging produced an effect very diverse from what *du Plessis* had assuredly expected: for it wrought no ill effect in the party of the League, and on the King's side it made an exceeding great stir and confusion.

It hurt not the Duke of Mayene, because the Pope was much satisfied with his candour, seeing that without the King's conversion he refused all other particular greatness and advantage, and that he referred the whole businesse of Religion to the Apostolike See; and the Spaniards being fallen into some fear that Peace might easily ensue, forbore to give the Duke of Mayene further cause of discontent; and the Duke of Parma necessarily departing by reason of his health, and in respect of the affairs of Flanders, left some Forces in Champagne, and gave not the command of them to the Duke of Guise, as he had intended, but left the charge of them to Monsieur *de Rosne* with the title of Camp-Master-General, he being to obey the Duke of Mayene without contradiction; and *Juan Baptista Tassis* going to him, endeavoured by his dexte-

The Treaty of Agreement divulged by the *Sieur du Plessis*, comes to the ears of the Princesses and Spanish Ministers, working a contrary effect to what he that published them desired.

The Duke of Parma leaves forces in France under the *Sieur de Rosne* depending upon the Duke of Mayene, to whom also the other Spanish Ministers forbear to give further discontents.



1592 rity to remedy the late disgusts, *Diego d'Ivarra* continuing with the Army, because he knew his presence was not pleasing to him. To this was added, that the Duke, who had entered into that Treaty out of the despair which he was brought unto, seeing that he had already recovered his authority and reputation, which he had in great part lost with the Pope's Ministers and with the Spaniards, was afterward more backward in lending an ear to Peace: but thinking that his having been deceived by the revealing of that secret contrary to promise afforded him not onely excuse, but a lawful occasion for him also to make use of the Treaty for his own profit, he continued it in such manner, that it served to keep sometimes one sometimes another faithful according as need required.

The Catholikes of the King's party displeased that the Peace should be treated by the *Sieur du Plessis* a Hugonot, renew the Treaty of a third party.

On the other side, the Catholikes of the King's party wakened by the noise of this Treaty, and highly disdaining that the Peace should be negotiated by the means of a Hugonot, and that the King's conversion should be promised to the League, which they by many reiterated instances had not been able to obtain, began afresh to contrive a third Party, and more boldly then before to assemble themselves severally, and discourse of forsaking the King, or to make an Agreement with those of the League in such manner, that the businesse having often been consulted of between the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Count *de Soissons*, the Duke of Longueville, the Count *de S' Paul*, the Duke of Nevers, the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, Monsieur *d'O*, Monsieur *de Lavardin*, the Count *de Lude*, and many other Lords, they gave the Duke of Mayene to understand that it would be profitable for the common safety and security to unite all the Catholikes, and desire the King that within the term of a certain, prefixed, reasonable time, he would turn Catholike, and give security for the maintenance of Religion which if he would do, he should be acknowledged and established; and if he would not, they all together should elect a Catholike King, who should be acknowledged and obeyed by all. This practice beginning to grow warm, the King seeing that the event would be, either a forced dishonourable conversion, or the utter ruine of his affairs, since from secret consultations that matter was come to open murmurings, he caused *Villeroy* to be very earnestly solicited (by the means of Monsieur *de Fleury* his brother-in-law) to come personally to confer with him, and resolved to apply himself of his own accord

reconciliation with Rome.

*Innocent* the Ninth, after a long and troublesome Conclave, succeeded in the Apostolike See by *Hippolito* Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, a man not weakned with age, being not above y and six yeers old, but endowed with mature prudence, singular dexterity in affairs of State, which he had gotten continual practice in the Court, and by the management of most important busineses of his time. He having assumed the name of *Clement* the eighth, though he had been favored by the Spaniards in his election, and was therefore full kinde grateful demonstrations toward them, was not yet fully disposed to let himself be ruled by their designs, but would depend upon himself, and after the chief interest of Religion, would have an aim at the general safety and equality. He held a great correspondence with the Commonwealth of Venice, and with the great Duke of Tuscany, judging that to be not onely the foundation-stone of the liberty of y, but also a wary reconciler of the Peace of Christendom; him, by reason of his great prudence, to be intent to follow the same way; and therefore he straitly confirmed that confidence with the Senate, which his Ancestours had in that respect, having taken refuge there in their adversities: and with the Great Duke (forgetting those ancient factions for which he had been banished out of the City of Florence) he contracted a new confident correspondency, to advance (by assistance and advice of these) the Government of the Arch to the common benefit and safety of Christians. The first and most important businesse that represented it unto him, was that of France; in which, as matter of Religion was chiefly considered by him, so the private emulations, ancient discords, and the present ambition of the Great Powers were very well known unto him: but because time and opportunity were to administer those overtures that were necessary for the Peace and Union of that Kingdom, he determined in himself in the mean time to sustain the League with content relief, but not with that interested fervour his predecessors had profusely done, desiring things should be in such a situation as might not tend towards the division and destruction, but to the safety and restauration of so great a Kingdom; which he thought would follow, if a King were elected and established who was not onely a Catholike, and obedient to the

*Innocent 9* is succeeded in the Papacy by Cardinal *Hippolito Aldobrandino*, with the name of *Clement 8*, being aged 56 yeers.



1592

*Clement 8 gives  
supplies unto  
the League  
with more mo-  
derate expen-  
ces and resolu-  
tions then his  
predecessours  
had done.*

the Apostolike See, but also a French-man, and of such a condition as might draw along with him the general peace and satisfaction. He therefore confirmed the Cardinal of *Piacenza* in his Legation, judging him, by reason of his long employment there, not onely to be well informed, but also most fit to manage that businesse then any other: and though in times past had shewn himself very partial to the Spaniards, yet the Pope thought that, his Master being changed, and his Commissions altered, he would, as a prudent experienced man, endeavour rather to satisfie his intention, then to follow the interests of Spain, the ends whereof could not always run united with those of the See of Rome: but having, by the confirmation of the Legat, shewed (as much as was sufficient) his intentions to be well inclined toward the League, in other matters, under colour of the present disabilities of the Apostolike See, he freely declared that he could not assist the Confederates with more then fifteen thousand Ducats by the month; shewing, that the excessive expences formerly made, to the wasting of the Treasury, and to the burdening of the people, had not produced any fruit equivalent to so vast a charge, and to so great preparations; and insisting upon that remedy which he esteemed convenient, he gave the Legat order to endeavour the assembling of the Free-States, the end that a King being chosen with a common consent, machinations might be cut off, the way lockt up against ambition, and that as a certain end, and a visible apparent matter they might aim at the good of Religion, and the restoring Peace in the Kingdom.

*The King, by  
the means of  
Mocenigo the  
Venetian Amba-  
ssador, prays  
that Republike  
to treat with  
the Pope con-  
cerning his re-  
conciliation  
with the  
Church.*

These thoughts (which by many conjectures were known to both parties) as they put the Duke of Mayene in good hope that the Pope was inclined to acknowledge his merits, and so great labours, and would favour his designs; so did they not displease the King, who despaired not in that moderation to finde some temper to settle his own affairs; wherefore being forced by the Commotion of the Catholikes, who were already determined to see some resolution, he discovered at Vernon with *Giovanni Mocenigo* the Venetian Ambassador, and told him, that having a purpose to finde some way whereby an overture concerning his affairs might be made with the Pope, he desired that the Republike, which he knew had a very neer correspondence with him, would either by

express

preſſe Ambaſſadour, or by the means of the ordinary Reſident at Rome, aſſiſt that his juſt intention, having determined to procure that Cardinal *Gondi*, in whoſe prudence and candour he confiſed very much, ſhould go into Italy, and with him the Marqueſſe *de Piſani*, in the name of the Catholike Nobility of his party, to treat of the means of attaining to a Peace and Reconciliation; but that this Treaty being in appearance very difficult by reaſon of the conſiderations at Rome, and the extraordinary power of the Spaniards, he believed the interceſſion, counſell, authority, and endeavours of that Republick would ſerve as a Pole-ſtar in ſo important a buſineſſe. He found the Ambaſſadour ready to give notice of it at Venice, who knowing the good intentions of the Senate toward the conſervation of the Kingdom, aſſured him that he ſhould receive all manner of aſſiſtance he could deſire. The ſame did he uſe to be treated of with the Grand Duke by *Girolamo Gonzi*, requeſting him not onely to uſe his endeavours with the Pope (wherein he more eſteemed the power of the Venetian Senate) but alſo to deal with the Cardinals, to the end that the buſineſſe coming into debate, it might be croſſed as little as poſſible.

The King deſires *Ferdinando de Medici* Grand Duke of Tuscany to uſe his endeavours alſo with the Pope, and the Colledge of Cardinals in favour of his buſineſſe.

Theſe foundations being laid, he ſolicited *Monſieur de Villeſeu*'s coming; for he deſigned to ſet things right with the Duke of Mayene in ſuch manner, that he alſo might favour his affairs in the Court of Rome, ſince his reconciliation with the poſtolic See coming to paſſe, the ſcruple of Religion would be taken away, and the Duke of Mayene might with his honour embrace thoſe large advantageous offers which he would make him. But the Duke, who had taken a diſtruſt by reaſon of the check put upon him by *du Pleſſis*, & who hoped to ſettle his own affairs with the Spaniards, ſuffered the treaty to run on, that he might make uſe of it for his own profit, but without any deſign to conclude, thoſe thoughts being again revived in his mind which deſpair had before diſordered and deſtroyed. Therefore, though *Villeroy* went to Rouen to him, and afterwards had a conference with the King himſelf by night at *Giſſy*, yet went they not on to treat of any conditions; but the Duke conſented that the King ſhould ſend to Rome, leaving the Treaty to go on and be concluded when the buſineſſe was ſetled with the Pope; and the King was content that the Duke ſhould aſſemble the States of his party,



1592 party, to treat with them concerning the present resolution.

The Spaniards had never intermitted to presse for the assembling of the States, and joyntly with the Cardinal-Legate had made both publick and private instances about it, and the Duke had alwayes interposed difficulties and delays, sometimes alledging the urgency of following the management of the War, sometimes saying it was fit first to treat and conclude with the Princes of the party; and sometimes the difficulties of assembling the Deputies, because of the general combustion of the War, by reason whereof they would ver unwillingly forsake their own houses and Cities in the present distractions, and that they would not venture to take so great journeys with the danger of their lives; but at last his backwardnesse was ascribed to an irregular ambition, and to a desire of continuing in the power he held at that present; neither could he without grievous complaints, nor without danger of discord and disunion refuse any longer to call the Assembly; wherefore turning his thought to remove that scandal, from whence arose all the discontents with the Spanish Ministers, he considered, that as to deny the meeting was dangerous, and now at length odious to every one, so the difficulties that would spring up, and those which he would artificially interpose should be so many, that the States should dissolve and end of themselves, without coming to any determination; and in the mean time they might afford him convenience and opportunity either to revive his authority, or else to finde means of reconciliation with the King, if so he could not bring to passe that the Kingdom should fall to his posterity: wherefore as the Spaniards did now show a desire to satisfie and honour him, and the same did the Legate by Commission from Rome; so he, showing that he would grant that in courtesie which he would not yeeld to for fear nor for threatnings, wrote to the Legate, and to the Duke of Parma that now the time to assemble the States was ripe, he would give satisfaction to the Princes who had solicited him with so much earnestnesse, and would come at last to a resolution and therefore they should endeavour to get Commissions from Rome and Spain, because within a few months the Deputies should be convened; for which effect he dispatched Letters to every Province, and every Bayliage, to the end they might chuse

The Duke of Mayene, who had still deferred the convocation of the States, writes to the Cardinal Legat & to the Du. of Parma, that the time of assembling them was now present.

use Deputies to meet in the place that should be appointed 1592  
for the holding of the States-Generall.

At the same time the King had caused Cardinal *Gondi* to  
eat concerning his passage into Italy, and had required the  
Catholicks of his party to appoint an Ambassadour to the  
Pope, which though some opposed, alledging that the Par-  
liament had decreed that for the time to come none should  
go to Rome upon any emergent occasion, yet the King an-  
swered, That that Decree was made in the Papacie of Gre-  
gory the Fourteenth, but that he granted leave to send to the  
present Pope; so the Marquesse of *Pisani* was chosen, and  
Cardinal *Gondi* was contented to take that journey to satis-  
fy the King, and to procure the generall repose of the King-  
dome.

Cardinal *Gon-  
di* & the Mar-  
quesse de *Pisani*  
are chosen to  
be sent to  
Rome.

This determination did in great part stop the resolution  
of the Catholicks, who were attentive to see what that Em-  
bassy would produce, being partly satisfied in that the King  
began already to treat of reconciling himself to the Pope and  
the Apostolick See. The Decree which the King made a-  
bout this time concerning the disposing of the Benefices of  
the Kingdom, did help much to appease them; for after that  
the Parliaments of *Tours* and *Chalons* had decreed, that for  
the conferring and confirmation of them, none should go any  
more to Rome; and after that the Congregation of the same  
relates had made the Declaration in favour of the King,  
those Benefices that became void were disposed of to all kinde  
of persons without regard, in reward of their expences, in  
quitall of their labours, and for particular inclination; and  
the administration of spirituall matters was by the Grand  
Council assigned to one of the Priests of the Diocesse, with  
the title of *Spirituall Oeconome*: which was not onely against the  
Decrees of the Canons, but scandalous and dangerous, con-  
trary to the good of the people, and very neer the custome  
of the Hugonots. *Renaud de Beaune* Archbishop of *Bourges*,  
a man of exceeding great learning and singular eloquence, had  
thought, that he having the name of *Patriarch* (that title they  
use to give to the Archbishop of that Citie) it was very easie,  
and no lesse reasonable, that the authority of disposing the  
Benefices of the Kingdom should be conferred upon him, as  
Spirituall Superiour of the *Gallia*, and that he should hold  
that degree thorowout all France, which the Pope holds over

The Decree of  
the Parlia-  
ments of *Tours*  
& *Chalons* that  
none should  
run to Rome  
for the procu-  
ring of Bene-  
fices.

The pretensi-  
ons of *Renaud*  
de *Beaune* Arch-  
bishop of *Bour-*  
ges upon the  
spirituall supe-  
riority of the  
*Gallia*.



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the universall Church; and as this thought had long been nourished in his minde, so had he attempted all those means which he thought proper to effect his designe; to this end at his exhortation the Pope's Bulls had been so sharply handled; to this end those that represented the Apostolick See had been so hotly proceeded against; and to this end the disorder in conferring of Benefices being now represented, and the abuse of those *Oeconomies* chosen by the great Councell (a temporal Magistracy, whom it concerned not to judge of spirituall sufficiency) it was endeavoured in that heat of mens mindes, that a resolution might be taken, and that a Prelate might be constituted in the *Gallia*, superiour to all the rest in power and dignity, to whom that election should be committed. But the Cardinall of Bourbon and the other Catholick Lords exclaiming that this was an expresse way to alienate themselves from the Apostolick See, to make the Kingdom schismaticall, and for ever to cut off all hopes of an Accommodation; that they would never endure it, and that as soon as ever that Decree should be made, they would take some course to secure their own affairs: the King declared publickly, that he would not take away the obedience from the Apostolick See, and that if (not to foment the evil) it had been decreed that money should not be carryed to Rome, to the end Warre might not be made upon the Kingdome with its own bloud and substance, that had been established by way of provision, as long as the Popes should persist to oppose the lawfull Successours of the Crown: That hee did not intend nor mean there should be any innovation; but to maintain Ecclesiasticall matters, and the Religion and Priviledges of the Gallique Church in the same being hee had found them at his coming to the Crown: And finally, hee caused the Councell to decree, That the Bishops every one in his own Diocesse should create the Administrators of spirituall matters, and that where the Bishopricks were vacant, the Metropolitan should supply that defect; and for want of him, the neereft Bishop; which did exceedingly quiet the mindes of the Catholicks, and did also for some time stop their resolutions.

A Decree made by Henry the Fourth in favour of the ecclesiastical Dignities, and of the Catholick Religion.

In this interim matters of Warre went not on more slowly then the Counsels and Treaties of Peace; for the

Duke

uke of Mayene, being cured of his indisposition at Rouen, as come forth with part of his Forces to lay siege to *Pontau Mer*, a place which, because it was neer, did incommode and straiten the Commerce of that City; and on the other le, Monsieur *de Villars* was likewise gone to besiege the new fortresse of *Quillebœuf*, to open totally the passage and navigation of the *Seine*, being displeased (besides the impediment and inconvenience of it) that the Hollanders and English could nest themselves in that place, very opportune to receive their ships, and seated in the midst between his Governments *Havre de Grace* and *Rouen*, molesting and endamaging both them.

The Duke of Mayene besieges Pontau de Mer.

The Sieur de Villars goes to besiege Quillebœuf, a Fort not yet brought to perfection.

The King, who was yet in the confines of Normandy, dispatched Colonel *Grillon* thither with one thousand and five hundred French Foot, and the Sieur *de Bonquetant* with an hundred Gentlemen of that Country, desiring no lesse to keep at place, then his enemies did to drive him out of it. The fortifications of it were yet imperfect: for though the Holland-Fleet had wrought diligently at them, yet the time had not served to bring them to perfection; so that the Bulwarks were not faced with stone, and the Ramparts not onely of simple earth not well settled, but were hardly above a man's height, though they were most skilfully drawn out, and diligently designed by expert Artists.

*Villars* presently planted five Pieces of Canon to batter an half-moon which defended the Gate that stood toward the sea; and having got together a great number of Country-people, who followed his name voluntarily thorow the whole country, he approached with a Trench, and began to sap in such manner, that he got under the Half-moon, and brought it to such a condition, that it was easie to be assaulted. The besiegers fell on exceeding fiercely at the first; but the number of the defendants was so great, that the resistance proved no lesse force within: & the assault being renewed the next day, *Grillon* having left the charge of the defence to Colonel *Rebours*, and the Sieur *de Bellebat* Governour of the place, sallied out so bravely on the other side with *Bonquetant*, that having found no resistance in the Trench, he did a great deal of mischief, destroyed part of the Redoubts, nailed two Pieces of Artillery; and if *Villars* his Cavalry, with Captain *Borofey* and Captain *Frédriel* being alighted from their horses, had not run unto the



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The Sieur de  
Villars is forced to rise  
from Quille-  
bœuf.

danger, the Trenches would have been utterly taken, and the Infantry defeated: so *Grillon* after many hours being got in: gain with much ado, Monsieur *de Villars* knowing the weakness of his Forces, and despairing of doing any good, raised the siege the next day, and returned to Rouen. *Mattenucci* was the principal cause of this disorder: for if he had not dismissed the Swissers, there would have been such a Body of an Army before *Quillebœuf*, that perhaps the siege would have ended another way.

The Duke of  
Mayene takes  
Ponteau de  
Mer.

The Duke of Mayene had better success at *Ponteau de Mer* for having laid siege unto it, and fortified his Trenches with Redoubts equally distant, he secured the weakness of his Forces in such manner, that the Artillery being planted and having begun to batter, the Governour, who had not so great a strength as those of *Quillebœuf*, took a resolution to surrender, saving their goods and persons; and on that side the passage remained free to bring Victual into Rouen.

The Duke of  
Parma goes in-  
to Flanders to  
the Baths of  
Spaw, to be  
cured of the  
Dropfie.

In this time the Duke of Parma, not onely troubled with his wound, but also with another wonted indisposition, by which he was going apace into a Dropfie, resolved to go to the Baths of *Spaw* in Flanders, and to carry back with him the greater part of the Army, to provide for the affairs of those Countries, and particularly of *Friseland*, where the States of Holland daily made great progresse. Yet he left six hundred Foot more the ordinary in Paris, being intreated so to do (against the Duke of Mayene's will) by the Legat and the Spanish Ministers, and three thousand Foot more, Italians and Walloons, with six hundred Horse, which were to assist in the quarters about Paris, at Soissons and in Champagne; the Command of which (though the Duke of Guise aspired to it, and sued for it very earnestly) he gave to the Sieur *de Rosne*, with the title of Camp-Master-General, and with order expressly to obey the Duke of Mayene, being resolved at this time to give him all possible satisfactions that might keep him firm to the party, and alienate him from all practices of Peace.

With these Forces and those of the Province, Monsieur *de Rosne* went before *Espernay*, a Town seven leagues from *Chalons*, of a moderate circuit, but of an ancient form, and in the condition it then was, not fit to make resistance against any reasonable siege; thinking that it being taken, he might, by filling it with men, much straiten and incommode *Chalons* wher

here the Parliament resided, with a great number of persons, especially that Town being situate upon the current of the River Marne. The siege was short : for being violently battered, and a great breach being made in the walls, which were very old, and fell without much trouble, the *Sieur de S' Estienne*, who had not a Garison sufficient to defend the weaknesse of the place, yeelded it up without staying for the last experiments.

*Monsieur de Rosne takes Espernay.*

The King, who having left Normandy was come to the confines of that Province, not having had time to relieve that place, soon as he knew it was taken, resolved that he would recover it, more to shew that he regarded the conveniencies of the Parliament, then for any other respect : wherefore having sent the Duke of Nevers and the Marechal *de Biron* before, he according to his custom running at large over the neighbouring places, came even to the walls of Chalons. The *Sieur de S' Estienne* had with wonderful great diligence made up the walls which had been broken down by the late Battery, and had carefully caused Trenches and Ravelines to be made, considering well that the King would set himself without delay to recover what was lost. There were in the Town six hundred French foot, and as many Walloons of the Count *de Bossu's* Territory, and about sixty Horse, many small Pieces of Artillery, and a convenient quantity of Ammunition ; and the Count's people of those quarters being gathered together, labour continually to better the Works. The King's Infantry came before the Town upon the six and twentieth of July ; being suddenly quartered, the Marechal *de Biron* would needs advance with twenty Horse to view the situation, and the works which the enemy had made for their defence : but he scarcely come upon the way that leads to the Town upon the South-side, when a Canon-shot (among many which the

*The King sends his Forces to recover Espernay.*

pendants fired at random) taking him at the rebound in the midst of his body, shattered him in such manner, that without making one word, he fell suddenly from his horse dead upon the ground. The losse of this Commander was unspeakable : for all the King's affairs depended upon his prudence, experience, discipline, and valour ; and not onely the charge of the armies rested wholly upon his shoulders, but matters of Government, counsels of State, Treaties with Princes, and the particular affairs of the Kingdom, were all ordered by his advice,

*The Marechal de Biron, a Commander of great valour, is killed with a Canon-shot, July 26, in the 65 year of his age.*



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vice ; in such manner, that those who were partial to him, attributed all that had succeeded prosperously, either in War or in other affairs, to his endeavours ; and those that flattered him more boldly , publikely called him *The King's Foster-father*. And truly it cannot be denied by whosoever was present at those affairs that happened successively from the King's coming to the Crown, to the time of *Biron's* death ( which were the most difficult, most important, and, as a man may say , the foundations of his Reign ) but that in the prudence and vigilance of this man, consisted all the life and spirit, not onely of counsels, but also of enterprises and actions. But yet those that emulated him, forbore not to attribute many disorders to his fault ; and particularly, that not desiring, for his own ends, that discords should be quieted, but that the Wars should continue, because, while they lasted, he governed the King's minde, and all the affairs of the Kingdom, and not stirring much for matters of Religion ( for which from his youth he had shewed himself to care but little ) he was the occasion that not onely the Civil Wars continued, with so great a both publike and private ruine, but that the King with arts and promises deferred the so necessary effect of his conversion. He was slain in the beginning of the sixty and fifth yeer of his age, being entire in minde, strong in body, full of careful diligence, and indefatigable in Military exercises.

The King  
wept for the  
Mareschal de  
*Biron*.

After his death, the whole charge of the Army remaining to the Duke of Nevers, the siege of that Town began to be set in order ; and the King having received the news of what had happened, after he had spent many hours in tears and publick condolings, with great celerity moved to return to the Camp. There were also three hundred Walloon-Foot of *Berlotte Tertia* come from *Rheimes* to enter into the Town, for the reliefe of the besieged, the conservation of that place seeming to be of great concernment to the Confederates. These marching that way, and being already neer their entrance, were overtaken by the Baron *de Biron*, who, to revenge his father's death, had set forward to the Camp before all the rest ; and not willing to pretermitt that occasion of cutting those Foot in pieces, which he found in the field without any convoy of Horse, ran furiously to assault them. The Foot were not at all dismayed, being part of them Pike-men, and the rest Muskietiers and Fire-locks ; & getting into a hollow way, shut up on both sides

two high banks of earth, as it were by two Ramparts, made halt, and facing about, fiercely received the charge of the Horse with their Pikes, and in the mean time their companions mingled among them with their shot, failed not to fire instantly upon them; so that two Captains of Horse and many Gentlemen being killed, it seemed very difficult to cease them; Monsieur de S' Luc came up with another Squadron of the King's Cavalry, which marched toward the Camp, not thinking it a great shame that so few Foot should make resistance in the field, rushed forward to make the same attempt; but being received with the same constancy, he was wounded no less than the others: and much worse did it happen to Monsieur de Guiry, who came up last with the light-horse; for going to make the same charge, he left his own lieutenant dead upon the place with above sixty of his men; that the Foot being no longer molested with the Cavalry, came out of the hollow way, and went up an hill all full of stones, from whence without delay they were to march down the Moat of the Town towards the West corner: but in the same time the King himself coming up with the rest of his Forces, and seeing the affront his Horse received from so small party of Foot, ran forward galloping to the very edge of the Moat, and though the Town ceased not to play both with their Artillery and Muskets, yet passing swiftly by, he went to charge the Foot, who being come down from the hill, were already gotten into the Plain, whereby their way being so narrow that they could not get under the walls, they were surrounded on every side, and after a long and valiant resistance were at last cut in pieces, though with the losse of above two hundred of the King's side, and above two hundred more wounded.

The same day he straitned the siege on all sides, and without losing time, began to hasten the taking of the place; and because the besieged had laboured all those days that were past to fill their Moat with water, that they might gain more time to bring their works to perfection, he employed his first labour to divert the water another way, which spent three days; but the passage was no sooner opened to drain the Moat, when the Baron de Biron, impatient to stay for the effect of the Artillery, which nevertheless were planting by the industry of Monsieur de S' Luc, gave a scalado to a great

Tower

The Baron de Biron, to revenge the death of his Father, scales a great Tower at Espernay, and takes it, but is sorely wounded.



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Tower newly made defensible by those within, and being come up close together, so that they fought onely with their swords, he renewed the assault so obstinately twice or thrice that at last he carryed it with great slaughter on both sides but whilest in lodging his men there, the earth was throwin up to shelter them from the Town, he was sore wounded with a shot in the shoulder. That Tower and the other defence being taken one after another, the Artillery having made an open breach in the old wall, the defendants began to remember that they had not sufficient Forces to sustain the assault, and therefore having sent to capitulate the second day, they concluded to march out free with their Baggage, but to leave their Colours, which the King by all means would have, in respect of the Spanish Ensignes of the Count *de Bossú*, which for reputation the King desired to have in his power. The Town was delivered up into the hand of the Duke of Normans Governour of that Province, upon the ninth day of August.

Espernay yeeldeth it self, with condition to leave their Colours, which were much desired by the King, because there were some Spanish Ensignes among them.

From Espernay the Army went to take in *Provins*, a City of Brie, which for the unequalnesse of the situation, and the greatnesse of its circuit was not very defensible, being full of gardens and vine-yards, very thinly peopled, and very ill provided of souldiers; and yet things proceeding slowly, all the siege not pressing, all the rest of the month was spent about it, and it came not into the King's power before the second of September.

The next thing that lay fit for the Army to besiege was *Meaux*; whereof, as being neerer to Paris, and opportune to straiten that City, not onely the Parisians were exceeding jealous, but even the Duke of Mayene himself, who being come to *Beauvais*, dispatched the *Sieur de Vitry* thither with eight hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, who together with the *Sieur de Rantilly* Governour of the Town, and with the ordinary Garrison, laboured in such manner, that it was made very defensible; which the King considering, and judging that the taking of it would be difficult, and a work of time, resolved (passing beyond *Meaux* along the bank of the river *Marne*, which leads to Paris) to raise a Fort in the middle of the River, in an Island called *Gournay*, to the end that standing between both, it might hinder their commerce and the navigation of the River, whereby without losse of time in besieging

Meaux.

leaux, he might reap the same, or perhaps greater fruit. This was the thought of the Duke of Nevers, who having had the care of executing it, applied himself to it so diligently, that within a few dayes the work began to rise apace, the Fortification being made in the likenesse of a Star with five acute angles, and an high Platform raised in the midst. The King with his whole Army was quartered upon the bank of the River, where forcing the peasants of all that Country round about, and making his Foot-souldiers work by Companies at their turns, he endeavoured to have the Fort made defensible.

On the other side, the Parisians anxious because of that impediment, which would bring them into a worse condition for matter of victuall, and increase that dearth to extremity wherewith the City was already much afflicted, ceased not to stir up the Duke of Mayene to oppose the raising of that Fort, as prejudicial to the common interests; nor did the Duke desire lesse then they to be able to oppose it; but the small Forces he had with him constrained him to proceed slowly: for it was necessary first to stay till the neighbouring garisons were drawn together; and after they were met, the Count *de Coligny's* Germans, who were many Pays behinde, mutinied against him, and without them he could not move with any hope of good successe. The Germans at last were quietted, a certain summe of money being paid them, but in the mean time many dayes were past, whereby the Duke of Nevers had so much the more leasure to bring the Fort into a posture of defence; and so much the more difficult became the attempt of hindering it; and yet the Duke advanced on the other side of the River, intending to fight, and to possess an Abby, which standing over the River, he might afterward batter the Fort from thence as from a *Cavalier*; but the *Sieur de Praslin* and the Count *de Brienne* being in it with a very great number both of Horse and Foot, they skirmished hotly for the space of two whole dayes together, before the Duke could seat himself in a convenient place to oppugn it, and as soon as the Artillery was brought and planted, the King appeared (who had been indisposed some dayes at *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*) whose coming a bridge of boats being put over, the garison in the Abby was so reinforced, that those that defended it were not content to fally fiercely every hour to skirmish with

E e e e e e

the



1592 the Army of the League, but had also lodged themselves with many trenches in the field, and with them had brought themselves even under the Duke's Redouts, and to the same Place where the Artillery were placed; wherefore it appearing not only difficult, but in a manner altogether impossible to gain the Abby defended by so numerous a garison, and relieved and sustained from the King's Camp by the conveniency of the bridge of boats, the Duke not persisting obstinately, retired to quarter in the Village of *Condé*, there to expect the *Sieur de Rosne* and Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, whom he had sent for with the foreign Forces, and with those of the Province of *Champagne*, judging it impossible to oppose the King's Army, if his own were not much encreased by the arrivall of those Supplies; but having expected them in vain from the 16<sup>th</sup> till the 22<sup>th</sup> of September, he retired at last to *Meaux*, without being able to hinder the perfecting of the Fort; from whence (that he might not lose his time unprofitably, and that he might give some ease to the afflicted *Parisians*) he went after not many dayes to besiege *Cressy*, a place of the County of *Valois*, and having taken it without much dispute, he made the passage more easie & more secure for some quantity of victual, which might be carryed into Paris from that fertile Country round about.

The King desires a reconciliation with the Catholick Church by way of agreement, not by way of pardon.

While the Heads of the parties entertain themselves with these petty actions, one to straiten the City, the other to enlarge it from want of provisions, the Treaties of each side went on with more heat then matters of War. The King's minde was intent upon the affairs of Rome, having from the Pope's equity and prudence conceived great hopes that he might reconcile himself to the Church; but he wished rather that the business should passe by way of composition and agreement, then by means of humiliation and pardon; and therefore desired that the Venetian Senate and the Great Duke of Tuscany should interpose as mediators, to negotiate that reconciliation with the Apostolick See: the treaty whereof standing thus in suspence, withheld the mindes of the Catholicks till the end were seen, and did not alienate the Hugonots who were not yet sure that the agreement would be effected, but were rather full of a reasonable hope that that manner of treating at Rome would not bring forth any fruit at all. Cardinall *Gondi* having conferred with the King in his passage, and having with his passport taken his voyage thorough

the places that were of his party, had made some stay at Florence, desiring that some of the Cardinals might first be gained by the Great Duke.

The Marquess de Pisany took his journey at the same time; and having passed the Alps, was come to *Defenzano* upon the lake of *Garda*, a place belonging to the Republike of Venice, to procure that the Senate, by means of their Ambassadour, might first break the ice in introducing the Treaty with the Pope. But these attempts were yet very unseasonable: for the things that were still acted in France by the King's Council and the Parliaments of Tours and Chalons (where they had damned the Pope's Bulls; and the Commission given concerning the Legation of the Cardinal of *Piacenza*, and many other Declarations of such-like nature) gave small signe of the King's repentance and conversion, and had put the Pope as it were in a necessity of protecting the League, and of resenting those injurious demonstrations which had been attempted against him with so little respect, as well for the security of Religion, as for the reputation of his own person: nor could he yet secure himself that the King, who for the time past had been so obstinate in his belief, could so all of a sudden sincerely turn Catholike; but he doubted that it was a meer fiction, to establish himself in the Kingdom; and therefore he judged it to be his office, by length of time, and by many arguments and conjectures, to make himself certain of his inward conversion, that he might not compleat the destruction of Religion by a precipitate determination, and such a one as was little seemly for the dignity of his person, and that opinion the world had conceived of him. To this was added the power of the Spaniard, who possessed the greater part of the Cardinals; the obligation the Pope himself had to that party, which had brought him to the Papacy: whereupon he was necessitated to carry himself very dexterously with them: the humour of that Court, which cannot endure these things that seem to it prejudicial to the Ecclesiastical authority, and to the majestie of the Church, and besides these, the King's misfortunes before *Rouen*, which were then fresh, and divulged with the additions of fame, made the Treaty improper, and by no means opportune at that present. And the Duke of Mayene, who had given *Villeroy* some liberty to favour the King's conversion with the Pope, thinking it as lawful for him to deceive

Causes that make the Pope backward in determining about the affairs of the Crown of France.

The Duke of Mayene gives *Villeroy* liberty to favour the King's conversion at Rome; and at the same time opposes it with all his power.



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his enemy, as it had been lawful for his enemy to break his word with him, and to divulge the secret of those Treaties that had passed in confidence of privacie, being now more then ever entered again upon his old designe by the means of *Des Portes* and the Bishop of *Lisieux*, his Agents in that Court, he did both by deeds and words, to his power, oppose those things that were treated in favour of that conversion. Wherefore the Pope being resolved not to give any scandal concerning himself in the beginning of his Papacy; and not finding things in such a condition, that with the security of Religion, and the decency of the Apostolike See, he might lend an ear to what was propounded, having shewed his reasons to the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he wrote unto the Legat to give the Cardinal of *Gondi* notice that he should not stir out of France: which Commission being arrived late, found him already departed: whereupon, having afterwards heard that he had past the mountains, he dispatched Father *Alessandro Franceschi* of the Order of Preachers, his Chaplain, to meet him, and to forbid him in his name to come any further; for he was resolved, he being a malignant Cardinal, and an adherent to Hereticks, neither to see him, nor hearken unto him: and by the means of his *Nuncio* residing in Venice, he caused the Marquesse of *Pisani* to be resolutely advertised, that he being suspected of Heresie, having followed and fought for an Heretick, should by no means enter into the State of the Church; for if he did, he should be forced to proceed against him. The Cardinal, who was at *Ambrogiana*, a place of the Grand Duke's neer Florence, not at all dismayed at the Pope's so resolute advertisement, desired the Frier to give it him at length in writing, and with him dispatched his Secretary to Rome, to clear himself of those things that were objected against him: He shewed that from the beginning he had not been willing to subscribe unto the League as he had been desired, because being an eye-witnesse he saw, and by long practice in the customs of France, knew that Union was not set on foot by true zeal and sinccre affection to Religion, but to palliate the ambition of the Great-ones, and to cover the interests of State, which it was not fit for him, being a Clergie-man, to give his assent unto, nor to make himself minister of other mens passions and affections: That he had made his excuse about it to Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who being made acquainted with the truth, had taken

Pope *Clem. 8.* gives notice to Cardinal *Gondi* and to the Marquesse de *Pisani*, that they should not enter into the Ecclesiastical State.

Cardinal *Gondi* sends his Secretary to Rome, to excuse himself to the Pope.

taken his determination in good part : That if he had treated with the King of Navar during the siege of Paris , to free the City from the extreme misery of hunger , he had done it with the consent and leave of the Apostolike Legat : That if he at that present had treated personally with the King himself, he had done it that he might not put himself in danger of being made a prisoner in his journey , and of being obliged afterwards, to the disreputation of his quality , to meet and treat with him by force : That he had obeyed the intimation which the Legat *Sega* had sent after him to the confines of Lorain; for he had given him notice, that if he meant to treat any thing in favour of Hereticks, or of the King of Navar , he should not come to Rome ; whereupon, he having no such intention, had continued his journey : That he marvelled the Pope should refuse him leave to come and prostrate himself at his feet , to render him due obedience ; where, if he were guilty, he might not onely reprehend, but also punish him : That he was ready to give a particular true account of his actions ; and if he were found in a fault, he refused not to undergo such chastisement as he deserved : That his intention was to come to Rome , to make the Pope acquainted with the calamities and miseries of France , which perchance were not sincerely represented to him : That as a Prelat and Bishop of France, and as a Cardinal, he came to let him know, there were above 40 Bishopricks vacant, the revenues whereof were enjoyed by Women , Courtiers, Souldiers, and persons far from the Episcopal profession ; and that in the mean time, the poor souls were dispersed without a pastour : That he thought himself obliged to represent unto him, that the Curates of Parishes, Priests , and other Clergie-men, having abandoned their proper Function and the care of souls , were busied in bloodying their hands, and living in the profession of Arms : That he should feel his conscience burdened, if he did not let him know the danger so noble, so great the Kingdom was in , of becoming schismatical , unlesse some course were taken for the safety and union of it : That this seemed to him to be the duty of a good Christian and a good Catholike, not of an Heretick , nor of a favourer and promoter of Heresies : That if his Holiness had been pleased to hear his opinions concerning the discords and calamities of France, he would have told them ; and submitted them to his most grave and prudent judgement ; and if he should have imposed  
him

The unhappy condition of Ecclesiastical affairs in the Kingdom of France.



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him silence, he would have held his peace, since for his part, when his conscience was once discharged, he intended not to passe any further.

These reasons boldly proposed by the Secretary, who was brought in by the Florentine Ambassadour, made a deep impression in the Pope, who having from this man, and from the discourses of the Venetian Ambassadour, comprehended many particulars, was confirmed in his opinion, either with the full consent of every one, to raise one of the Princes of the blood unto the Crown, or else that perhaps one day he might with the honour of the Apostolike See, and the restauration of all the Orders of France, see the King of Navar reconciled sincerely to the Church, and all the discords of the Kingdom composed in that point. But because this hope was yet weak and obscure in the uncertainty of the future, nor did he think it fit either to precipitate the natural course of things, or utterly to forsake the League (which, if for nothing else, served at least for a spur and necessary instrument of the King's conversion) he resolved to persist yet in that manner of appearance he had begun, in the mean time dexterously and with convenient patience promoting the secret of his thoughts. Therefore though in a short Writing to the Cardinal of *Piacenza* divulged in print, he declared that he desired a Catholike King and an enemy to Heresie should be elected, and that he abhorred that one who still persevered in his errors should be admitted to the possession of the Crown, and therefore made shew to consent also to the assembling of the States, to come in the end to a good and wholesome election; yet he dispatched his Nephew the Pronotary *Agucchi* to the Legat himself, giving him secret advice to carry himself very dexterously and very cautiously and not to suffer that in the Assembly of the States, Votes should either be forced or corrupted, but that mens will should be free, and their voices not interested: That he should not permit the election of a King who was more like to kindle discords, then to put an end to the War: That he should endeavour no wrong might be done to any one: That that course should be taken, which by the most easie, most secure way, and with the least novelty that could be possible might produce Peace; and that he should not be over-scrupulous, but yeeld what he handsomly might, to time, and the nature of affairs; and provided Religion were secure, he should

The Pope sends Monsignor *Agucchi* to Cardinal *Sega* Legat in France, with prudent Instructions concerning the affairs of that Kingdom.

pass

passed by many other considerations in the order and manner of treating: admonishing him finally, That this was a business of so great importance as could never be sufficiently pondered and examined; and that therefore he should keep himself from hastie resolutions, and from specious counsels, and that without other respect he should aim onely at the quiet of souls, and at the service of God. The Pope believed these Instructions without any further Declaration would be sufficient to the prudence of the Legate, to cause moderate proceedings in the States, and to make him understand that he should not carry the election for a forreign King, about whose establishment longer and more ruinous Warrs would necessarily ensue then ever yet had been; but that if with the honour of the Apostolick See, and the security of Religion, he could either establish a King of the House of *Bourbon*, or compose the discords with the King of *Navar*, it would be a much better and more expedient determination. But the Legate giving himself wholly over to the will of the Spaniards, by whom he hoped to be raised to the dignity of being Pope, since the favourable endeavours of the Catholick King being in good earnest added to the merit of his labours, he thought himself in a condition to attain it) and having by his long residence in France, and by conversation with the Parisians already contracted a partiality to the League, and an enmity to the King, was either so blinded by affection that he could not, or so drawn by his own designs that he would not understand the Pope's meaning, and therefore set himself with his power to advance the enterprises of the Spaniards.

Cardinal Segni affectionate to the Lords of the League, &c. perswaded by hope, being become partial to the Spaniards, doth not execute his orders according to the Popes intentions.

But the Duke of Mayene being by his Secretary *des Portes*, and by the Bishop of *Lisieux* advertised in part of the Pope's moderate Commissions, judged that his minde inclined in favour him, and that those words of causing a Catholick King to be elected, who might be a defender of the Church, and an enemy to Hereticks, but such a one as might be established with the generall approbation, without commotion or subversion, pointed at his person; and therefore firmly hoping he should have the Pope's favour, and by consequence the Legate's, and that the attempts of the Spaniards were not countenanced by them, having loosened himself from the Treaty of Peace, he turned his minde wholly upon the assembling of the States, being intent to do it in such manner that it might

succeed

The Duke of Mayene interpreting the Popes manner of proceeding to be in favour of him, applies himself to the convocation of the States. with hope to be chosen King of France.



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succeed to the advantage and secure establishment of his Affairs. For this purpose he had with exceeding great diligence laboured, that the Deputies who were selected might not be of those that were taken with the gold or promises of the Spanish Ministers, but of his dependents; and where those could not be had, he at least obtained that they should be for the most part men of good understanding, affectionate to their Country, and the generall good, thinking that such would hardly condescend to a forreign King, and one who was not of their own blood. The place where this Assembly of the States was to be held remained to be resolved on; and the Spaniards, who designed at the same time when it should be convened, to make the Duke of Parma enter into France, and draw neer with the Army to back and colour the Catholic King's pretensions, desired principally that it might be the City of *Soissons*. The Duke of Lorain proposed the City of *Rheims* (as neere to him) from which the Spaniards did not much dissent. But President *Jeannin* and the *Sieur de Villeroi* counselled the Duke of Mayene to reduce the Assembly into the City of *Paris*, without having regard to the length of the journey, the danger of the Deputies, or to the incommodiouse and dearth of victuall, to give content and satisfaction to the inhabitants thereof, who were wonderfull earnest to have it so; and had need after so many calamities to be comforted and kept faithfull; and moreover to make the Congregation of the States more publick and more famous by the quality of the place, and not to put the Cities of *Rheims* or *Soissons* in danger; for it was considered, that the Duke of Parma coming thither accompanied according to his custome with strong Forces, might easily force the Assembly to his will, and make himself Master of those places which would be hard for him to obtain in *Paris*, as well by reason of the greatnesse of it, and the number of the people as because it was further from the Frontiers, and all surrounded and encompassed with the King's Fortresses, full of strong garisons, which upon all occasions might be called to hinder any violence that should be offered to the City or to the States. Besides this, the City was better inclined then ever it had been in former times; for the pernicious power of the *Sixteen* being weakened, the Government remained in the hands of the wonted Magistrates, elected with great care by the

the Duke of Mayene himself, and the incendiaries not being  
ere, they quieted the mindes of the people without those  
surrections that were wont to disturb all busineses: more-  
er, the Parliament residing in the City might serve as a fit in-  
strument to treat and to hinder many things.

This determination did very much displease the Spanish  
ministers, and they opposed it at the first, shewing the ne-  
cessity of the Duke of Parma's being there, who could not ad-  
vance so far into the Kingdom, and withdraw himself so far  
from the Frontiers; and arguing also that the great number of  
Deputies would increase the dearth and necessity of the Pa-  
risians. But the objection concerning the Duke of Parma  
was removed by his death; and the interests of the Parisians  
was not put into consideration, for they themselves perswa-  
ded the Spaniards to desist from interposing any hindrance,  
because the City esteemed it to be for its advantage and pro-  
fit, and much more for its honour and reputation, that so fa-  
mous an Assembly should be made in their City, they inter-  
vening and assisting in it. The Cardinal-Legate assented also  
to this opinion, as well not to incommode himself with the  
pence of new journeys, as because he thought 'by the heat  
of the Parisians to bring the Assembly to make election of that  
person who should be of greatest satisfaction to the Apostolick  
See, and to the intentions of the King of Spain. Wherefore  
the Duke of Mayene having left the government of the Army  
to the *Sieur de Rosne*, by him created Mareschal and Gover-  
nor of the Isle of France, went to Paris with a small retinue,  
and there with his presence, and with his words laboured to  
comfort the afflicted people for the dearth of victuall, and the  
interruption of commerce and trading in the City, shewing  
them that within a few dayes there would be some course ta-  
ken in the Assembly of the States, and convenient order set-  
tled totally to free the City, and ease it of its present necessi-  
ties; striving with liberall promises, and by honouring and  
enriching every one (especially the Magistrates of the City,  
and the Preachers) to gain the good will of the people, which  
by his late severity he feared he had wholly lost.

It was not without great reason that the Duke of Mayene  
resolved at last to transfer the Crown upon himself and his Poste-  
rity; for considering the present estate with due regard, it was  
clear, that neither the union of the Crowns, nor the election

F f f f f f

of

The City of  
Paris is ap-  
pointed for the  
convocation of  
the States.

The Duke of  
Mayene leaves  
the command  
of the Army to  
the *Sieur de  
Rosne*, and goes  
himself to Pa-  
ris.



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Causes that  
move the Duke  
of Mayene to  
hope to be cho-  
sen King of  
France.

of the *Infanta Isabella* (things laboured for by the Spaniards) would ever be endured by the French, who by no kinde of interest, by no kinde of practice could ever be brought to submit themselves to the Empire of their naturall enemies; and though some particular men, corrupted with money, or by the expectation of places and honours, had accommodated their gust unto it; yet the generall, which was more powerful, would never have been perswaded by any means: wherefore these pretensions falling and being excluded, he thought (and reason told him so) that the Catholick King could not concur more willingly to the election of any other then his own person; since if either the Duke of Lorain, or the Duke of Savoy should be elected (as the report went) by the party that they should make, new States and power would be added to the Crown of France, with the augmentation whereof it was likely the Catholick King would not be well pleased, but rather that it should decrease in strength and greatnesse; he did not see that the Catholick King could expect to drive greater fruit from his past labours and expences, then in choosing him, who by reason of the need he should have of him to establish himself in the Kingdom, would be constrained by necessity to content him, and to condescend to many things which the rest perhaps would not so easily consent to. The same he judged of the Pope; who, as far from interests, and full of that moderation which he made shew of, would more willingly yeeld to him then any other, not to deprive him the fruit of his so great labours, considering that he alone had sustained the Catholick party, and the Cause of Religion which no other, either by authority or prudence could have been able to sustain. He saw the French generally inclined and disposed in favour of him by reason of his authority in the party, whereof he had so long been the Chief, and the difference between the Dignity and Office he now possessed, and the full power of King, there was no other difference but the title, he already holding the administration of affairs as Lieutenant of the Crown: he knew that not one of the rest of his Family could equall himself to him, either for valour, merit, experience or authority, and that the sole shadow of his will would confound and terrifie them all. To this was added the diligence wherewith the Deputies had been elected to his advantage; the inclination of the Parliament, newly (by the

punish-

ishment of the *Sixteen*, by him restored to its being, the dependence of the Council of State, and the art of managing his designe, in which Conditions all the rest were incomparably inferiour to him.

The same conceit had the Duke of Parma, who (after that his counsel of overcoming things with patience, and drawing matters out in length, was no longer hearkned to in Spain) thought the election of the Duke of Mayene more profitable for the Catholike King's affairs then that of any other man, because he might be established with more facility, lesse charge, and more advantageous Conditions : wherefore he writ into Spain about it, and it appeared that in the course of the businesse he would have favoured his affairs, either because he so judged it profitable for King *Philip* as he demonstrated, or (as the other Ministers said) because he desired not that the Spanish Monarchy should increase to such a height, and come to be the onely one in Christendom, without counterpoise or opposition. But his death, which happened upon the second day of December, in the City of *Arras*, after a long painful sicknesse, did nothing vary the state of things, as the Spaniards then said, to the advantage of the Catholike King's affairs ; but, as it appeared afterwards by the effects, to their notable damage : for the reputation of his name being removed, which had already brought the humour of the French as it were into obedience, they neither much esteemed the other Spanish Commanders and Ministers ; nor were the Ministers themselves equal to him either in knowledge or authority ; and having conceits and opinions different from those which he prudently nourished in his minde, and wherewith he had managed the businesse till then, they went on afterward with such a precipice, that the Catholike King's affairs took an impression very different from what they held at that present. But the Duke of Mayene, with the losse of him, lost also much of his hopes ; and seeing the other Ministers, particularly *Diego d'Iwarra*, utterly averse from him, he began to doubt he should be forced to take another resolution, and thought to guide his businesse with more care and caution then he had formerly done. Neverthelesse the Convocation of the States was advanced so far, that it could no longer be deferred : and it was necessary to assemble it, as well not to break absolutely with the Spaniards, as to satisfie the Pope's importunities ; but most of all, because the Depu-

The Duke of Parma's death was hurtful to the interests of the King of Spain.



1592 ties were already elected, and many of them upon their way to Paris.

Monsieur de la Valette is slain with a musket-shot at the siege of Roche-brune.

These things happened Anno 1592, in which yeer various fortune had with divers accidents troubled the other Province of the Kingdom. Monsieur de la Valette Governour of Provence, had in the beginning of the yeer laid siege to Roche-brune, a place held in that Province by the Duke of Savoy; and after he had in vain battered it many days, being resolved to remove his Artillery, and plant them in another place, where he had discovered the wall to be weaker, and the passage to go on to the assault more easie, began new Trenches to plant his Canon there; about which Work whilst he laboured in person, to hasten the perfecting of it, he received a Musket-shot in the head, and being carried into his Tent, died within a few hours. A Cavalier who (having sagacity of wit, joyned to valour and undauntednesse of minde) had with slender Forces, honourably, without losse, sustained the much superior power of the Duke of Savoy. When he was dead, Provence remaining without a Governour on the King's part, Monsieur Les-Diguières, who was wont to help in those necessities, left the care of Dauphiné to Colonel Ornano, and hastened thither with his usual diligence, and having joyned the Forces of the Province to his own, with infinite expedition made himself master of all the Towns and Castles seated upon the banks of the River Vaire, which divides Italy from France; and then having suddenly past the River, and thrown down the Fortifications raised by the Duke, to hinder the entrance into his Territories, he with wonderful terrour to the people pillaged all the Country to the very walls of Nizza; and having repassed the River, set himself with prosperous successe to take in the neighbouring Castles; yet not thinking it fit to assault either Aix, Marseilles, or the principal Cities, because he had neither Army nor preparations sufficient to undertake any of those enterprises.

The River Vaire is the confine that separates Italy from France.

The Sieur de Les-Diguières makes great incursions against the Duke of Savoy.

Monsieur de Mangiron Governour of Valence for the King, gives up the place to the Lords of the League.

But whilst he stays in Provence, the King's affairs receive exceeding great damage in Dauphiné: for Monsieur de Mangiron Governour of Valence (whatsoever the occasion was) agreed to put that City into the hands of the Duke of Nemours and of his brother the Marquess de St Sorlin Governour for the League in those parts; which being executed without impediment, the Duke of Nemours, intent to follow the prosper-

y of his fortune, battered and took *S<sup>t</sup> Marcellin*, and after it, many other places, which being diligently fortified, had rendered the Forces of the League from joyning on that side with the Duke of Savoy. Wherefore *Les-Diguieres* being by this diversion constrained to depart out of *Provence*, left the field open to the Duke of Savoy, who having past the *Vare*, and recovered all the places that had been taken from him, advanced to lay siege to *Antibo*; which Town standing upon the sea, and for the famousness of the Port being very considerable, was taken by him, though with difficulty and length of time.

The Duke of Savoy recovers the places taken by *Les-Diguieres*, and takes *Antibo*.

But *Les-Diguieres* being returned into *Dauphiné*, removed out of *Provence* by diversion, as he by the means of the Duke of Nemour had been diverted before: for having rallied an Army rather good and expert then numerous, he resolved to passe the Alps, and carry the War into *Piedmont*; and having overcome *Mount Genevre*, the ordinary Passé to conduct armies on that side of the mountains, he enlarged himself along the valley of *Perosa* and the Marquesate of *Saluzzo*, with much noise and terrour to the people, that the Duke leaving charge of *Provence* to Count *Francesco Martinengo* was forced to come to remedy the destruction of his Country. The fertility of the place, steep and mountainous, begirt with rocks and cliffs, and encompassed round about with the Alps, especially in a season when Winter in those parts was already coming on (for it was about the end of September) hindered the progress of Arms, and did not suffer the Armies to encounter with all their Forces: and yet the French having taken *Peperino*, and the Tower of *Luferne*, advanced as far as *Briqueras*; having had intelligence that the Duke's Commanders gathered part of their Army at *Vigone*, resolved to assault the town before all their Forces were drawn together: so having proceeded by marching all the night, upon the fourth of October in the morning they suddenly assaulted the Town; where, because of the difficulty of the situation, and the resistance of the defendants, the toil was long, and the conflict dangerous: yet the Savoyards being but few, and the place of itself weak, they were defeated, six hundred souldiers slain, many commanders taken, and ten Colours of Foot; and the French returned victorious to *Briqueras*, began with wonderful diligence to fortifie that place, which being made defensible by



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by the forcing all the men of those quarters to work, they left a good Garison in it, and advanced toward *Saluzzo* (at such time as the Duke was already come with his whole Army to *Villa Franca*) and having no more important enterprize to attempt, applied themselves to take *Cavors*, a mountainous place defended by a very strong Tower, situated just above it but while they with art and industry strive to get neer it, and to plant the Artillery, the Duke passing another way, marched by night to assault *Briqueras*, judging that the Works not being yet finished, it would not be very hard to get it from the enemy; and it being taken, they remained invironed in such manner, that in the narrow Passes of that valley they might easily be defeated: but he found a brisker resistance then he expected; wherefore, after a most fierce assault of four hours, he resolved to retire, knowing that the French were so neer, that it could not be long before they came to relieve their men; which proved very true: for Monsieur *Les-Diguieres*, leaving the place besieged, which was but little, and might be blocked up with a few, went with the rest of the Army whither he was guided by the noise of the shot, which rattled aloud among the mountains: but having found the Duke was departed from *Briqueras*, he resolved to follow him speedily; and having overtaken his Rereguard neer a Village, as they were passing a certain rivulet, assaulted it so violently, that he disordered the last squadrons of Cavalry. The rest of the Army made a halt, and skirmished furiously for many hours, till being all tired out, and the night drawing on, the Duke retreated to *Vigone*, and *Les-Diguieres* returned to *Cavors*, where the Tower and Castle being extremely battered, at last surrendered; and he having over-run and pillaged those valleys, being hindered by the snow and the coldnesse of the weather from proceeding to other enterprises, marched back into *Danphin* about the end of December.

But the Duke of *Espernon* was come into *Provence*; who having heard of his brother's death, and being desirous to keep that Province, the Government whereof had been given him by King *Henr. 3.* in which he had substituted the *Sieur de la Vaullette*, went thither with all his Forces, and without much dispute recovered *Antibo*, and reduced into his power all the Towns as far as the River *Vare*, which by reason of their weaknes were a prey sometimes to the one side, sometimes to the other; & though man

The Duke of  
Espernon go-  
ing into Pro-  
vence, recovers  
*Antibo*, and all  
the towns held  
by the Duke of  
Savoy as far as  
the river *Vare*.

in the Province, even of those that were of the King's party did not follow him, yet he trusting to the Forces he had brought, applyed himself diligently to subiect all the Towns to the obedience of his Government.

The King's affairs went on also prosperously in the Provinces of Guascogne and Languedoc; for *Antoine Scipion* Duke of *Joyeuse*, Brother to *Anne*, who was slain in the Battel of *Contras*, and chief Commander for the League in that Province, having obtained many Victories, taken many places, and made his name formidable in those quarters, had at last besieged *Villemur*, a Fortresse not far from *Montauban*, with a designe as soon as he had taken it, and spoiled all the Country about, to strengthen also *Montauban* it self, the secure receptacle, and for many late yeers the settled standing quarter of the Hugonots. But the D. of *Espernon* passing at the same time with his Army to go into *Provence*, and having stept a little out of his way to relieve that place, *Joyeuse* knowing himself inferiour in strength, arose from the siege, and went to the Towns of his own party till the Duke of *Espernon* being gone on his journey, he thought the might opportunely venture to *Villemur*, and prosecute his begun designe.

*Antoine Scipion*  
Duke of *Joyeuse* lays siege to *Villemur*, a Fortresse near *Montauban*.

\*strengthen

There were in *Villemur* three hundred Foot, a very weak garrison to sustain so sharp a siege; wherefore Monsieur de *Temines* who was in *Montauban*, being resolved not to suffer the besieged to perish without relief, went from thence with two hundred Fire-locks, an hundred & twenty Cuirassiers, and a select number of Gentlemen, by wayes that were not ordinary, and thorow secret uneven passages got into the place, desiring rather to labour in the defence of *Villemur*, then when it was lost to be put to defend the wals of *Montauban*. The Duke of *Joyeuse* having taken the outworks, and made his approaches to the Moat, planted eight pieces of Canon, and with them battered the wall very furiously, and not failing in any thing that was the part of a valiant diligent Commander, being abundantly furnished from *Tholouse* with those things that belong unto a siege, straitned it in such manner, that the danger was already urgent, and a speedy resolution was necessary either to relieve the besieged, or let them perish: whereupon, *Henry d'Anville* Duke of *Montmorancy* Governour for the King in that Province, not willing to receive that affront before his own face, gathered the Forces he

Monsieur de *Temines* enters with men into *Villemur*.

had



1592 had together, and having called to his assistance the Gentry of *Anvergne* which were neer, dispatched Monsieur *de Lecques*, and with him the Sieurs *de Chambaut* and *Montoyson*, to the end they might endeavour either to raise the siege, or to relieve the Town with powerfull assistance some other way. These made their rendezvous at *Bellegarde*; which the Duke of Joyeuse having heard, left his Infantry to continue the siege, and he himself with the Cavalry and a certain number of fire-locks ran fiercely to assault them. The encounter at the first was hot and furious, whereupon they of the King's side began to be put in disorder; but *Lecques* having caused two Culverins to give fire, as also two other lesser Pieces which they had taken out of *Montauban*, stopt the assailants in such sort, that at last they drew off without having wrought any further effect, and the Duke of Joyeuse returned to his quarter, continuing the siege with so much security, and so much contempt, that he quartered his Cavalry scatteringly in the Villages about, to the end that in the sterility of that Country they might be more commodiously furnished. But the Viscount *de Gordon* being come to assist them of the King's party, they being increased in courage and in strength, (for they had one thousand eight hundred Horse, and little lesse then four thousand Foot) resolved suddenly to fall upon the Duke's Trenches, judging that if the besieged (as they promised themselves from the valour of Monsieur *de Temines*) should fall upon them on the other side, they might easily passethorow the Trenches, and put relief into the place. With this designe being (upon the nineteenth of December at night) entered into a wood, which largely spreading it self, reached neer to *Villemur*, they arrived so unexpectedly the next morning to assault the Duke of Joyeuse his Camp, that they entered the first Trenches before those that negligently guarded them had time to stand to their Arms. The Duke having heard of the Enemies coming, and the flight of his guards, sent two hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back before, to hold the Enemy in play, and giving signe by three Canon-shot to his Cavalry to hasten to the Camp, stood firm with his Forces in battalia between the first and second Trench, to receive the assault of the *Royallists*, who encouraged by the prosperity of that beginning, charged them valiantly, and were no less fiercely received. The conflict lasted with great uncertainty

The Kings forces sent to relieve *Villemur* assault the Duke of Joyeuse's Camp, & make themselves Masters of the first Trench.

ie of the victory for the space of an hour and an half; but in the mean time Monsieur *de Temines* with the greater part of the Garifon fallying at the *Sketgates* of the Fortresse, and having drawn up a small, but a valiant Squadron, fell upon the Rere of the Duke's main Body, which hardly made any resistance; so that not being able to sustain the violence on both sides, the Infantry took flight, and ran without stop to passe over the bridge, which for the conveniency of the Camp they had caused to be made of boats over the river *Tar*: But the bridge being weak, and the crowd exceeding great, it broke under so great a weight, and the men upon it in a miserable confusion were all drowned. The Duke, who being got upon a bad nag, had used all the endeavours of a good Commander to stop his men, made his retreat with a few Gentlemen, still fighting till he came to the bank of the River, where he found the bridge already broken and his men drowned; whereupon being necessitated to passe the River upon the same nag, he was carryed away by the water, by reason of the weaknesse of his horse, and for haste to get over, fell into the midst of the stream, and was drowned with no lesse misfortune then his Forces had perished in their flight. In the mean time the Cavalry was got together at the warning of the three Canon-shot; but the Generall being dead, and their trenches taken every-where, they endeavoured to save the relicks of them that fled, and retired without troubling the Enemy. Thus the Camp of the League being routed, with the losse of a thousand men, two and twenty Ensignes, and all their Artillery, *Villemur* remained free from the siege, and the King's Forces much superiour in that Province.

While the Royalists fight with the Leaguers with equal fortune, *Temines* fallys with most of the garifon of *Villemur* and catching the enemy in the midst, routs them and puts them to flight.

But matters proceeded very differently in *Bretagne*. The Prince of *Conty* Commander in chief of the Army in *Poitou* and the Country of *Maine*, was joynd for the defence of the King's party with the Prince of *Dombes* Governour of *Bretagne*, and they had jointly resolved to besiege *Craon*, a great strong Town seated upon the Confine that divides *Bretagne* from the other neighbouring Provinces; in which, there being a very great Garifon, it over-ran and pillaged all the Country about. Wherefore having gathered together all their Forces, they set themselves about this enterprise, one on the one side, and the other on the o-

*Craon* a great strong Town that held for the League is besieged by the Princes of *Conty* and *Dombes*.

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1592 ther side of the River, which running thorow the midst of the City, divides it into two parts; but as it commonly comes to passe, that where more then one Generall commands in Armies, things always go on not onely slowly and coldly, but also disorderly and confusedly; the siege very hopefully begun, was delayed and protracted so long, that the Duke of Mercœur had time to draw his Forces together to relieve that place, as he much desired: For which purpose having sent for the Spaniards from Blavet, and gathered together all his Horse and the Gentry of the Country, having also raised two thousand Breton Fire-locks, he marched with speed toward Craon, at the time when the Prince of Conty having diverted the water out of the moat on his side, and the Prince of Dombes battering fiercely on the other, the besieged were brought in danger of not being able to make good the first assault. At the Duke's advancing, the Princes not judging it good for their Armies to be divided with the River between them, resolved that the Prince of Dombes should repasse the River and joyn with the Prince of Conty in the same quarter, which was done before the Enemies arrivall; but with so little circumspection, that not to deprive themselves of the convenience of repassing the River, either through inadvertence, carelesnesse, and something else, they left the bridge standing and very weakly guarded, which they had made upon boats over the River about a League below the Town. The Princes being past over, and the Armies reunited, they desired to free themselves from the incumbrance of their great Artillery; wherefore having without losse of time drawn them off from the wall, they sent them before to *Chasteau Gontier* whither they had designed to retire, and their great shot, which by reason of the number of them and their haste they could not carry away, they buried in divers places to hide them from the Enemy. But the Duke *de Mercœur*, who finding the bridge retired had speedily past the River without resistance, marching in gallant order, advanced so quickly, that the Princes had scarcely raised their Camp and set the Army in battalia to draw off, when the *Sieur de Bois-Dauphin* who led the Vanguard of the League, appeared in the field, and began to send forth his light-Horse toward them. Many of the most expert Commanders, and particularly *Charles of Montmorancy* Lord *d'Anville* condemned the counsell of retiring in sight of the Enemy,

The Royallists raise their siege at Craon, by reason of the Duke of Mercœur's arrivall with relief.

Enemy,

enemy, arguing that there was no example of any such resolution, but had ever been pernicious to Armies; it not being possible but that the one should retire with terrour and disorder, and the other advance with violence and boldnesse: wherefore they were of opinion, that standing firm in the Post they held, and drawing (if they had so much time) a Trench before the front of the Army, they should stoutly expect the enemies assault; and that recalling the Artillery, which was not gone very far, they should turn furiously against them. The Prince of Dombes did in great part assent to this advice; but the Prince of Conty, superiour in authority and yeers, and who commanded in chief, because he was upon the confines of his own Government, sent to tell him that he should retire, according to the order already appointed, because, being inferiour in Force, he would not endanger that Army and all the neighbouring countries: wherefore marching before with the Vanguard led by *Hercule de Roban Duke of Montbason*, and with the Battel which he himself commanded, he left order that the Prince of Dombes should come after with the Rereguard: but he, straitened and followed at the heels by the enemies Cavalry (for not only their Vanguard pressed him, but also the Duke of Mercœur with the whole Forces had overtaken him) was at last constrained to stand, and facing about, to close up against the enemy, whose boldnesse he repressed for a while, till, being surrounded with so much a greater number, and being forsaken by his men, after he had shewed all the proofs of a valiant resolute Commander, he was fain (being in a manner left alone) to retire, quitting the passage to the enemy, who mercilessly prosecuting the course of their Victory, fell upon the infantry, which retired very disorderly, by reason of the narrowness of the ways: whereupon, without so much as making the least shew of defending themselves, they were destroyed and dissipated in a very short space, there being an exceeding great slaughter made of them by the Light-horse and the Spanish Foot. The Prince of Conty, without ever turning his face, came with his Cavalry untouched to *Chasteau Gonier* in the evening, whither the Prince of Dombes came up to him a while after, with no more but eleven Horse. The Artillery left upon the way by those that had the charge of conducting it, fell all into the enemies hands; and the Gentry, as soon as they were come safe into a place where they could not

The King's forces desiring to make their retreat in sight of the enemy, lose almost all their Foot, who are cut in pieces.

The Prince of Conty, without ever turning his face, saves himself with all the Horse at *Chasteau Gonier*.



1592

be pursued, disbanded of themselves, and every one severall betook himself to the security of his own house. This defeat, which happened the three and twentieth of May, weakned the King's Forces in those parts so much, that not onely *Chasteau Gontier* being quitted by the Princes who retired further into the Country, but also *Maine* and *Laval*, with all the neighbouring places, came into the power of the League. The Prince of Conty retired into the Country of *Maine*, and the Prince of Dombes by a different way went back to *Rennes*, and the English, wounded and disarmed, got into the Suburbs of *Vitré*, leaving the possession of the field for many days to the Duke of *Mercœur*.

The Mareschal *d'Aumont* was already appointed by the King to be Governour of *Bretagne*: for the Prince (whom from henceforth we will call Duke of Montpensier) had already succeeded his father in the Government of *Normandy* and for his Lieutenant had chosen *François d'Espinay* Sieur of *S' Luc*; a man who by the readinesse of his wit, the ornament of learning, and his valour in Arms, was risen to a very high estimation; who having gathered Forces from all parts, and made a levie of Foot in the Country of *Broüage*, of which place *S' Luc* was Governour, hastened their coming, because the Duke of *Mercœur* having taken the Castle of *Malestroit* prepared himself to besiege *Vitré*, a considerable Town, in the conservation whereof the sum of affairs consisted. The King's Commanders having drawn their Forces together, at their first coming besieged *Mayne*, a City more great then strong; and having gotten it upon Conditions, stood doubtful whether they should passe forward to meet the Duke of *Mercœur*, or stay to attempt *Rochefort*, a wonderful strong place, which did incommode all the places thereabout, and particularly the City of *Angiers*. At last, at the importunity of the people, and of the Gentlemen that followed them, they resolved to try what they could do upon that place: but the taking of it proved so difficult, being defended by the Sieur de *S' Offange*, that after two thousand and five hundred Canon-shot, and the loss of much time, and the best Souldiers of the Army, the rains of *Autumne* falling, and the Duke of *Mercœur's* relief drawing neerer, they were at last constrained to rise without having obtained their intent. But the Duke having held the enemy in suspense by taking several ways, and by making shew of turning

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ing sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, came suddenly to *Quintin*, whither seven hundred Germans were gotten, who were under the command of the Duke of Montpensier in those parts; and having found them unprovided of those things which were requisite to make a long defence, he forced them to yeeld, with expresse Conditions to go out of the Province, and not to serve any more against him; a thing which proved very hurtful to the King's affairs; for he had no foot that were more forward, more expert, nor better disciplined then they.

The losse of the King's party was augmented by the defeat of the English, who being (as they still are wont) afflicted with grievous diseases, and brought to a very weak estate, had obtained leave of the Duke of Montpensier to go to *Danfront* in lower Normandy, to change the air, and to recover their strength by rest: but being set upon in their way by the *Sieur Bois-Dauphin*, with the Garisons of *Laval*, *Craon*, *Fongeres*, and of the neer adjacent places, they were so shattered, that so great a number hardly two hundred remained alive.

On the contrary, the affairs of the League in Lorain went unsuccessfully: for while the Duke of *Bouillon*, who had taken *Stenay* with a Petard, and possessed some lesser places; last went to relieve *Beaumont*, besieged by Monsieur d'Amise General for the Duke of Lorain: the Armies encountered fiercely, and the Lorainers losing their Trenches and Artillery, were utterly routed and dispersed: after which businesse, the Duke of Bouillon took *Dun* suddenly, by having likewise fastened a Petard to the gate; and overrunning all the Country without hinderance, had put the Forces of the League in very great confusion.

In this condition of affairs began the year 1593, the general dispositions of mens mindes, as well of the one side as the other, being more inclined to the settling of affairs, then to the management of Arms. The first novelty of this year, was the Duke of Mayene's Declaration, made from the December before, but not published before the fifth of January; in which making known his intention in assembling the States of his Country, he prayed and exhorted the Catholikes that followed the King's party to unite themselves to the same end with him, and to take some course for the safety and peace of the Kingdom. It was of the tenour following.



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The Declaration made by the Duke of Mayene for the congregation of the States, published the fifth of January, 1593.

**C**HARLES OF LORRAINE, Duke of Mayene Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France To all persons present and to come, greeting. The inviolable and perpetual observance which this Kingdom hath had of Religion and Piety, hath been that which hath made it flourish above all others in Christendom, and which hath caused our King's to be honoured with the name of *Most-Christian* and *First Sons of the Church*; some of them having, to obtain that so glorious Title, past the Seas, and gone as far as the utmost bounds of the earth, with most powerful Armies, to make War against the Infidels; and others of them fought often against those that sought to introduce new Sects and Errors contrary to the faith and belief of their fore-fathers: in all which Expeditions, they were always accompanied by the Nobility, who voluntarily exposed their lives and fortunes to all dangers, to have part in that onely true and solid glory having helped to conserve Religion in their Country, or to establish it in places far remote, where the Name and Worth of our Lord was not yet known: from whence not onely the fame of the valour and zeal of the whole Nation resounds in all parts, but by the example of it, other Potentates have been stirred up to follow in the honour and danger of so worthy enterprises, and of so laudable achievements. After this ardour the holy intentions of our Kings and of their subjects was not at all cooled nor changed, till these last days that Heresie hath been secretly introduced into this Kingdom, and increased in such manner, by the means which every one knows, that there is now no more need to set before our eyes, that we are at length fallen into so lamentable a misfortune, that the Catholics themselves, whom the Union of the Church ought inseparably to joyn together, have by a new prodigious example taken Arms against one another, and disunited themselves in stead of joyning together for the defence of their Religion: Which we judge to be come to passe by the wicked impressions and wonted artifices Hereticks have made use of, to perswade them that this War is not for Religion, but to destroy and usurp the State; though we have taken Arms, being moved therunto by so just a grief, or rather being constrained by so great a necessity, that the cause thereof cannot be ascribed to any others, then the authours of the most wicked, disloyal and pernicious counsel that was ever given to a Prince; though

the King's death happened by a blow from Heaven, and by the hand of one man alone, without the help or knowledge of those that had but too much cause to desire it; and notwithstanding we had made protestation that all our aim and desire tended onely to preserve the State, to follow the Laws of the Kingdom by acknowledging for King the Cardinall of Bourbon, the neereſt and firſt Prince of the Bloud, declared ſo to be in the life-time of the late King by his Letters-patents, verified in all the Parliaments, and in that quality deſigned his Succeſſour in caſe he ſhould die without male children, which obliged us to confer that honour upon him, and yeeld him all kind of obedience, fidelity, and ſervice, as our intention was to do, if it had pleaſed God to free him from the captivity he was in: And if the King of Navar, from whom alone he could hope for that good, had been pleaſed (obliging all Catholicks) to ſet him at liberty, to acknowledge him himſelf as King, and to ſtay till nature had brought his dayes to an end, making uſe of that occaſion to cauſe himſelf to be inſtructed; and to reconcile himſelf to the holy Church, He ſhould have found all the Catholicks united and diſpoſed to yeeld him the ſame obedience and fidelity after the death of the King his Uncle. But he perſevering in his errors, it was not poſſible to do it, if he would remain under the obedience of the Apoſtolick Roman Church, which had excommunicated him, and deprived him of all the rights he could pretend to the Crown: beſides that, by ſo doing we could have broken and violated that ancient cuſtome, ſo religiously kept for ſo many ages, and through the ſucceſſion of ſo many Kings, from *Clovis* till this preſent, not to acknowledge any King in the Royall Throne who was not a Catholick, an obedient Son of the Church, and who had not promiſed and ſworn at his conſecration, and at his receiving the Crown and Scepter, that he would live and die in it, defend and maintain it, and extirpate hereſie with his utmoſt forces; the firſt Oath of our Kings, whereupon that of the obedience and fidelity of their Subjects is grounded, and without which (ſo zealous they were in Religion) they would never have acknowledged that Prince who pretended by the Laws to be called unto the Crown. A cuſtome judged ſo holy and neceſſary for the welfare and good of the Kingdom by the States held at Blois in the year 1566, when the Catholicks were not yet divided



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divided in the defence of their Religion, that it was by them held as the principall and fundamentall Law of the State, and it was established by the King's will and authority, that two of every Order should be depured and sent to the King of Navar and the Prince of Condé, to represent unto them from the States the danger they put themselves in by forsaking the holy Church, and to exhort them to reconcile themselves unto it, and to denounce unto them, that in case they did not, if they should chance to succeed unto the Crown, they should be perpetually excluded as incapable. Nor is the Declaration which was afterward made at *Rouen* in the year 1588, confirmed in the Convocation of the States last held at Blois, that this ancient law and custome should be inviolably observed as a fundamentall Law of the Kingdom, any thing else but a simple approbation of the judgement given upon that point by the foregoing States, against which he cannot object any just suspicion to condemn or reject their opinion and authority. So the late King received it for a Law, and promised and swore to the observing of it in his Church, and upon the precious Body of our Lord; as likewise all the Deputies of the States did in the last Assembly, not onely before those inhumane murders which made it infamous and fatal; but also afterward, when he no longer feared those that were dead, and when he despised those that remained, whom he held for lost and in despair of all safety, having done it because he knew himself to be bound and obliged to it by right as all Superiours are to follow and conserve the Laws, which are as the principall pillars, or rather the foundations of their State. Therefore the Catholicks of the *Union* cannot be justly blamed, who have followed the Decrees of the holy Church, the example of their Ancestors, and the fundamentall Laws of the Kingdom, which do require the profession of the Catholick Faith as an essentiall and necessary quality in that Prince that aspires to the Crown by being next of blood, because he is King of a Kingdom which is gained to *Iesus Christ* by the power of the Gospel, which it hath received so many ages since, and in the form as it is preached in the Roman-Catholick-Apostolick Church.

These reasons have made us hope (though some appearance of duty retained many Catholicks with the late King, that after his death Religion, the strongest bond of all other

to joyn men together, would unite them all for the defence of that which ought to be more deer to them then life : but against all humane belief, we see the contrary is come to passe; for it was easie in that sudden moment to perswade them, That we were guilty of his death, of which we never so much as thought; That honour obliged them to assist the King of Navar, who published that he would revenge it, and promised them that he would turn Catholick within six months; and being once engaged in it, the injuries which Civill War produces, the prosperous successes which he hath had, and the same calumnies which the Hereticks have continued to publish against us, are the true causes that have kept him in it till this present, and that have given the Hereticks means to proceed so far, that Religion and the State are in manifest danger thereby. And though we long foresaw the mischief this division would bring, that it would be the cause of establishing Heresie with the bloud and arms of the Catholicks, and that this could onely be hindered by our reconciliation, which we for this end have sought with so much earnestnesse; yet hath it never been in our power to attain it; so much have mens mindes been transported and possessed with passion, that they have hindered us from using the means of our own safety. We have often caused them to be entreated that they would enter into conferences with us, as we offered to do with them, to take some course in the businesse. We have caused to be declared both to them and to the King of Navar himself, upon some proposition made for the quiet of the Kingdom, that if leaving his errour, he would reconcile himself to the Church, to his Holinesse, and to the most holy See, by a true unfained conversion, and by actions that might give testimony of his zeal toward our Religion, we would most willingly have added our obedience, and all that is in our power to help to put an end to our miseries, and would have proceeded with such candour and sincerity, that none should justly have been able to doubt but that such was our true intention. These overtures and Declarations have been made at such times when we were in greatest prosperity, and had means to undertake greater matters if we had had such thought in our mind, rather then, to serve the publick, and seek the generall quiet. To which he answered (as it is known to every one) that he would not be forced by his

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1592 Subjects, calling the prayers that were made unto him to return into the Church, by the name of force, which he ought rather to have taken in good part, and as a wholesome admonition which represented to him his duty, to which the greatest Kings are no lesse obliged then the meanest persons of all the earth; for when a man hath once received Christianity in the true Church (which is ours, whose authority we will not put in doubt with any whosoever) he can no more go out of it, then a souldier enrolled can depart from the fidelity which he hath promised and sworn to, without being held for a defertor and violator of the laws of God and the Church. He likewise added to the said Answer, That when once he should be obeyed and acknowledged by all his Subjects, he would cause himself to be instructed in a free generall Council; as if Councils were necessary to condemn an error so often reprobated by the Church, especially by the last Council of Trent, as solemn and authentick as any other that hath been celebrated these many ages. And God having permitted that he should have the advantage, after the winning of a Battell the same prayer was reiterated, not by us who were not then in a condition to do it, but by persons of honour, desirous of the publick good and repose of the Kingdom, as it happened likewise in the siege of Paris, by Prelates of great authority who moved by the prayers of the besieged, disposed themselves to go unto him to find some remedy for their miseries. At which time if it had been resolved, or rather if the holy Ghost, without whom none can enter into his Church, had so put into his minde, he might have caused the Catholicks to hope much better of his conversion, who justly do suspect a sudden change, and are sensible in a thing that so neerly touches the honour of God, their lives and consciences, which can never be secure under the dominion of Hereticks. But the hope he then was in to subdue Paris, and by consequence with the terrour of his Arms, and the means which he promised to himself he should find in it, to possesse the rest of the Kingdom by force, made him reject that counsel of reconciling himself to the Church, which might have united the Catholicks, and preserved Religion. But after that the City was freed by the help of the Princes and Lords, of a good number of the Gentry of the Kingdom, and of the Army of the Catholick King (who hath always with his Forces upheld

upheld this Cause (for which we are most obliged to him) went under the Command of the Duke of Parma, a Prince of happy memory, sufficiently known by the reputation of his name, and of his great deserts, he ceased not nevertheless to enter into his first hopes, because this forraign Army, as soon as it had raised the siege, went out of the Kingdom; and he having commanded his own party, drew together a great Army, wherewith he made himself master of the field, and then caused openly to be published without dissembling it, that it was a crime for any to intreat him, or speak to him about conversion, before they had acknowledged him; and taken the Oath of obedience and fidelity to him; that we were obliged to lay down our Arms, to present our selves before him so naked, so unarmed, to beseech him, and to give him absolute power upon our lives and fortunes, and upon Religion it self, to use it or abuse it as he pleased, by our baseness putting it in evident danger; whereas by the authority and means of the holy See, the help of the Catholike King and other Potentates, who assist and favour this Cause, we have always hoped that God would be so merciful to us, as to preserve it; who all would have had nothing more to do in our affairs, if we had once acknowledged him; & this quarrel of Religion would have been decided with too much advantage to Hereticks, between him the Head and Protectour of Heresie, armed with our obedience, and the whole Forces of the Kingdom; and us, who should have had nothing to resist him, but bare weak supplications, addressed to a Prince more desirous to hear them than to provide for them.

But how unjust soever this will is, and though the following of it is the true means to ruine Religion; yet among those Catholikes that assist him, many have suffered themselves to be perswaded that it is Rebellion to oppose him, and that we ought rather to obey his Commands, and the Laws of that temporal Policy which he would establish anew against the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, then the Decrees of the holy Church, and the Laws of his Predecessours, from the succession of whom he pretends to the Crown, who never taught us to acknowledge Hereticks, but on the contrary to reject them, and make War against them, and not to hold any to be more just and necessary then it, though it be exceeding dangerous. Here let \* us remember, that he himself often took Arms a-

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\* Mém. de la Ligue, Hist.



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gainst our Kings, to introduce a new Doctrine into the Kingdom: That many defamatory Books and Writings were made and published against those that opposed it, and counselled to extinguish the growing evil betimes, while it was yet weak: That then, he would needs have his Arms to be believed just, because for matter of Religion and Conscience; and that we defend an ancient Religion received into this Kingdom as soon as it began, and with which this Crown grew till it became the first and most potent of all Christendom; which we know very well cannot be kept pure, inviolable, and without danger under a heretick King, though at first, to make us lay down our Arms, and make him absolute Master, he dissemble and promise the contrary. Late examples, reason, and that which we finde every day, ought to make us wise, and teach us that Subjects willingly follow the life, customs, nay and even the Religion of their Kings, to maintain themselves in their favour, and to have share in the Honours and Benefits which they alone can distribute; and that after they have corrupted some with their favours, they have always means to constrain the rest by their power and authority. We are all men, and that which hath once been accounted lawful, though it were not, shall afterwards be so again for another cause which shall appear to us no lesse just then the first that made us erre. Many Catholikes have thought that for some consideration they might follow an heretick Prince, and assist to establish him; nor hath the sight of the ruines of Churches, of Altars, and of the Monuments of their fathers (whereof many died fighting to destroy the Heresie which they maintain) nor the present nor future danger of Religion, been able to divert them. How much more suspected ought his Forces and adherents be to us, if he already were established King and absolute Master? since that in such a case, every one would be so afflicted and tired, or rather ruined with the late unhappie War, that, provided they might but live secure in repose, and also with some hope of reward, they would chuse rather to suffer any kinde of trouble, then make opposition with danger. Some are of opinion that in such a case all the Catholikes would unite themselves unanimously to conserve Religion, and that therefore it would be an easie matter to interrupt the designe of whosoever should attempt Innovations. Certainly we ought to desire that happinesse; but yet we dare not hope it on such a sud-

a sudden : but admit that, the fire being extinguished, there should in one instant remain no heat in the embers, and that, Arms being laid down, all our hatred likewise should be quite extinct; yet it is most certain, we should not therefore be exempt from all other passions which sometimes make us run into errors; and that the danger would always hang over our heads, of being (in spite of us) subject to the motions and passions of Hereticks, who finding that they had the advantage of having a King of their own Religion, which is as much as they desire, would, by force or art, do whatsoever they had in minde to. And if the Catholikes at this present would well consider the actions that proceed from their advice, they might see it clearly enough: for the best Cities and Fortresses that are taken, are put into their power, or into the hands of persons who have at all times shewed themselves favourers of them. The Catholikes that reside in them, are every day accused and convicted of supposed crimes, the sole, but concealed cause thereof being onely the opposition which hitherto they have made against their designs, which they by a false name call Rebellion. The principal Offices fall into their hands, and it is already come even unto the Crown. The Bulls of our Lord *Gregory* the fourteenth, and *Clement* the eighth, full of holy precepts and fatherly admonitions given to the Catholikes to separate them from Hereticks, have not onely been rejected, but with all contempt trampled upon by Magistrates who unjustly give themselves the name of Catholikes: for if they were such indeed, they would never abuse the simplicity of those that are so. For to make use of the example of things done in this Kingdom at such a time when the businesse was about introducing matters that were against the liberty and priviledges of the Gallique-Church, is very different from our case, the Kingdom never having been reduced to so great an unhappinesse (since it received the Faith) as to endure an Heretick-Prince, or to see any of that quality pretend right unto it: and if they thought those Bulls had any difficulties in them, they, being Catholikes, ought to have proceeded by Reasonstrances, and with that respect and modesty which is due unto the holy See, and not with so much contempt, and so many blasphemies and impieties as they did: but perchance they thereby intended to shew those who know how to be better Catholikes, that small reckoning is to be made of the Head  
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of the holy Church, to the end that they may afterward be much the more easily excluded. In evil, men proceed by degrees; they always begin with that which either is not evil, or at least is evil in a lower degree; the next day they rise higher, and at last arrive at the top of all. Thence it is that we know God to be highly incensed against this poor desolate Kingdom, and that he will yet punish us for our sins, since that so many actions which tend to the ruine of our Religion, have not been able to bend them, nor the many and often repeated Declarations made by us (especially within these few days) that we will refer our selves in all things to what it should please his Holiness and the holy See to determine concerning the King of Navar's conversion, if God gave him the grace to leave his errours; which Declarations ought certainly to give undoubted testimony of our innocence and sincerity, and justifie our Arms as necessary for our own safety. Yet they forbear not to publish, that the Princes united for the defence of Religion, tend onely to the ruine and destruction of the State; though their actions, and the Propositions made by the common consent of them all, especially of the greatest that assist us, be the true and most secure means to take away the cause and means from whosoever should aspire to it. The Hereticks have nothing else to lay hold of, but the Catholike King's relief, which they complain of, and look upon with an evil eye, and would take us to be better French-men, if we would forbear making use of it; or to say better, more easie to be overcome, if we were disarmed. To which it shall suffice us to answer them, that Religion afflicted and put into exceeding great danger in this Kingdom, had need to finde out that support, that we are bound to publish this obligation, and to remember it for ever, and that imploring the aid of so great a King, an Ally and Confederate of this Crown, he hath not required any thing from us; and we likewise on our parts have not made any Treaty with any whosoever within or without the Kingdom, in diminution of the Greatnesse and Majestie of the State, for the conservation whereof we would precipitate our selves willingly into all kinde of dangers, so it were not to make an Heretick master of it; a wickednesse which we abhor, as the greatest and most abominable of all others. And if the Catholike who assist them could but lay aside this passion, depart from the Hereticks, and joyn themselves, not with us, but with the

Cause of our Religion, & in cōmon seek remedies to preserve it, and to provide for the safety of the State, we should without doubt find the conservation of both, and it would not be in the power of him that had an ill intention thereby to prejudice the State, nor to make use of so holy a Cause, as of a specious, but unjust pretence, to gain honour and authority. We therefore beseech and conjure them in the name of God, and of this very Church (wherein we protest we will always live & die) to separate themselves from Hereticks, and consider that while we are opposite to one another, we cannot take any remedy that will not be dangerous, and such as will make this whole State suffer very much before it can do any good at all: Whereas on the contrary, our reconciliation will make every thing easie, & wil quickly make an end of our miseries. And to the end that as wel the Princes of the Bloud, as the Officers of the Crown, and others may not at all be kept back or hindered from applying themselves to so good a work, out of a doubt that they shall not be respected, acknowledged, and honoured by us, and the other Princes and Lords of this party according to their merit, We promise upon our faith and honour, provided they separate themselves from the Hereticks, that we will do it sincerely, assuring them that they shall find the same respect and reverence from us and them that follow us. But we beseech them to do it speedily, and cut the knots of so many difficulties which cannot be disentangled, if they forsake not all things to serve God and his holy Church, and if they lay not before their eyes, that Religion ought to passe before all other respects and considerations, and that prudence is no longer to be so called, when it makes us forget our first obligation. And to proceed with more mature advice, we give them to understand, that we have prayed the Princes, Peers of France, Prelats, Lords and Deputies of the Parliaments, and of the Cities and Towns of this Party, that they would meet at the City of Paris upon the seventeenth day of the month of January next, to chuse joyntly, without passion, or regard to the interest of any whosoever, the Remedy which we shall judge in conscience to be most profitable for the conservation of Religion and the State. To which place if they shall think fit to send any body to make overtures there, which may conduce to so great a good, they shall finde all security, shall be heard with attention, and with a desire to content them.

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But if our earnest request made unto them, that they should lend an hand to this reconciliation, and the neer and inevitable danger of the ruine of this State have not power sufficient over them, to excite them to have a care of the common safety, and that we be constrained, because of our being abandoned by them, to have recourse to extraordinary remedies against our intention and desire, We protest before God and men, that the blame shall be attributed to them, and not to the united Catholicks, who have laboured with all their power to preserve this common Cause with good intelligence, and agreeing mindes, and with the counsell of themselves, wherein if they would labour with good affections, the hope of compleat quiet would be neer, and we all secure that the Catholicks united together against the Hereticks, their ancient enemies, (whom they have been accustomed to overcome) would quickly see an end of the Warr. We also pray the Gentlemen of the Parliaments of this Kingdom to cause the presents to be published and registred, to the end they may be known to all, and that the perpetuall remembrance of them may remain to after times, for the discharge of us, and of the Princes, Peers of France, Prelats, Lords, Gentlemen, Cities and Corporations who have united themselves together for the conservation of their Religion.

With this form of Declaration though the Duke of Mayne strengthened his pretensions very much, and wonderfully defended the cause of his party, yet did he not engage himself to the election of a new King, but holding things in equal balance, left himself a way open, that upon opportunity he might take any resolution whatsoever time should advise, and the quality of affairs permit; for being much diminished in hopes by the Duke of *Parma's* death, by the union which was made between the Legate and the Spanish Ministers, who all knew hated his person, and by the concurrence of the Duke of *Guise* and *Nemours*, who were not likely to be faulty themselves, he intended not to attempt the election of himself, and of his posterity, except in case it should seem to him not onely that he might be able to effect it, by the number of Votes, and with the generall consent; but also that he should have such and so secure forces and dependents, that he might not need to fear being able to establish himself in the possession of the Crown; otherwise he was resolved either to settle himself

himself in the full authority of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and to follow the War, if by the means of the States could bring matters to passe that he might be able to uphold enterprise with small forraign dependents ; or else , if he proved not able to attain to these, rather to bring the States to agree with the King by means of his conversion , then suffer the Kingdom to come to any other body ; still firm to his principle, of neither suffering the union of the Crowns , nor the union of the Kingdom : which resolution of his, full of integrity and sincerity towards his Country, did not onely please any of his party, but even the King himself (to whom it was shown by many conjectures ) could not sometimes forbear commending it.

But the Cardinal-Legat and the Spanish Ministers , not all satisfied with his so ambiguous Declaration , wherein he seemed rather to aim at an Accommodation with the Catholics of the contrary party, then at the election of a new King, resolved to agree together, and declare their intention perfectly and therefore the Cardinal-Legat published a Writing in form of a Letter, of the tenour following.

PHILIP by the grace of God, Cardinal of *Piacenza*, of the Title of *S' Onofrio*, Legat a Latere of our Lord Pope Clement the eighth by divine providence Pope , and of the Apostolike See in this Kingdom : To all Catholikes , of what eminence , state or condition soever they be , who follow the party of the Heretick, and adhere unto him, or favour him in any manner whatsoever ; health, peace, love, and the Spirit of better counsel in him who is the true Peace, onely Wisdom, onely King, onely Governour , *Jesus Christ* our Saviour and redeemer. The performance of so holy and necessary a work as is that which concerns the charge and dignity which it hath pleased his Holinesse to give us in this Kingdom, is so dear to us , that we should account our blood and life well employed, if they could be helpful to it ; and would it pleased God that it were permitted to us to go in person , not onely from City to City , or from Province to Province , but even from house to house , as well to give a most certain proof to the world of our affection which is known to God , as by word of mouth to awaken in you a generous desire, with the singular piety of your ancestours , that is, with the Romane

The tenour of another Declaration published by the Cardinal-Legat, wherein he exhorts the Catholikes of the King's party to forsake the Heretick, & unite themselves with the States to elect a Catholike King.



Catholike Apostolike Religion, to make that prosperous flourishing State spring up again in France, from whence Heresie hath miserably caused it to fall. But since that by reason of the unhappinesse of the times, and the impediments which are but too well known, we cannot (as it would be the intention of his Holinesse, and our desire) communicate familiarly with you, we have thought it our duty to supply that want with this Letter, in the best manner that is possible for us. But if you please to accept of it, and read it with the spirit of true Christians and Catholikes, free from all passion, as it is naked from all artifice which is averse from truth, you will excite in a most pleasing and firm hope, of being within a short time able to offer our presence to you in all parts of this Kingdom, not to exhort you any more to what is fit, but to congratulate with you for what you shall so valiantly have performed, to the consolation of all good men. Making no doubt at all, but that if entring again into your selves, you will take care to examine your selves as you ought, you will need neither word nor letter, nor any other exteriour remedy, to settle you again in your former sanctity: for then every one of you will see that from Heresie alone, as from the fountain of all evils, the blindnesse of understanding and dazling of spirits is sprung up in you, which hinders you from making so sound a judgment as you were wont, of your own and other mens actions. Then for certain you will discover the various artifices wherewith the Hereticks continually labor to withdraw you from true devotion and obedience which, as true sons of the Church, you have so religiously yeelded, till these last days, to its chief Head and the Apostolike See, whose Name and Authority they by all means attempt to render odious and contemptible unto you, knowing that this point alone, by necessary consequence draws after it the ruine of the Catholike Religion in France, and the establishment of their impiety, which could not take footing where the Throne of *S<sup>t</sup> Peter* is revered as it ought to be. And not to touch any thing here but what is most to our purpose, What likelihood is there to think that the Head of the Christian Church would in part assist or consent to the ruine and destruction of this most Christian Crown? What good could he expect, and what misfortune ought he not to fear from thence? Although this is the principal calumny wherewith they have laboured to make you abhor the name

and holy memory of the late Popes, howbeit they swerved not at all from the footsteps of their Predecessours, whose sollicitousnesse for this Kingdom you were wont not long since with reason to commend, as also the acknowledgement which they rendered for so many, so signal enterprises, atchieved by the most Christian Kings, with most singular piety, liberality and valour, for the benefit of the holy See; and, to omit more ancient examples, you cannot so soon have forgotten with what applause and thanks you received the notable supplies which were sent against the Hereticks, from *Pius Quintus* of happie memory, to *Charles* the Ninth. then your King: Can you then now accuse that in his Successour, which you approved in him? Heresie is still the same, still pernicious, cursed; execrable; and it is against that infernal monster, that the Vicars of Christ and the Successours of *St Peter* (not to transgresse in the duty of their Office) do wage mortal War, and not against the Catholike Kings and Kingdoms, to whom they are Fathers and Pastours. It is against it that without exception of perons they do no lesse justly then wholesomly employ the Sword of supreme Jurisdiction which our Lord Jesus hath put into their hand, to cut off the festred putrified members from the body of the Church, to the end that their contagion might not be pestiferous and mortal to the rest: which neverthelesse they do as late as they can, mildnesse and fatherly pity still going before in the Office of Sovereign Judge; so that their rigour never chastiseth any but those that are incorrigible. But if you please to turn your eyes upon other Countries, or rather, without going out of your own Kingdom, to consider what usage it hath ever received from the holy Apostolike See, you will finde, that since the combustion kindled in it by Heresie, which still continues to consume it, no Pope hath omitted any thing that he ought or could do to help to quench it. The good intelligence which they have ever held with your Kings, and the continual assistance which they have always given them of men and other means, and the frequent sending of Legats hither, do sufficiently shew the zeal they have ever had, for the tranquility, repose and conservation of this most noble State. Nor were their actions ever suspected or ill interpreted by you, while, as true Catholikes and French-men, you desired rather to give the Law to Hereticks, then to take it from their hand. You have always



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found them to be such as need required, till these late days, that by your discords and connivence you have suffered Heresie to gather such footing upon you, that now it no longer demands favour of impunity from you as it was wont, but begins it self now (as every one knows) to punish those, who, more careful of their salvation, refuse to submit themselves unto their yoke. A strange unhappie revolution, which makes you detest that as a most hainous crime, which you your selves have taught others to be a rare and excellent vertue, and which on the contrary makes you to crown vice, which you ought still (as in former times you have done) to condemn unto the fire. See what the deadly poison of Heresie can do, from whose touch, so many other absurdities and contradictions are bred, which you would not deny to be spread amongst you, if you would lay your hands upon your hearts. For, to go about to maintain that the priviledges of the *Gallique Church* extend so far, as to permit that a relapsed Heretick, and one excluded from the Body of the Universal Church, should be acknowledged King, is the dream of a mad-man, which proceeds from nothing else but heretical contagion. And from the same original we may likewise say have sprung all the sinister interpretations which have been made of the actions and intentions of our holy Fathers. But let us see a little whether those of the late Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, which are expressly declared by his Bulls concerning the businesse of the most illustrious Cardinal *Gaetano's* Legation, can in any part be calumniated. That Cardinal was sent by the aforesaid Pope, of happie memory, into this Kingdom, not as a Herald or King at Arms, but as an Angel of Peace; not to shake the foundations of this State, nor to alter or innovate any thing in its Laws or Policy, but to help to maintain the true, ancient, Romane Catholike Apostolike Religion; to the end that all Catholikes being united together for the service of God, the public good, and the conservation of the Crown, with a mutual unanimous consent, might with security and repose, obey, and yeeld themselves subject to one onely Catholike lawful King. Now as these intentions were pious, and directed toward the common safety; so can it not be denied but that the effect and execution of them hath been endeavoured, as well by the said Pope *Sixtus*, as by Cardinal *Gaetano*; not perhaps with that severity which according to some mens judgements had been necessary,

effary, but with all the mildnesse, clemency and charity that  
ld be desired from a most loving father towards his dearest  
dren. No sooner was that wise Legat entred into the  
gdom, but, to begin to lay his hand in good earnest to the  
rk, he address'd himself at his first arrival to all those whom  
elieved he should finde so much the more disposed to shew  
all favour in the administration of his Charge, by how  
ch greater were their obligations and means to do it : he  
some Prelats purposely unto them, to confer particularly  
ut what might concern the fruit of his Legation : those  
a, as also all the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Lords, Gen-  
men, and others (with whom he treated, or caused to be  
ted during his Legation, and to whom he wrote about  
matter) can give testimony whether he ever exceeded the  
ts of his Commission, and how much he always protested  
his Holinesse had no other aim nor designe, then to main-  
and defend the Catholike Religion, and to conserve this  
wn entire for the lawful Catholike Successours that were  
ble of it. But if by the same means he complained that  
ng as it were forgotten, not onely the singular Piety and  
gion of your Ancestours, but the conservation, and toge-  
with it, the reputation of your Country, and, which is  
se, the safety of your souls, you had joyned your selves  
ie party of him who you could not but know was deser-  
y cut off from the body of the Church ; of him whom  
ch you had long ago, and also a few months before, most  
y pronounced, in a full Congregation of the States, to be  
able of this most Christian Crown ; of him whose Arms  
r knew how to shed any other blood then that of the Ca-  
kes ; and who finally, by an example altogether barba-  
, had in the person of one man alone, violated all Laws  
divine and humane, having suffered his Uncle, a Cardi-  
f the holy Roman Church, Prince of the blood, a man  
pious and holy a life as the most eminent Cardinal of  
nbon was always known to be, to die in captivity, under  
ustody, and in the sacrilegious hands of an Heretick.  
e complaints were not without great ground and reason,  
ought you to have been displeased with them who made  
like demonstrations to you. And in effect, experience hath  
nly made you sufficiently know, that they were whole-  
and charitable ; and from how many adversities you might  
have



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have freed this Kingdom, if lending your ears to him, and to his holy exhortations, you had readily separated your selves from the Heretick, to apply your selves with the rest of the Catholikes to any good or quiet. But the same unhappinesse which then made you to reject them, rendered vain also the Interviews and Conferences which followed many times after between the Legat and his Prelars, and some principal Lords that are amongst you. Whilst things here were in these terms, and that at Rome *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope, desirous to withdraw you from the Heretick, and to win you to *Iesus Christi*, gave free access and audience to those whom you sent unto him, while every thing (to shorten it) seemed to be done to your hands, in stead of embracing the fair occasion that God offered you, of being able to free your selves and your Country from the infamous yoke of Hereticks, you suffered your selves to be transported with the winde of an unhappy prosperity to those desires and hopes that have reduced this poor State to the desperation you now see it in. The death of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* of glorious memory, and that of *Urban* the seventh who succeeded him, having given place to the succession of *Gregory* the fourteenth, he began presently to let you see, that a particular care and sollicitousnesse for your salvation, and the preservation of this most Christian Monarchie is inseparably joyned unto the Papacy. The *Breve* which he was pleased to send us in the month of January 1591, which was published; the Bulls and other *Breves* which in the month of March following were represented to you by *Monfignor Lancia* the said Pope's *Nuncio* (whatsoever the Hereticks say to the contrary) could not, nor ought not by you to have been taken in another sense. Well did the good Pope judge (as being a man endowed with singular piety and prudence) that while you were mingled among Hereticks (the known plague of this Kingdom) your salvation was desperate; therefore it was necessary you should quickly withdraw yourselves far from them, otherwise you would within a short time miserably lose your own souls, together with theirs, and expose your bodies and estates to those troubles and ruines which you have since suffered and continued to prove every day. To these most urgent and lively reasons which he ledged to you in this matter, he added his Remonstrances of charity, and to them his fatherly Exhortations: certain

It was a very great fault that you would not lend an ear unto them, and yet a greater to go about to calumniate them; but so injuriously to use, not the insensible paper which contain'd his will, but in it the name and authority of the Head of the Church, and by consequence of the holy Apostolick See itself, this is a wickednesse which comprehends in it as many new kinds of crimes, as there are words in the pretended Decrees which were published thereupon in *Tours* and *Chalons*; and yet the enormity and greatnesse of these misdeeds, and of those likewise which in this businesse were committed by them of the Clergy that were present in the Councel at Chartres, hath till now been dissembled by them who might have made some just resentment of it. Nor did Pope *Innocent* the *Ninth* of happy memory, who succeeded him, carry himself otherwise towards you, whose sudden death would yet be more lamented by good men, if Divine Providence, which never forsakes the holy Church in time of need, had not by the election of the most blessed Father *Clement* the *Eighth* provided us of such a Pastor as the necessitie of the times requires, being one who comes not behinde his Predecessors in any kind of rare vertue; but rather in what concerns the particular care which they have always had of the safety and secure repose of this Kingdom, seems to go before them all. Nor was he sooner raised to the supreme degree of Apostleship, but all the faithful transported with joy, turned both their eyes and mindes upon him, upon a cleer Sun, which God the Father of light and giver of all consolations seems to have made shine in these our days to dissipate the darknesse of so calamitous an age. And when every one began to have certain hope, that each of you opening his heart to receive the beams of so cleer, so gracious a light, would draw neer in the obedience and union of the holy Church, under the authority and conduct of so great an head; behold, that to our infinite grief, another pretended decree brought forth by Heresie at *Chalons*, is published against the *Bulls* of his Holinesse concerning our Legation, whereby they still make tryall to banish all hopes from us, of that which ought to be most deer to all persons jealous of God's glory, and of the honour, repose, and conservation of this Kingdom. For, (let them say what they will to the contrary, whom the true and lawfull Parliament of Paris (which hath still retained its ancient equity and constancy) hath grievously con-



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condemned as men who by their carriage manifest themselves to be rather slaves to Heresie, then Ministers of Justice) it is impossible ever to see France enjoy a durable peace and tranquillity, nor any other kinde of prosperity, whiles it grones under the yoke of an Heretick. This is no lesse true then known to every one of you, whose consciences are sufficient to bear witnesse of it, besides many of your outward actions, which cleerly enough do let us see what you think among your selves; since by your wonted Protestations and Remonstrances, wherein you declare, that the obedience you yeeld to the Heretick hath no other foundation but a vain hope of his conversion, and of his again becoming capable of the Crown; it cleerly appears, that the fault of acknowledging a relapsed obstinate Heretick for King of a most Christian Kingdom, seems too hainous to you to confesse your selves guilty of it. But since his obstinacy hath already deprived him of all the rights which hee could pretend to, it likewise take from you all pretences and excuses that you can alledge in his favour and your own discharge. It is now time that you discover boldly all that you have in your hearts, and if there be nothing in them that is not Catholick, as your former action have made known, when the sorcery of Hereticks had not yet bewitched you, declare for Gods sake with the rest of the Catholicks, that you desire not any thing so much as to see your selves united under the obedience of a most Christian King both in name and actions: It will be a prudent thing to have such thoughts, a magnanimous one to endeavour the execution of them, and a vertue every way most perfect to do both. Now as at this present there is no more just nor more lawfull means to compasse this end, then the holding of the State Generall, to which you are invited by the Duke of Mayene who following the duty of his Office and Authority, hath ever sought, and doth now more then ever seek (with a piety constancy, and magnanimity worthy of eternall praise) the most certain and secure means to defend and secure this State and Crown in its integrity, and to maintain the Catholick Religion and the *Gallique Church* in its true liberty, which consists principally in not yeelding obedience to an Heretick Head: So we have thought fit in this place to protest unto you, that containing our selves, as our intention is, within the limits of the charge it hath pleased his Holinesse to give us

neither could nor would in any way assist or favour the designs and enterprises of the Duke of Mayene, nor of any other Prince or Potentate in the world, be he who he will, but rather with all our Forces would oppose them, if we should know that they were in any part contrary to the common votes and desires of all good men, true Catholicks, and good French-men, and in particular to the holy, pious intention of our Lord, which moreover by these presents we desire to declare to have no other aim nor object but the glory of God, the conservation of our Holy-Roman-Catholick-Apostolick Faith and Religion, with the utter extirpation of Heresies and Schisms, which have reduced this poor Kingdom of France to so miserable a condition, which his Holinesse desires to see principally crowned with its ancient splendour and majesty by the establishment of a King truly most Christian; such a one as God in mercy grant the States-Generall may name; and such a one no Heretick ever was, nor ever can be. Thither then in the name of his Holinesse do I invite you, to the end that separating your selves totally from the company and domination of the Heretick, you may with minds free from all passion, and full of an holy zeal and piety toward God & your Countrey, assist in all that you shall judge may serve to extinguish the generall combustion, which hath even almost burnt it to ashes. There is no longer time to propose vain excuses and new difficulties, you shall finde no others but those that proceed from our selves. For if you please to come to the said Assembly to the effect you ought, we can assure you in the name of the Catholicks, who by Gods grace have still persevered in obedience and devotion to the holy Apostolick See, that you shall finde them most ready to receive you, and to embrace your brothers and true Christians, whom with the price of their bloods and very lives they desire to save) a holy peace and reconciliation with you. Take order therefore that in good season we may see you there separated from the Heretick; and in such a case demand all the securities you shall think necessary, that you may freely go and come, speak and propose at the said Assembly all that you shall judge most expedient to attain to the desired end. The Duke of Mayene is ready to grant you them, and we on our part make no difficulties to oblige our selves that nothing shall be done to the contrary in any kinde, offering in that respect to take you, if there be

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need, under our especiall protection, that is, of the holy Church, and of the holy Apostolick See; and we conjure you again in the name of God, that at last you would willingly effects shew that you are true Catholicks, conforming your intentions to that of the chief Head of the Church, without longer deferring to render to our holy Religion and to our Country that faithfull duty which it expects from you in this extreme necessitie. There is nothing to be expected from your divisions but desolation and ruine; and though from else-where every thing should succeed according to your wish (which me thinks you should not dare to promise to yourselves under an Heretick-Head) yet ought you nevertheless to consider, that Schisms, which this Kingdom seems to be full of, do in the end turn into Heresie, which God of his mercie be pleased not to permit, but rather to enlighten your hearts and mindes, making them capable of his holy inspirations and benedictions, to the end that being all united in deed and will in the unity of the holy Roman-Catholick Church, under the obedience of one King, who may deservedly be called Most-Christian, you may in this life enjoy a secure tranquillity and finally come to that Kingdom which his divine Majesty hath prepared from eternity for them who persevering constantly in the communion of his said Church, out of which there is no salvation, do give cleer testimonie of their lively faith by holy and vertuous actions.

With this Writing, in appearance like that of the Duke of Mayene's, but indeed full of matter very different, did the Legate endeavour to establish the principall end of the Assemblie to be, not to treat of businesse with the Catholicks of the King's party, not to agree with him if He should resolve to reconcile himself to the Church, not to raise a new Prince of the Bloud to the Crown, but to elect a new King, not onely depending upon the Apostolick See, but approved also by the Catholick King, that they might make use of the power of his arms and moneys to protect and establish him. And though the Pope (being made acquainted with the Legate's inclinations, and particularly advertised by the Venetian Senate, that there was great suspicion of him, and that many were scandalized, because they thought he seemed to have more care of the satisfaction of the Spaniards, than

the safety of the State and Religion) did declare himself  
 much more then he had done before by the Pronotary *Aguc*  
 by the means of *Monfignor Innocentio Malvagia*, sent by  
 to be Commissary of the Army in the stead of *Matteucci*,  
 and gave him particular Commission, that above all things he  
 should take heed of a monstrous election, not generally ap-  
 proved, and that might be like to cause new Wars more per-  
 nicious then the former; yet the Legat (either because he  
 fully thought the interests of Religion so linked to those of  
 Spain, that they could not be separated; or in respect of his  
 private designs, which perswaded him to get the Catho-  
 lic King's favour absolutely; or else by reason of the enmity  
 he had contracted with the King, because of the Declarations  
 made by the Parliaments against him; or that the Pope's so-  
 lemn Commissions were not well understood by him) did  
 not take himself off from his first manner of treating;  
 with the pretence and colour of Religion (which  
 was very great) did wonderfully serve all the Plots  
 and Practices of the Spanish Ministers. These were yet un-  
 certain of the means, but most certain of the end of their  
 treating; the Council of Spain having determined, that for  
 the greater decency and speciousness, the union of the Crowns  
 should not be mentioned; a thing rather to be discoursed of  
 in the Infancy, then to be hoped for in effect; but that the ele-  
 ction of the *Infanta Isabella* should be propounded, which by  
 divers ways came to the same end.

Pope Clem. 8.  
 sends *Innocentius*  
*Malvagia* into  
 France, in the  
 place of Com-  
 missary *Mat-*  
*teucci*, with  
 more particu-  
 lar Commissi-  
 ons to Cardin-  
 al *Sega* the  
 Legat; but they  
 work small  
 effect.

But at this time in Paris there was no other Spanish Mini-  
 ster except *Diego d'Ivarra*, who continuing his disaffection to  
 the Duke of Mayene, and being of opinion that without him  
 the Catholike King's Forces, Money and Authority were suf-  
 ficient to cause the States to make that election, continued still  
 private practices with the Deputies; all which nevertheless  
 came perfectly to the Duke of Mayene's knowledge. *Loren-*  
*Suarez de Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, appointed Head of the  
 Ambassie, was expected, and with him *Inigo de Mendoza* a  
 most learned Spanish Lawyer; sent to dispute (by way of  
 right) the lawful Succession of the *Infanta*, and *Juan Baptista*  
*Assis*, who, that he might give them information, was gone as  
 far as the confines of Flanders to meet them: but these also  
 came with an impression that the *Infanta's* right was evident,  
 and that the Catholike King's Forces and Authority were so

The Spanish  
 Council re-  
 solves to pro-  
 pose the ele-  
 ction of the *In-*  
*fanta Isabella*  
 to be Queen of  
 France. *Diego*  
*d'Ivarra*, ill at-  
 tended to the  
 Duke of May-  
 ene, practices  
 with the Depu-  
 ties of the  
 States apart, to  
 dispose them  
 to the election  
 of the *Infanta*;  
 but every one  
 of his private  
 treaties comes  
 to the Duke of  
 Mayene's  
 knowledge.



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feared in France, that without the Duke of Mayene they should be able to obtain their intent of the Assembly : and though *Juan Baptista Tassis* told them otherwise, believing that without the Duke of Mayene they could not compass any end, yet they being prepossessed with the opinions of Spain, and far from the moderate counsels which the Duke of Parma in his life time had held and represented, persevered in their conceit, and continued on their practices in the manner they were begun. *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and together with him the Counsellours of Flanders, who knew the French humour, and by reason of their neighbourhood saw things at a neerer distance, counselled that they should march into France with a powerful Army, and that with it Count *Charles of Mansfelt* (to whom that charge was committed) should draw neer to Paris. That at the same time with great sums of money they should gain the Duke of Mayene especially, and then the other principal Lords, and every particular Deputy that had credit and authority in the Assembly; and that to the Lords of the House of Lorain, who were chief of the *Union*, large advantageous offers should be made, and full security given them for the performance : and with these Conditions, and not otherwise they thought the election of the *Infanta* which was to be propounded, might be brought about : for if the French were not besieged and taken, on the one side by profit, and on the other by fear, they thought it impossible that of their own voluntary will they should ever consent to submit themselves to the Spanish dominion : and if the Princes of Lorain, who were in so great power, and in a very neer hope that one of them might attain to the Crown, were not by exceeding high and secure Conditions removed from that designe, they did not think that ever they would condescend to transfer that to others, which they pretended to for themselves : besides, there was no doubt, but that to establish an election so new, and so contrary to the nature of the French, powerful and extraordinary Forces were necessary, and such preparations of Souldiery, Money and Commanders, as might overcome those difficulties and oppositions which would discover themselves much more in the progresse, then in the beginning of the businesse. To this was added, that to break into a matter of so great difficulty, a great increase of reputation was necessary, and a certainty that the King of Navar might, without much length of time

be overcome and suppressed ; which was not possible to be effected without very great store of men and money.

These were the solid and well-grounded counsels of those, who, judging with reason of the importance and weightinesse of those affairs, were of opinion, that for the Catholike King's honour, the thing should not be propounded, without an infallible certainty of bringing it perfectly to an end. But those that were newly come from Spain, either by reason of the different opinion that was there, or of the relations given by *Diego d' Iwarra*, judged quite differently, that neither many Forces ought to be drawn into France, nor much money be distributed, nor that the House of Lorain should have satisfaction in deed, but in words and appearance onely ; because, by keeping the Duke of Mayene lowe, and by driving him and his party into a straight, they thought they should put them upon a necessity of consenting to their demands, that thereby they might obtain such assistance from them, as might raise them from the abject condition they were reduced to : for they were moreover informed, that they were not inclined to content them willingly ; that if they should free the League, and particularly the City of Paris, from their present want and scarcity, they would not afterward be content to condescend to the Catholike King's will ; gratitude being but a weak instrument, where such weighty matters were treated on ; but that then rather they would consent unto it, when they saw no other remedy to free themselves from misery ; which would be so much the more effectual, by how much the more neerly it pressed and straightned them : That to give money now, was out to throw it away, without any ground or assurance that it should produce the effect, and to satisfie the greedinesse of those who being once glutted with Spanish gold, and having compassed their own designs, would not care afterward to satisfie their promises as they ought : That in plenty and prosperity the French would be proud and insolent ; but in want and necessity, abject and tractable : That it was not fit to dismember the Kingdom, and tear it in pieces, to give part to this, and part to that man of the House of Lorain, thereby to attain to afterwards, being weak, mangled and destroyed.

The Spanish Ministers all informed of the inclinations of the French, and of the Duke of Mayene's authority, contrary to *Juan Baptista Tassis's* opinion, prosecute their treaty a wrong way.

The present state of the Catholike King's affairs inclined most toward this Counsel : for his treasures at this time being much exhausted by his past expences, and by the commotions of



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of *Arragon*, he could not draw together those sums that would have been necessary for the first advice : and the affairs of the Low Countries, and of the Army there, being by reason of the Duke of Parma's death, in great weaknesse and confusion it was not possible to make so great a Body of men, as the contrivance of that designe required : and finally, the nature of the Spaniards made them begin with thrift and parsimony to manage the affairs of that Kingdom, which was not yet begun to be obtained. For these reasons, the Spanish Ministers would needs follow the last counsel ; perswading themselves also, that by their arts, and the Legat's assistance, they should overcome many difficulties, and that with words and promises they might supply, where deeds were defective.

The Duke of Mayene knowing the Spanish practices, as he was certain that without his consent none of their designs would take effect, so was he troubled at the pretensions which the Lords of his House had to the Crown as well as he.

But the Duke of *Mayene*, to whom these conceits were in great part known, was very certain, that without his will and consent they could never obtain any thing ; and by reason he saw the Spanish Ministers so disaffected to him, but much more because he hoped to attain the Kingdom for himself, was wholly averse from contenting them ; onely the discords that arose between him and the others of his Family, held him in suspense : for the Duke of *Lorain* still pretended right unto the Kingdom, and superiority above the rest of his Family and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* pretended to the Crown no lesse then he : the first, by reason of the name and merit of his father, upon whose blood (as he said) the whole structure of the League was grounded : and the other, because of his prosperous defence of Paris, whereby he judged himself to have deserved more then any one of the rest, and to have that people at his devotion : besides that, being both of them young and unmarried, they were not so averse from the election of the *Infanta*, hoping that one of them might be destined for her husband. The Duke of Mayene being led by this doubt resolved to prepare many strings to his bowe, that he might have severall ways to hinder the designs of the rest, and to bring his own businesses to their appointed end. Whereupon, after having by his Declaration invited the Catholikes of the King's party to a Treaty (a weapon by him esteemed most powerful, to crosse the Spaniards in the business) he also caused the Cardinal of Bourbon's designe to be renewed, that he might keep it alive, and make use of it in convenient time and place : and *Jehan le Maistre*, a man totally depending upon

his will, having after the death of President *Briffon* taken the place of first President of the Parliament, he began by his means, not onely to deal with the Counsellours of that Parliament, and Magistrates of that City, but also with those, who, because they inclined to favour the King, were called *Politicks*, that in time of need he might also make use of their help; and having found the Parliament most disposed to his designs, and grounding himself very much upon the support of the Commanders of the *Militia* chosen and raised by him, he propounded and obtained (for the greater reputation of so great an Assembly, and for the greater assurance of the election of a King, a thing of so great weight and consequence) that also the Parliament, and Governours of Provinces, and the Commanders of the *Militia*, might vote in the Assembly of the States, not every one by himself, but by Deputies for each body, to the end that by the counterpoise of these, he might balance the votes of the other Deputies, if they should ever dissent from his will; wherein (because he was exceeding well versed in the businesse, and knew the persons very particularly) he proceeded with so much art and dissimulation, that the Spanish Ministers and the Legat did not take notice of many things till after they were established; and he gained more men with art, then they were able to do with gold or promises; and on the other side, they could hardly designe the framing of an engine, but he, sounding the end of it, found many evasions to dissolve or hinder it.

In this state of things, time no longer allowing that the celebration of the States should be deferred, the Overture (as they call it) of the Assembly was made upon the six and twentieth of January, at which all the Deputies being met in the Hall of the *Louvre*, and with them all the Magistrates and Officers of the Crown, the Duke of Mayene sitting under the Cloth of State (as Kings are wont to do) said, That he had called, and with very much ado assembled that Solemn Meeting, that they might take some course to finde a remedy for the calamities and miseries that afflicted their common Country: he exaggerated the evils of the present condition, the danger of Religion, and the unhappinesse of the War; and concluded, that the onely remedy was the election of a King, who in the first place should be so constant and sincere a Catholike, that he should prefer the good and honour of the holy Church before

The Overture of the States is made in Paris, Jan. 26. 1593.

The Duke of Mayene sitting under the State as King in the Hall of the Louvre, makes the Overture of the States, exhorting them to elect a Catholike King able to sustain the weight of the Crown.



1593 before his own life ; and in the second, should be such a one for valour, experience and reputation, that not onely unruly minds might willingly obey him, but also might be able to fight with and conquer the Enemies of the Church and Kingdom. Wherefore he exhorted the Assembly, that being met, not to moderate grievances, or to finde means to pay the debts of the Crown (things ordinarily introduced to be treated of in the States) but to provide a King, a Pastor for themselves, and the whole people of the greatest Kingdom of Christendome, they should not let themselves be carried away with any private interests, but should take that holy, that worthy resolution, which the present need and their common safety required.

When he had done speaking, Cardinall *Pelle-zé*, as Ecclesiasticall President of the Assemblée, with a long tedious Oration full of digressions, praised the Duke of Mayene's zeal and valour, and by severall ways coming round about again, concluded at last with exhorting the Assembly to elect a King, who as the present exigent required, might be totally devoted to the holy Apostolick See, and an Enemy to Heresie, against which more then any thing else it was at that present necessary to make opposition. The Baron *de Senecey* for the Nobilitie spake to the same effect, but much more briefly and to the purpose ; and the same did *Honoré de Laurent* Counsellour in the Parliament of *Provence* for the third Order of the Commons. There was nothing else treated of at this first meeting, it being the custome onely to use these ceremonies at the first of verture.

The next day in a particular meeting which was held among the chieft about this businesse, there was a very sharp dispute between the Legate joyned with the Spanish Ambassadour, and some of the greatest personages of the Assembly for the Legate proposed, that at the second Session for the beginning of the States, all should take a solemn Oath never to be reconciled to, nor acknowledge the King of Navar for superiour, though he should turn his Religion, and make shew to live as a Catholick ; to which the Duke of Mayene not consenting, as a thing very different from his practices and intentions, the other Deputies that were present spake against it with divers reasons : but the Legate urging with wonderful vehemence, at last the Arch-bishop of Lyons said, that the

The Cardinal-  
Legats proposition.

State

States were Catholicks, obedient to the holy Church under the superiority of the Apostolick See in such cases, and met together in obedience to the Pope, and that therefore they would not be so impudent as to go about to bind his hands, and presumptuously to declare that which he had not declared, preventing his judgements, and declaring the King of Navar irreconcilable to the Church by a vain determination, which was out of the Secular power, and wholly proper to the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction; and that therefore they were resolved not to proceed to that Oath, lest they should offend their own consciences, and the majestie and jurisdiction of the Pope and the Apostolick See. Which reason, with the decency thereof stopt the Legat's mouth; and the Duke of Mayene's intention not to proceed to that Declaration prevailed.

But upon the twenty eighth day there came one of the King's Trumpets to the gate of the Citie, desiring to be brought in, that he might deliver a packet of Letters directed to the Count *de Belin* Governour of it, and being ask'd what his businesse was? he answered freely and publickly, That he brought a Declaration of the Catholicks of the King's party, addressed to the Assembly of the States; and being come before the Governour, he gave the Letters into his hand, and made the contents of them more fully known among the people. The Governour carryed the Packet to the Duke of Mayene, who lay troubled in his bed, and not being willing to open it, but in the presence of all the Confederates, he sent for the Legate, the Cardinal of *Pelle-vè*, *Diego d'Ivarra*, the *Sieur de Bassompierre* Ambassadour from the Duke of Lorraine, the Arch-bishop of *Lyons*, Monsieur *de Rosne*, the Count *de Belin*, the Viscount *de Tavannes*, the *Sieur de Villars* by him newly declared Admiral, Monsieur *de Villeroy*, President *Jeannin*, and two of the ordinary Secretaries, which they called Secretaries of State; in the presence of whom the cover being taken off, there was a Writing found with this title:

A Trumpet of the Kings comes to Paris, and brings a Packet to the Governour, which being opened by the Duke of Mayene in the presence of the Confederates, contains an offer from the Catholick Lords and Prelates of the Kings party.

*The Proposition of the Princes, Prelats, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well Counsellours of the King, as others, now present with his Majestie; tending to the end of obtaining Peace, so necessary to this Kingdom for the conservation of the Catholick Religion, and of the State: made*

LIIIIII

to



*to the Duke of Mayene and the Princes of his Family, the Lords and other persons sent by some Cities and Corporations at this present assembled in the City of Paris.*

Having seen the Title, and every one being desirous to hear the contents, the Writing was read by one of the Secretaries being of this Tenour following.

**T**He Princes, Prelats, Officers of the Crown, and chief Catholick Lords, as well of the Councell as attendance of his Majestie, Having seen a Declaration printed at Paris in the name of the Duke of Mayene, dated in the month of December, published with the sound of the Trumpet in the said City upon the fifth day of this present month of January, as found at the bottome of it, and which came into their hands at *Chartres*, do acknowledge, and are of opinion with the said Duke of Mayene, That the continuance of this War bringing the ruine and destruction of the State, doth also by necessary consequence draw along with it the ruine of the Catholick Religion, as experience hath but too well shewed us, to the great grief of the said Princes, Lords, and Catholick States, who do acknowledge the King whom God hath given them, and serve him as they are naturally obliged, having with this duty ever made the conservation of the Catholick Religion their principall aim; and have then always been most animated with their arms and forces to defend the Crown under the obedience of his Majestie, when they have seen Strangers, enemies to the greatnesse of this Monarchy, and to the honour and glory of the French name, enter into this Kingdom; for it is too evident that they tend to nothing else but to dissipate it, and from its dissipation would follow an immortal War, which in time could produce no other effect save the totall ruine of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry, Cities and Countries, an event which would also infallibly happen to the Catholick Religion in this Kingdom. Thence it is that a good French-men, and all those that are truly zealous thereof ought to strive with all their forces to hinder the first inconvenience, from which the second is inseparable, and both inevitable by the continuation of the War. The true means to prevent them, would be a good Peace, and a reconciliaticion between those whom the misfortune hereof keeps so divided

and armed to the destruction of one another : for upon this foundation Religion would be restored, Churches preserved, the Clergie maintained in their estates and reputation, and Justice settled again ; the Nobility would recover their ancient force and vigour, for the defence and quiet of the Kingdom ; the Cities would recover their losses and ruines, by the reestablishment of Commerce, Trades, and employments (maintainers of the people) which are in a manner utterly extinct ; the Universities would again betake themselves to the study of Sciences, which in times past have caused this Kingdom to flourish, and given splendour and ornament unto which at this present languish, and are by little and little wasting to nothing ; the fields would again be tilled, which in so many places are left fallow and barren, and in stead of the fruits they were wont to bring forth for man's nourishment, are now covered with thorns and thistles : in sum, by Peace every one might do his duty ; God might be served, and the people enjoying a secure Peace, would blesse those who had procured them that happinesse ; whereas on the contrary, they will have just cause to complain, and curse those that will hinder it. To this effect, upon the Declaration which the said Duke of Mayene makes by his writings, as well in his own name, as in the names of the rest of his party assembled in Paris, where he alledgeth that he hath called the States, to take some course and counsel for the good of the Catholike Religion, and the repose of this Kingdom ; it being clear, that if for no other reason, yet because of the place alone where it is neither lawful nor reasonable that any others but they of their own party should interview ) no resolution can proceed from it, that can be valid or profitable for the effect which he hath published : and it being rather most certain, that this can nothing but inflame the War so much the more, and take away all hopes and means of reconciliation ; the said Princes, Prelats, Officers of the Crown, and other Catholike Lords now present with His Majestie, being certain that the other Princes, Lords, and Catholike States who acknowledge him, do concur with them in the same zeal toward the Catholike Religion, and the good of the State, as they agree in the obedience and fidelity due unto their King and natural Prince ; have in the name of all, and with the leave and permission of His Majestie, thought fit, by this Writing, to make



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known to the said Duke of Mayene, and the other Princes of his Family, Prelats, Lords, and other persons assembled in the City of Paris, that if they will enter into conference and communication about the means proper to bury these tumults, for the conservation of the Catholike Religion and of the State, and depute any persons of worth and integrity to meet joyntly at a place which may be chosen between *Paris* and *St Denis*, they will on their parts send thither upon the day that shall be appointed and agreed upon, to receive and carry all those resolutions and overtures which may be proposed for so good a purpose, as they are confident, that if every one will bring those good inclinations he is obliged to, which they for their parts promise to do, means may be found to attain to so great a happinesse: protesting before God and men, that if, neglecting this way, they shall use other unlawful means, which cannot chuse but be pernicious to Religion and the State, if they shall compleat the reducing of France to the last period of all calamity and misery, making it a prey and a spoil to the insatiable greedinesse of the Spaniard, and a trophy of their insolency, gotten by the practices and blinde passions of a part of them, who carry the name of French-men, degenerating from the duty which hath been held in so great veneration by our Ancestours; the fault of that evil that shall come thereby, cannot, nor ought not justly to be ascribed to any others than those who shall be notoriously known to be the sole authours of such a refusal, as men who prefer the ways that are fit to serve their own particular greatnesse and ambition, and that of their fomenters, before those which aim at the glory of God and the safety of the Kingdom. Given in the King's Council (where the said Princes and Lords have purposely assembled themselves, and with His Majesties permission resolved to make the above-said Propositions and Overtures) at Chartres the seven and twentieth of January, 1593. Subscribed  
*Revol.*

The first mover of this Writing, penned and presented in this manner, was the *Sieur de Villeroy*: for being of himself averse to the Spanish attempts, and rather inclined to an Agreement with the King then to any other resolution; and being set on by the Duke of Mayene, desirous to put some Treaty on foot, to make use of it, as occasion should serve, for his



own advantage, wrote to his brother-in-law the *Sieur de Fleury*, that addressing himself to the Duke of *Nevers* and the other Catholike Lords that were with the King, he should shew them in how great danger the affairs of the Kingdom were, with how much earnestnesse the Spaniards had set themselves to promote the election of the *Infanta Isabella*, how many there were that for their own interests favoured that election, and how the Duke of *Mayene*, who had never been able to induce the King to be reconciled to the Church, was now in such a necessity, that he would be constrained to agree with the Catholike King, if by some means they did not interrupt those proceedings. That they should consider, if strangers should obtain their intent, and that the Lords of the House of *Lorain*, and the other Confederates, should oblige themselves unto it, in how great danger the King would be to be deprived of the Kingdom, being to fight with the Spanish power, which then would employ it self wholly to His ruine; the mindes of the French Confederates would become irreconcilable, as if of their own accord they had put themselves under the servitude, and engaged themselves under the dominion of strangers: the way to a reconciliation with the Pope and with the Church would be shut up, when once he should have approved of the election which the States were to make within a few weeks; and that therefore time was not to be lost, but some way found to interrupt the course of those designs.

These Considerations were represented by the *Sieur de Fleury*, not onely to the Duke of *Nevers*, but to *Gasspar Count of Schombergh*, who about that time having been sent for by the King, was come to Court. He by birth was a German, and by nature a man not onely of great courage, but free in his opinions and words; and for his experience and valour, highly esteemed by every one; wary in his courses, provident in his actions, infinitely inclined and very faithful to the King, and (which at that time was much to the purpose) one who had not been present at the consultations that had been held among the Catholikes about forsaking him, and for this cause had more authority and belief with him to treat upon this businesse, then the Duke of *Nevers* and many others: Wherefore being of opinion that the Considerations represented by *Villeroy* were most important, and that to them many others were added;

for

The *Sieur de Villeroy*, averse from the Spaniards; and a friend to peace, writes to the *Sieur de Fleury* to advertise the Catholikes of the danger the King was in, & of the attempts to cause the *Infanta Isabella* to be elected Queen.

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for already every one knew that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was thinking to depart, and go over to the League, and that many Princes of the Blood and other Lords were inclined to follow that resolution; that the Catholikes for the most part holding themselves deceived and mocked by the King's promises, were very ill satisfied; and that every one weary of the War, longed impatiently for Peace, he found a fit conjuncture to discourse with the King about it; and with solid effectual eloquence, wherein he was very prevalent, made him fully acquainted with those reasons, which out of respect were coldly and but in part represented to him by others; and demonstrated to him the nearness of his ruine, unless he suddenly took some course to content the Catholikes, and to crosse the designs and attempts of the Spaniards. The conjuncture of the time was also favourable: for the King's late prosperities had brought him into such a condition, that if the Catholikes persevered constantly to serve him, he had but little need of foreign Forces; which of how little benefit they were, and how much mischief they did to his Country, he himself had already found: The *Sieur du Plessis* was far off, who with his reasons, partly Theological, partly Political, was wont to withhold him, and put scruples in his minde, to the end he might not change his Religion: and the Duke of *Bouillon*, then Head of the Hugonots, who was present at the business, had ever been one of those who were of opinion that the King could never be a peaceable possessor of the Crown, unless he changed his Religion: and perchance for his own interest it displeased him not that the King should turn Catholike, to the end the first place among the Hugonots might remain to him: Wherefore, all these obstacles being removed, and necessity urging; for already the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and Count *Soissons*, with many others, began to talk very plainly and the States assembled by the League being in much greater consideration with the King, then perhaps they were with the Confederates themselves; after many consultations with the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the High-Chancellor and President *de Thou*, to whom, by reason of his learning and experience, the King gave much credit, he resolved that the Catholikes should make this Overture, with intent either to interrupt the course of the States by the means, or else to resolve upon an Accommodation and

The Duke of *Bouillon*, a Hugonot, was ever of opinion that the King could not be a peaceable possessor of his Crown unless he turned Catholike; perhaps to the end he might remain Head of the Hugonots.

reconciliation with the Apostolick See, and the Lords of the  
house of Lorain. 1593

As soon as the Writing was read in the presence of the Duke of Mayene and the other Lords, the Cardinal of *Pia- nza* rose up in choler, and without consultation or deliberation said angrily, that that Proposition was full of Heresies, and that they were Hereticks that should take it into consideration, and therefore it was by no means fitting to give any answer to it: *Cardinall Pelle-vé* and *Diego d'Ivarra* assented without any demurr; but the Duke of Mayene remained in silence, as also the rest that were present, who durst not immediately oppose the Legat's words. But *Villeroy* and *Cammin* not losing courage, without contradicting the Cardinal, found another evasion, and said, That the Writing not being directed to the Duke of Mayene alone, but to the whole Assembly of the States, and the Trumpet having freely said so to many at his entrance into the City, whereby the business was become publick, it was fit to communicate it to the States, and refer it to them, to the end that the Deputies might not be disgusted in the very beginning, and believe that they were not freely and fairly dealt withall, but that endeavours were used to conceal many things from them, and deceive them; That this would be an ill beginning, and could not onely cause suspicion, but also disunion among the Deputies. The Count *de Belin* added, that the Trumpet had not onely told that the Writing was directed to the whole Assembly, but had also scattered some copies of it among the people, as he thought he had heard, whereby it was so much the more publick, and could not be concealed from the Deputies.

It was determined that every one should consider of what they thought most convenient to resolve about it in the same place against the next day; which being come, though the Legate and Spanish Ambassadour laboured stiffly that the Writing might be suppressed and rejected, the Duke of Mayene notwithstanding with the votes of the major part, concluded, not to use his Deputies ill, nor give them cause of distaste; but bearing that respect to them which was fit, would have the Writing read in the full Assembly, where afterward that should be resolved on that should be thought most convenient: which while it was deferred by reason of the contrariety of opinions,

The Legate's opposition against the Propositions of the King's Catholics.

It is concluded by votes of the major part of the Lords in the private meeting, that the writing should be read in the assembly of the States, notwithstanding the opposition of the Legat & the Spaniards.

and



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The tenour of  
a Manifest published  
by the  
King at Chartres.

and of the obstacles that were interposed, the King being at Chartres, published a Manifest upon the nine and twentieth day; wherein, after having briefly attested his singular affection toward the generall good and safety, He said he was extremely grieved to have happened in such perverse times wherein many degenerating from that fidelity toward their Princes which had ever been peculiar to the French Nation, did now use all their studies and endeavours to oppose the Royall authority under pretence of Religion which pretence, how falsely it was usurped by them, was cleerly seen in the War twice attempted against the happy memory of *Henry* the Third, which it was not possible to value so much, as to think the cause thereof could be attributed to matter of Religion, he having ever been most Catholick and most observant of the See of Rome, and imployed with his arms even against those that were not of the Catholick Religion to subdue them, at the same time when they having furiously taken arms, ran to Tours to suppress and besiege him; and that now it was more cleer then the Sun itself how improperly and unjustly they made use of the same colour against him; for by how much the more they sought to mask and palliate their malignity under that specious cloke so much the more, breaking forth, did it shew it self cleerly to the eyes of all men; nor was there any one who knew not that their conspiracy attempted for the oppression and ruine of their Country, was not caused by zeal to Religion; but that their union appeared manifestly to be composed of three kinds of persons for three different reasons. First, the wickedness of them, who led by an incredible desire to possess and dissipate the Kingdom, had made themselves Heads and Authors of this Rebellion. Secondly, the craftinesse of Strangers, ancient enemies to the French name and Crown, who having found this opportunity of executing their inveterate designs, had voluntarily joyned themselves with their assistance to be companions in so perfidious a conspiracy. And lastly, the fury of some of the meanest dregs of the people, who being abandoned by fortune to extreme beggery and misery, or else led by their misdeeds in fear of justice, out of a desire of spoil, or hope of impunity, had gathered themselves together to this factious confederacy. But it being the custom of divine providence to draw good out of evill, so it had

and now miraculously come to passe, since that the Duke of  
 Mayene by setting down in writing his reasons of assembling  
 a Congregation in Paris, by him called the States, had cleerly  
 and open and manifested his designs by his own confession :  
 striving with all his power dissemblingly to represent  
 the face of an honest man, and to make it believed that he had  
 thought of usurping that which belonged not unto him,  
 could not in the interim give greater testimony of his am-  
 bition and impiety toward his Country, then by framing an  
 Edict, and sealing it with the Royall Seal for the Convoca-  
 tion of the States, a thing reserved onely to the Royal-Pow-  
 er, and never communicated to any other ; whereby he had  
 made cleer to the world his usurpation of the Royall Office  
 and Majestie, and his crime of High-Treason, having taken  
 upon him the Royall Ministry, and the proper marks of So-  
 veraignty. But what eye was so dazeled, or what minde so  
 blinded, as not to see how false those things were which he  
 had inserted in his Edict with so much pomp of words ? That  
 the laws permitted him not to render due observance and o-  
 bedience to the King God had given him, a Lye as apparent,  
 it is true that the *Salique Law*, a wholesome fundamen-  
 tal one, born at one birth with the Kingdom, hath ever been  
 the *basis* of the Subjects obedience, and the foundation and  
 safety of the Crown : That open injury is done to the consti-  
 tution of this Law, when the lawfull Dominion of him is cal-  
 led in doubt or controversie, who by the prescribed order of  
 is called by God unto the Crown : That the force and au-  
 thority of this Law is so great and venerable, that no other  
 law hath power to prejudice it, and the Kings themselves,  
 which are loose from other laws, are subject, and not superi-  
 or to this alone ; and that therefore it was a vain thing to al-  
 ledge against it the *Decree* of the States at *Blois* in the year 76 ;  
 or not the King, nor the States, but that Law it self ought to  
 decide the Succession of the Kingdom : and yet what man of  
 sound understanding could ever hold the Assembly at Blois  
 to be a lawfull Congregation of the States ? in which the li-  
 berty of votes being taken away, and the voice of good men  
 suppressed, there was nothing else minded by the Conspira-  
 tors of that Confederacy (the fruits whereof are now found)  
 but to oppugne the King's authority who then reigned, and  
 to reduce him to the slavery of his enemies, disposing of the



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affairs of the Kingdom, according to the will and fancy of factious persons: That perchance that violence used against him, from which he had so much laboured to defend and free himself was not cleer enough; who was he that could believe the late King would voluntarily break and violate that Law by vertue of which his Grandfather *Francis* the First was come unto the Crown? But what needed there other proofs? The same men who had forcibly and treacherously caused that Decree to be made, had themselves waved, forsaken, and declared it ineffectuall and of no validity; for if the Duke of Mayene had esteemed that constitution valid, after the sedition deposing of King *Henry* the Third caused by him, he would not have entituled himself Lieutenant Generall of the State and Crown of France before the Kingdom were vacant, but Lieutenant to the Cardinal of Bourbon, to whom by that seditious Decree the Kingdom appertained. But what? not only then, but also after the King's death (who was by them caused to be murdered) he for three months together usurped the same title, declaring how little valid he esteemed the determination of those States; that therefore it was manifest and known, that it was not out of reverence to the determination of his own States, which they now publish, that he made use afterward of the fained person of the Cardinall of Bourbon when it was convenient for him; but thereby to usurp the Royall Power and Ministry, and to gain time and means to establish himself in his intended usurpation. But that no less vain was the reason he alledged, *viz.* That he was not a Catholicke, but of a different Religion; for he was neither Infidel nor Pagan, but confessed the same God and the same Redeemer the Catholicks confesse and adore; nor ought some difference in opinion to make such a desperate irreconcilable division. That he would not be obstinate, nor refuse to be taught and instructed, and that he was ready, if his errors were shewn him, to forsake it, and reduce himself to the rites which the Catholicks of his Kingdom desired, and that he wished he could with safety of conscience take away all scruples from all his Subjects; but he prayed the Catholicks not to wonder if he did not so easily leave that Religion which he sucked with his milk, nor ought it to appear strange that he should not forsake the ancient institution of his life, unless first he were made to see the error, which they were of opi-

tion he was in, which when it should come to passe, no body should need to desire his readinesse and willingnesse to condemn his fault, and enter into that way which should be known to be the best. That it was ~~fit~~ fit in a businesse that concerned his soul and eternall life he should proceed with great circumspection; and so much the more, because his example was like to draw many with it, whom he would not help to damn, but willingly to save them if he could. That therefore he had often demanded Councils, not to oppose himself against those already celebrated, as his Enemies reported, but to the end that hee together with them of the same Religion, might be instructed and taught thereby: That it was no absurd thing to celebrate a council, and moderate many matters which times and occasions produce: and to say they had already been decided by former Councils, was nothing; for so all later Councils would have been vain and absurd in confirming and ordering things again which had been settled and determined by former ones: That if a more speedy and more proper way were found for his instruction, he would not refuse it; and that he had given clear testimony of it to the world, when he gave leave to the Catholikes under his obedience to send Ambassadors to the Pope to take some course in it, and when he so often caused his very adversaries to be told, that in the midst of Arms it was no time to talk of Conversions, but that making Peace, they should resolve upon a Conference wherein he might be instructed; but that they, abusing his goodnesse, had made him to lend an ear unto it onely when for their own designes they desired to work a jealousy in the Spaniards: That it was certain, they abhorred to have him instructed, since now in their Writings they reckoned it as a thing to be despaired of, having never yet so much as attempted it, and because that presently as soon as the Marquesse *de Pisani's* Embassie tending to that effect was agreed upon, they had by all possible means crossed his negotiation, and brought it so to passe, that the Pope would not admit him to his audience: That if they polished and vaunted that they would refer the businesse wholly to the Pope, He on the other side did not despair, but the Pope at last, knowing their subtilty and cunning, would take that resolution which should be most conformable to decency and reason: That therefore seditious persons ought



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no longer to tempt the good Catholikes that stood armed for the defence and safety of their Country ; but that they rather should acknowledge their errour, and as members gone astray, return to joyn themselves with the rest of the Body : for except the Princes of Lorain, who were strangers, all the Princes of the blood, Prelats, Lords, Officers of the Crown and in a manner all the strength of the Gentry, were of his party, and made the true Body of France united for the defence of their Liberty, and the safety of the Kingdom : That they should consider how unworthy, how monstrous a thing it was to open the gates to the Spaniard to come and invade the bowels of the Kingdom ; their ancestours, and even they themselves, having spilt and poured out so much blood to drive them from their confines : That they should see how impious that insatiableness was, which, for covetousness of gold, for the French Name, Glory, and Liberty : but that it was a wonder they felt not the prick of conscience in that business since they felt it not in the most cruel parricide committed on the person of the late King, which they were so far from detesting and abhorring, that they impiously attributed it to Providence and the hand of God : That if ( as they now manifestly shew ) they would be held innocent of that fact, which obscured the glory, and laid a foul blot of wicked perfidiousness upon the Name of the French, they should not at the same time joy and rejoyce at it, commend, exalt, and canonize the name of the murderer, and do so many other barbarous monstrous things ; but should rather shew that they were moved at great a wickedness, and resolved to reconcile themselves to that Country that had bred, nourished, and raised them to that height of greatness ; and not take part with barbarous Nations, that are enemies to, and separated from France, as in language and manners, so in candour and disposition : That if these reasons could not prevail to persuade those that were gone astray, and make them know their errour, at least they would confirm the resolution of good French-men, to continue constantly in the defence of their Country, wherein he as he had for the time past, so he would also for the future : for he would always hold them his example, exposing his body, health, blood and life before them all, as a sacrifice for so worthy, so profitable a work : That his affection and devotion till that present were sufficiently known, and with what tenderness of mind

he had embraced the Catholikes, conserved, protected, and maintained them in their possessions, and in their priviledges; now he had favoured and preserved their Religion, and constantly and inviolably observed all that he had promised them at his coming to the Crown; and now, for more security, and absolutely to take away all scruples, he swore before God and men, that he was ready to persevere in their protection and conservation till his latest breath, and that he never would do any thing to the prejudice or diminution of them or their Religion, and that he desired those things which his Subjects required of him might, to the glory of God, be orderly and lawfully executed, as he hoped in Gods divine Majestie, and in his infallible providence, that the effects would quickly be seen, which out of a confidence in God's mercy he doubted not to promise and attest. That in the mean time he with the advice of his Council had decreed, and by that present Majesty did decree and declare, that the Duke of Mayene in having assembled a Congregation in Paris under the name of Estates, had seditiously and unjustly usurped the Office and Power of King, and that those States being null, invalid, and illegitimate, were not to hold, nor to be effectually, nor any thing that in them should be done, established, or determined.

This Writing, which carried with it no necessity of an Answer, was according to the disposition of mens mindes variously received and interpreted; but that of the Catholick Cards of the King's party sent to the Assembly at Paris, held the Confederates anxious and solicitous for different respects; the Legate having caused it to be examined by the College of the Divines of *Sorbonne*, persisted to say, that being hereticall, it was not worthy of any answer; and the Spanish Ambassadour said it was but a trick to disturb the good for which they were met together: but the Archbishop of *Lyons*, *Peroy*, *Jannin*, the Count *de Belin*, and those of the Parliament maintained, that what a kinde of one soever it was, it ought neither to be despised nor rejected, and gave their reasons for it; and between these the Duke of Mayene stood doubtful what should be resolved; for on the one side he had a great desire to begin a Treaty with the Royallists, and on the other he would not absolutely alienate nor exasperate the Legate and the Spaniards. In the end, after many consultations



1593 sultations held privately with his friends, he resolved to defer the consideration of that businesse in the Assembly till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria* and the rest that were coming, and till he had seen the strength of the Army, and what Orders Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* had, who was already prepared to enter into the Confines, to the end he might regulate himself afterward according to time and occasion; wherefore he determined to go and meet the Ambassadors, and to receive and imploy the Army himself, lest the Duke of *Guise* should go to receive it, and (to the lessening of his reputation) have it consigned to him by the Spaniards, who openly favoured him. He hoped also to make some progress in the War, which might augment his credit and reputation; but above all, it was necessary for him to draw a certain sum of money from the Spaniards, to be then distributed (in favour of him) among the Deputies, many of whom, by reason of the dearth of Paris, and their own poverty, had urgent need thereof.

The Duke of Mayene resolved to defer the businesse of the protestation of the Kings Catholicks till he had conferred with the Duke of *Feria*, Ambassadors from Spain to the Assembly of the States.

The Duke of Mayene having left order with the Deputies not to meddle with matters of importance till his return, goes to Soissons; where having conferred with the Spanish Ambassadors, they break out in disputes.

This resolution being taken, he called the Deputies of the Assembly, and prayed them to busie themselves about small matters, but not to deliberate any thing concerning the election till his return, it being fit that all the Catholick Ambassadors should be there, as likewise himself, together with the Duke of *Guise*, and the other principall men of the party which he would bring along with him within a few days; and because his praying was commanding, they all promised without contradiction; and he having left Monsieur de *Villeroy* and President *Jeannin* to prevent those secret practices which might be set on foot in the mean time, went with four hundred Horse to *Soissons*, where he had given order that the French forces should be in a readinesse. Being come to the City upon the ninth of February, he found the Duke of *Feria* and the other Spanish Ambassadors there; with whom having conferred, contentments began to break forth in their first meetings.

In Spain they thought it very agreeable to justice and equity that the Salique Law should be broken, because all the of the Family of Bourbon were notoriously either Hereticks or favourers of Heresie, and that the Kingdom should come to the *Infanta Isabella* the Catholick King's Daughter, who by the ordinary Laws was the neereft Heir to the late King.



as being borne of *Elizabeth* his eldest sister. And on the contrary when it was alledged that the posterity of the Royal Family failing, the authority of making a new King returned to the communalty of the people of France; they replied, that though that were true, yet was it seemly that the Communalty in that election should have respect to the Law of Nations, which always calls the neereft heirs; and that it was very fit much should be condescended to, in regard of the so great expences the Catholike King had been at, and of those many things he had done for the maintenance of the Crown and of Religion; since with great detriment to his own affairs, he had employed all his Armies, and all the revenues of his Kingdom, through the course of so many yeers, for the benefit of the Affairs of France; which if he from the beginning had abandoned to the discretion of the *Navarrois*, there was no doubt but it would have been constrained to bend its neck, and receive the yoke of heresie: whence certainly would have proceeded the total ruine of every Catholike in particular, and the general servitude and dishonour of so Christian a Kingdom. Thus these Counsellours having perswaded themselves that these reasons would have the same efficacy in the mindes of the French, had concluded to apply themselves speedily to the advancing of so great a designe. Wherefore the Ambassadors, having this expresse order from Spain, and believing also by *Diego d'Ivarra's* Letters that the election of the *Infanta* would willingly, and without contradiction be embraced by the States, did not defer to urge the Duke of Mayene about it, to the end that he assenting to it, might favour that Declaration.

The Dukes of Feria and Mendoza Spanish Ambassadors, urge the Duke of Mayene for the election of the Infanta Isabella to the Kingdom.

They said, that the Catholike King pretended justly to that election; first, by reason of the right which the *Infanta* (as born of the eldest daughter of France) pretended to that Kingdom; and then, by reason of the benefits France had received from him, and of those likewise which it might receive for the future, he being resolved to use all his force and power to free them from the contagion of Heresie, and to establish that Crown as soon as could be possible, in a quiet peaceful condition. To this purpose they added many magnificent promises to every one in particular, and much more largely in the Duke of Mayene's interests, shewing that the Catholike King would use him honourably, increase him in riches



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riches and reputation, and make him the first person in the whole Kingdom: finally, they demonstrated the honour the Catholike King did him already, in putting his Arms under the authority of his Command, having given order to Count *Charles* absolutely to obey and acknowledge him superiour.

The Duke of  
Mayene gives  
sharp answers  
to the Catho-  
like King's  
Ambassadours.

The Duke of Mayene, who had already at his first coming been advertised that Count *Charles* brought not above four thousand Foot and one thousand Horse, and that the Ambassadors had no order to pay him any more then five and twenty thousand ducats, a sum much inferiour to the greatnesse of his present need, answered the Ambassadors Proposition very resentingly, and with more boldnesse then he was wont, and reproached them with the weaknesse of those Forces, and their thriftinesse of money, which things were not like to free the Confederates from the yoke of Heresie, nor to make the Kingdom peaceable, as they boasted in their words, but to continue the calamities of War without end, and to reduce the affair of the League unto extreme weaknesse and misery: That it had been seen in times past how the Catholikes King's Armie were hardly come in sight, when presently they vanished again, fomenting, but not remedying the mischiefs that afflicted the Kingdom; which now appeared much more clearly since in that very point, when a course was to have been taken for the common safety, and when he to satisfie their so great importunities and complaints, had with infinite difficulty assembled the States of the Crown, there came such poor assistance, as neither the Army was sufficient to give heat and authority to so great a businesse, nor the money able to supply, or so much as give the least ease to the present necessities: That he marvelled exceedingly at that preposterous manner of proceeding: That now indeed the prudence of the Catholike King and his Counsellours was requisite; and that he knew no good could be expected for the future by that way: That it was a vain thing to propose the *Infanta* for Queen, and not to send fitting means to make her be acknowledged, and to establish her in the Kingdom: That this was a difficult weighty important businesse, and not well relished by many, and to carry it on with such feeblenesse of Forces, and so small reputation, was onely the way to destroy and ruine it, which, out of his observance to the Catholike King, he would not endure: That the mindes of men, who had setled the sum of their hope



hopes in the present Congregation, would be incensed and put in despair, when they should see a Stranger-Queen proposed; and that without power or means of attaining to the Crown: That this was a thing averse from the nature of the French, crossed by the impediment of the Salique Law, no way consonant to the ears of free men, and such as were not accustomed to suffer themselves to be brought under; and that therefore it was necessary first to ingage mens mindes both with high reputation and the noyse of great Armies, and also to win their affections by the allurements of profits and riches; but to propound so great a matter in so faint a manner, was neither conformable to the greatnesse of the Catholick King, nor decent for the name and reputation of the Confederates; and that for his part, he neither thought fit, nor was able, nor knew how to engage himself in that Proposition, being certain, not onely that nothing at all would be effected, but that in despair it would necessitate the Deputies to turn to an Agreement with the Hereticks, rather then precipitate themselves into a bottomlesse pit of perpetuall misery, where both the publick and private desolation were most visible.

This answer appeared as strange as unexpected to the Ambassadors, and they perceived at the very first, that they were far from the imaginary reckonings they had made; yet persisting in their Proposition, they answered, That the commotions of *Arragon*, and the long indisposition and afterward the death of the Duke of *Parma* had hindered the King from making those preparations, which should within few months (if there were need of them) be made ready: That the Succours of the Catholick King had always been so powerfull, and so opportune, that they had manifestly delivered the Kingdom and Religion from the oppression of the Hereticks; and that the French could not complain of any but themselves, who of themselves had lost battels, and brought themselves under in such manner, that afterward the King of Spain had been faine to forsake his own affairs, to recover them as it were from death to life: That the sums of money were not small, but the greedinesse of the French very great and unsatiable; and yet when they should give just reasonable satisfaction to the Catholick King, He would strive to the utmost to content them; but that to desire all advantages, all conveni-

The Answer of  
the Catholick  
Ambassadors  
to the Duke of  
Mayene.



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cies, all satisfactions, and all contentments, and to give none at all, was not an equall dealing, nor a fair reasonable way of proceeding; That they should resolve to declare their good will in acknowledging the rights of the *Infanta* to be just and valid; and for the rest, it was not to be thought the Catholick King would be carelesse of his Daughters interests, but would empty his Kingdom both of men and money to place her in the Throne, and to establish her perfectly: That the King, weary of so many disturbances, and of so many expences without fruit, would no more tire his people and ruine himself, unless he knew the charge and labour should in the end come to effect; but the *Infanta* being chosen, he would send fifty thousand Foot and ten thousand Horse, which should be paid till the enterprize were perfected; and would freely powr out all the Treasures of his Kingdom upon the French.

The Duke of Mayene smiling at the proffer of these future Magnificences, said it was necessary to think of present things; and that to make the States swallow that bitter pill of foreign Dominion, it was necessary to temper it with the sweetnesse of profit and reputation, else it would prove impossible to get it down. But *Inigo Mendozza* (more able to dispute among learned men, then to manage so weighty an Affair of State) replied, That they knew all the Deputies would not onely accept the *Infanta*, but also beseech the King to grant her for their Queen; and that he alone opposed that Election, which already was desired by them all. The Duke grew angry, and told *Mendozza* he was little acquainted with the busineses of France, and not knowing the unanimity of the French, promised himself they should govern the Deputies, as they were wont to do the stupid senseless *Indians*; but that in the effect he would finde himself much mistaken. *Mendozza* added, that rather in the effect they would make him know, they were able to make the *Infanta* be elected by the States without his help. But the Duke not enduring that, replied, that he feared it not; and that if they should not consent unto it, all the world would not be able to make that election. To which the Duke of *Feria* answering, said, they would quickly make him perceive his error, and would take away the Command of the Army from him, and give it to the Duke of Guise. This nettled the Duke

Maye

*Mayene* more then all the rest ; and as he was most passionate in his anger, he added, that it was in his power to turn all France against them, and that if he pleased, he could in a week shut them all out of the Kingdom : That they play'd the parts rather of Ambassadors from the King of *Navar*, then the Catholick King, nor could they serve him better if they were paid by him : but they should not think to use him as their subject, for he was not so yet, nor did ever think by that manner of usage to be so for the future ; and scornfully taking leave, departed from them.

*Juan Baptista Tassis* took the businesse in hand again the next day, striving to pacifie and overcome him with promises ; but the Duke told them freely, that if now they used him in that manner, he might, if he were not mad, perceive how he should be used when he was obliged, and a vassall ; and refused a great while to confer any more with the Duke of *Feria*, and *Mendoza*. But Pronotary *Agnicchi*, and Commissary *Malvagia*, who were present by order from the Legate, and Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt*, who was come thither to consult what should be done with the Army, laboured so far in the businesse, that on the one side the Spaniards knowing they could do nothing without the Duke of *Mayene* ; and he when the violence of his anger was past, remembering that he was not in such a condition that it was convenient for him to lose the supportation of the Spaniards, differences were composed again at last, but with so much prejudice to the Catholick Kings designs, that the Duke to put a hard bit in their mouths, wrote to *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, by all means to cause the Writing of the King's Catholicks to be answered, and that he should begin the conference which they proposed, to the end they might have that refuge in a readinesse, whensoever they should be ill dealt withall by the Spaniards for the future ; and yet dissembling on both sides, they agreed among themselves, that the Duke of *Mayene* should assent to the election of the *Infanta*, and favour it with the States ; and on the other side, that she being elected, he should have the Title of the Dutchie of *Bourgogne*, the Government of *Piccardy* for his life, the Title and Authority of the Queen's Lieutenant Generall thorow the whole Kingdom, that all debts should be paid him, as well those that were contracted in the name of the Publick, as those in

The Duke of Mayene by reason of the answers & threats of the Spanish Ambassadors, departs in anger from the Meeting.

The Popes Ministers and others labour so far, that the differences between the Duke and the Spaniards are composed in show, but not in their hearts.



1593 his own particular; and that he should be repaid all the money which he could make appear he had spent of his own; they paid him five and twenty thousand Crowns at that present, and consigned Letters to him for two hundred thousand more, and gave order to Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* with the Army to obey him, and dispose of himself according to his Orders.

This convention pieced up in this manner, did indeed stop the discords and disgusts for the present, but made not things so secure as to go on unanimously in their endeavours for the future; for the Duke of Mayene on the one side, did not believe himself obliged to observe what the necessity of publick affaires had extorted from him by force, and the Spaniards as they had but little confidence that he would observe them, so were they ready to imbrace any occasion that should present it self, of treating and establishing the businesse without him. But being departed from *Soissons* upon the five and twentieth of February and come to *Paris*, as soon as they began to converse with the deputies, they easily perceived that the Duke of Mayene ruled all the Assembly, and that without him nothing at all could be obtained.

On the other side he being gon to the Confines where the Army was, found it so weak, that he lost hope of doing any enterprise of such moment, as was like to bring him either profit or reputation. They all agreed that the Army should not advance into the inward parts of the Kingdom, but for diverse ends: the Spanish Ministers to the end *Paris* might not be freed from scarcity, following their conceit that it was profitable for their designs the League and the City should be streightned and kept low; the Duke of Mayene on the other side, to the end the Spaniards might not take heart by the neernesse of their forces, and Count *Charles*, because by reason of the weaknesse of his army, and that he had but little money, would not engage himself in places far from the confines, and in actions of long and difficult event; wherefore though the Legate and the Parisians were earnest, that the army should advance and besiege *S. Denis*, to free the passage of victuals into the City on that side, yet it was neverthelesse unanimously determined, that the forces should be employed in other enterprises, among which, the Duke of Mayene was better pleased with the besieging of *Noyon* then any other, as well



well because he had almost a certaine hope of taking that place, and coming off, with increate of credit, and reputation, as to dispatch quickly, that he might returne to the assistance of the Assembly, also because it was near to *Reimes*, where the Lords of the House of *Lorraine* were to meet, before the States should come to a finall determination.

The forces being come together from all places, the army drew before the Town, and having fortified their quarters, without delay, began to break ground, to cast up trenches and raise batteries. There were in the army four thousand foot, and one thousand Horse of the Catholick Kings; twelve hundred German Foot, and one hundred Horse paid by the Pope; which forces were commanded by *Appio Conti* as General of the Church, and by Commissary *Malvagia*; and between five and six hundred German Foot of the Prince of *Aiguillon's* Regiment; three thousand French Foot, and between eight and nine hundred Horse of the Duke of *Mayene's*, with which were the Dukes of *Guise*, and *Anmale*, and the Sieur de *Posne*, and *de la Chastre*. In the towne was Monsieur *d'Estrée* with nine hundred Foot and about eighty Horse, but not assisted by the Towns-men who by an old inclination had ever refused to be under the Confederates. Within a few dayes three batteries were planted, one of which was that of the *Vallones*, under the command of *Berlotte*, another where the Spaniards wrought under *Antonio Zunniga*, and *Ludovico Velasco*, and the third where the Germans were under the command of *Appio Conti*; and the French being entrenched on the side toward *Chauny* lay upon the way from whence relief might come. This siege lasted but few daies, in respect what men had thought it would; for the Duke of Mayene himself with extraordinary diligence would needs assist at all the works, and show that now he commanded alone without the superiority of other Generals, he knew how with valour and celerity to bring an enterprize to perfection; wherefore being busied both in minde and body, and applying his utmost endeavours to it, he wearied the besieged in so many places, and with so many sorts of Mines, Batteries, turnings of water, and frequent assaults, that not being longer able to resist, they agreed to surrender, and upon the last of May Monsieur *d'Estrée* delivered the town into their hands, whereupon there was grievous complaint in the army; for by reason of

The Duke of Mayene with the Spanish Forces commanded by Charles of Mansfeld, and with the Pope's commanded by Appio Conti and with his owne besieges Noyon.

Monsieur d'Estrée intenders Noyon to the Duke of Mayene after a few dayes siege.

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the paines the souldiers had taken, they pretended the pillage of it belong'd to them; but the Duke of Mayene averſe from rapine, and knowing how well affected the towns-men were would not ſuffer ſtrangers to enrich themſelves with the blood of the French.

But in the time of this ſiege a thing happen'd which did very much weaken the army of the League, for the Colone of the Popes Lands-Knights having denied to obey *Appio Conti*, who commanded him to make his men work at the trenches as the other ſouldiers did, and being come from words to ſwords, *Appio Conti* was ſlain by a thruſt the German made at him, who being ſeized upon in the miſt of his men by the Duke of Mayene himſelf, eſcaped afterwards out of the hands of them that kept him; whereupon the German Captaines furling up their Enſignes, reſuſed to bear armes any more; which not diſpleaſing Commiſſary *Malvagia*, he (though the Duke ſtiſly contradicted it) diſmiſſed them from the Popes pay, with no leſſe error then *Mattencci* had formerly ſent away the Swiſſers. The Cotholick Kings Forces were likewise diminſhed, eſpecially the Walloones, who becauſe they were not paid ran in great numbers from their colours; and the French, according to their wont, were both decreaſed in number and abated in force; wherefore it was neceſſary to omit the proſecution of other enterpriſes, *Mansfelt* not being willing to advance further, either becauſe of the weakneſſe of his army, or of his orders from the Spaniſh Miniſters the Pariſians almoſt in an uprore, ſolicited the enterpriſe of *ſ Denis*; which the chief commanders not being willing to undertake at that time, and they of the City inſiſting ſtill that the number of their garrifons might be increaſed, to the end they might be able to convoy their proviſions more ſecurely, which were taken away and hindered by the Kings gar-

It is determined at Paris that the Popes Forces ſhould enter into the City, but their Commander being killed, and the ſouldiers diſmiſſed, the Duke of Mayene ſends his Sons Regiment thither to put heart into his adherents.

rifons, it was determined in Paris that the Popes German ſhould come in thither, that neither the Spaniards nor the Duke of Mayene's forces might be increaſed, but the Legats order arriving after the death of *Appio Conti*, and after the Commiſſary had diſmiſſed the Germans, the Duke of Mayene laid hold of the occaſion, and inſtead of them, ſent in the Regiment of the Prince his Son, thereby giving warmth to them that depended upon him, and deſired his greatneſſe. Noyon being taken, and the Army half diſſolved, Count *Charles* retire

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toward the Confines, expecting an opportunity to return into Flanders, and the Duke of Mayene went to *Rheims* to meet with the Princes of his Family, and then to goe and assist the Assembly of Paris.

The King at this time was forced by an unthought of accident to go to *Tours*, which was not without prejudice to his affairs, and particularly caused the losse of *Noyon*. He from the year 1587 had treated about giving his Sister the *Princesse Catherine* in marriage to the Count *de Soissons*; but things not having succeeded according to agreements, by reason whereof the Count went unto him to the Army in *Xaintonge*, they remained as ill satisfied of one another, as the *Princesse* was pleased with the gentle fashion and behaviour of the Count; wherefore though he both departed from, and returned to the party of the Catholicks during the States at *Blois*, yet had they continued secret conversation by Letters, whereby their hearts in progresse of time were the more enflamed, and they were gone so far by the means of the *Madame de Granmont*, that the Count, who was one of those that thought of forsaking the King, being come to *Tours* under the apparent pretence of visiting his Mother, posted from thence secretly into *Bearne*, with an appointment to contract and consummate the Marriage with the Lady *Catherine*. But the King (who hoped the Marriage of his sister would be a means to gain him the friendship of other Princes, and therefore made severall designs about it) had his eyes so intent upon the Counts actions, that he diverted into that intention before it was executed: for having in former times long loved *Madame de Granmont*, and then left her after his departure out of *Gascogne*, as she did all she could to disoblige him, out of disdain for having been forsaken; so his Sisters most trusty Gentlewomen being corrupted by the King's gifts, were as ready to give him notice of every particular: wherefore being come to the knowledge of all that was in agitation, he gave order to some of the Parliament to go into *Bearne*, and hinder that contract; and he having before sent the Baron *de Biron* (by him created Admiral) under pretence of taking possession of that dignity in the Parliament, followed him speedily, leaving his household and Council at *Chartes*, and having caused the *Princesse* to come to *Tours*, he brought her with him, after the space of two months, into the same City, being exceedingly angry to see himself so little

Count *Soissons*, to whom the King had formerly promised his Sister the Lady *Catherine* to wife, departed from the Camp, and went secretly into *Bearne*; where being assisted by *Madame de Granmont*, once beloved, and after forsaken by the King, he intends to marry the *Princesse*; but the King being advertised, goes into those parts, &c. bringing back his Sister with him, cuts off the Count's designs.



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little esteemed by those of his own blood. But this was a thing that made him more cleerly know, it was high time (nor could he any longer defer) to take some resolution, and to establish his affairs, since that even the Princes of the Bloud were openly alienated from him. Thus every little accident, though it seemed crosse, was yet always favourable to his greatnesse and establishment.

The Writing of the Kings Catholicks sent to the Convocation of the States is damned by the Spaniards for heretical; and therefore they urge that it should neither be accepted nor answered.

Whilest they were fighting about Noyon, with no lesse ardour did they contend in Paris about resolving upon the Answer that was to be given to the Catholicks of the King's party; for the Spaniards supported by the Cardinal-Legat, strove to crosse it, and for a manifest reason alledged, that the Writing being hereticall, as the Divines of *Sorbonne* had declared, it could not be taken into consideration, nor ought the States to give an Answer to it: that which made it hereticall, they said, was, because it affirmed that Subjects were obliged to yeeld obedience to their Prince, though he were an Heretick, both known to be such, and condemned by the holy Church: They added, that this was a net to catch the inclinations of the simple, an obstacle to hinder the progresse of the States, and a stone of scandal to retard Gods service; that it was not fit to lose time about their Enemies subtilties, nor about the interpositions of the King of Navar, from whom it was certain that Writing was derived, since they themselves that caused it to be presented, confessed they did it with his consent, and it was subscribed by no other man but *Revol* one of the Secretaries of State; and therefore, as he that will do well ought not to hearken to the temptations which the Devil suggests; so they that would procure the safety of the Kingdom, and the establishment of Religion, should in no sort minde the interpositions of the King of Navar, and those that spoke by his instigation, and thorow his very mouth. On the other side, many of the Deputies said, that they ought not to shut their ears against those of the same blood and Religion, who perchance sought to amend their errours, and cure their consciences by retiring to the party of the good Catholicks, and adhering to the Confederates; that if it should come to passe, the King of Navar would remain so weak and abject, that it would need no great pains to vanquish him; That all means ought to be used, and covetously laid hold on, which might lead to peace, that being the last end to which all good

good French-men tended, and to which for their own safety aspired; and if with a common consent the way to attain quietnesse could be found, why should they ingulf themselves in new miseries of War, and in new perpetuall distractions of Arms? That to this end the Duke of Mayene had in his Declaration invited the Catholicks of the contrary party to meet and confer with him; That he had protested this unto them, adding, that if they resolved not to unite themselves with him, they should be guilty of all the subsequent mischiefs and calamities: which protestation the Catholicks trusting in, had now demanded a Conference, and if they should not accept it, they should make themselves guilty of the same crimes: That their speaking by the Kings permission, imported nothing; for things are not done and obtained all at once: that being now subject to his power, they were necessitated to speak in that manner; but that afterwards being persuaded and drawn by little and little, by reason and gentle-nesse, perchance they would make a more cleer, more expresse resolution: That it was no matter though *Revol* were Secretary to the King of Navar, for he was a Catholick, and perchance so lesse inclined to a revolt then the rest: That it was already known, how even the Princes of the Blood thought of changing their party, that the Catholicks were ill satisfied, because the promises of his conversion were not kept; and therefore it was necessary to foment that beginning of alteration, to help them to bring forth a firm determination, and by means thereof reunite all the members into one Body, to attain the safety and quiet of the Kingdom.

This was the more plausible opinion, and it was carried by the Duke of Mayene's Confidants, from whom they had received order to bring it to passe; nor did there want any thing save the Legat's consent, from whom neither the States, nor the Duke himself would in any wise alienate themselves. Therefore the Arch-Bishop of Lyons went to him, and demonstrated, that if the Proposition of the Royallists were not accepted, some very great tumults would follow; for the Nobility and the Order of Commons stood so stiffly for it, that being tired out with the War and toyl of Arms, they would make an insurrection, with great danger of revolting to the King of Navar: That no harm could be feared from that Conference; for such persons should be employed in it,



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as there would be no danger of their forsaking the cause of Religion : That if the Catholicks of the Kings party would joyn with that of the Confederates, it would be the very point of Victory ; and if on the other side they should show themselves averse from doing so, it would be easie, after having given satisfaction to the World, and to the States in appearance, to dissolve the Conference a thousand ways : that also in the time of Cardinal *Gaetano* there had been many Treaties and Conferences, both by himself and others, and yet no absurdity had followed ; and if at that present there should not be one, he would not onely be accounted scrupulous and severe, but also obstinate, and an enemy to Peace : That if onely through his opposition the proposall of the Catholick were not imbraced, it would be attributed to an unseasonable pride, and a too interessed union with the Spaniards, which perchance would not be pleasing at Rome ; that already all men murmured at it, and that the demand was so just, that whosoever should refuse it, would manifestly put themselves on the wrong side. The Legate (whose ears were already filled with the popular discourses, which condemned his too much assenting to the Spaniards ; the *Prezost des Marchand* having added, that the City, which by this Conference hoped for the benefit of being partly freed from scarcity, would certainly mutiny if it were refused, and those of the Parliament still boldly crying, and giving out, that they would make Protestation to the States) at last yeelded in secret, that the Catholicks should be answered, and that the Conference should be accepted, but without his apparent consent. So with general Vote it was decreed in the States, that the Conference should be accepted, and upon the fourth day of March they framed an Answer to the Catholicks of this tenour :

The Cardinall Legat perswaded by the Arch-bishop of Lyons, consents in secret that an answer should be given to the Catholicks of the Kings party.

The tenour of the Answer, wherein the conference demanded is accepted.

**W**EE have seen some few days agoe the Letter which was written to us, and sent by a Trumpet in your name ; which we could wish came from you with such zeal and affection as you were wont (before these last miseries) to bear to the preservation of Religion, and with such respect and observance as is due to the Church, our Lord the Pope and the holy Chair ; we should for certain quickly be agreed and united together against the Hereticks ; nor would other arms be longer necessary for us, to beat down and break in  
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pieces those new Altars which are set up against ours, and to hinder the establishment of Heresie, which (because it hath been tolerated, or rather honoured with reward and recompence, when it should have been punished) is not contented now adays to be received and accepted; but will become Mistress, and domineer imperiously under the authority of an Heretick-Prince. And though that Letter name no body in particular, nor is subscribed by any of those whose names it bears, and that we therefore are uncertain who sent it us, or rather certain that it was done at the suggestion of others (the Catholicks not having in the place where you are, that liberty which is necessary, to hear, deliberate, and resolve with the counsell and judgement of their conscience, any of those things which our misery and the common safety require) yet should we not have so long delayed to make answer to it, had it not been that we stayed expecting to have the Assembly fuller, and increased by a good number of persons who were upon the way to come unto it, of whom the greater part being arrived, out of a doubt that our so long silence may be calumniated, We do it this day, without deferring it to another, in expectation of the rest who are yet to come. And we declare first of all, That we have all sworn and promised to God (after having received his most precious Body, and the blessing of the holy See by the hands of the Cardinal-Legat) that the scope of all our Counsels, the beginning, means, and end of all our actions shall be to secure and preserve the Roman Catholick-Apostolick Religion, wherein we will live and die. Truth it self which cannot lye, having taught us, that by seeking the Kingdom and glory of God before all other things, temporall blessings shall be added thereunto; among which in the first place after Religion, we put the conservation of the State entire, and hold that all other means of hindering ruine and destruction, grounded onely upon humane wisdom, smell of impiety, are unjust, contrary to duty, and the profession we make to be good Catholicks, and without likelihood of ever having any good successe. And we being freed from those accidents and dangers which good men foresee and fear by reason of the mischiefs Heresie produceth, will not reject any counsell which may help to diminish our miseries, or bring them to an end. For we acknowledge, and are but too sensible of the calamities which civill War brings



1593 forth, and have no need of *any* body to shew us our wounds ; but God and men know who are the authours of them. It sufficeth us to say we are trained up and instructed in the Doctrine of the holy Church, nor can our souls and consciences have repose and tranquility, nor taste any happinesse while they are in fears and jealousies of losing Religion, whose danger can neither be dissembled nor avoyded, if men continue as they have begun. Thence it is, that judging as you do, that our reconciliation is most necessary, we seek it with a truly Christian charity, and pray and conjure you in the Name of God to grant it us. Nor let the blames and upbraidings which the Hereticks cast upon us any way hinder you. As for ambition, which they publish to be the cause of our taking up of arms, it is in your power to see us within, and discover whether Religion be the cause, or pretence ; leave you the Hereticks, (whom at the same time you both follow and detest) : if we lift up our hands to heaven to give God thanks, if we be disposed and ready to follow all good confels, to love you, to honour you, to yeeld you that respect and service that shall be due to you ; then praise us as honest men, who have had the courage to despise all dangers for the preservation of Religion, nor have wanted integrity and moderation to forbear the thought of any thing that is against honour and reason : but if the contrary happen, then accuse our dissimulation, and condemn us as wicked persons ; by so doing you will set both heaven and earth against us, and make our arms fall out of our hands as conquered, or leave us so weak, that the victory over us will be without danger, and without glory. In the mean time, blame the mischief of Heresie which is known to you, and rather fear that canker that devours us, and every day gets ground, then a vain imaginary Ambition, when there is no such thing ; or if there be, it will be left alone and poorly attended, when it shall be deprived of the cloak of Religion. It is likewise a calumny to accuse us that we bring strangers into the Kingdom : it is necessary either to lose Religion, with our honours, lives, and estates, or else to oppose the force of the Heretick, whom nothing can please but our ruine ; and therefore we are constrained to ~~use~~ <sup>use</sup> make of them, since your arms are against us. They are the most holy Fathers, and the most holy See that have sent us relief ; and though many have been called to that supreme Dignity since these

these last troubles, yet hath there not been one of them who hath changed his affection toward us, a most certain testimony that our cause is just. It is the Catholick King, a Prince allyed and Confederate to this Crown, onely powerfull now adays to maintain and defend Religion, who hath likewise helped us with his forces and powers, yet without any other reward or recompence, but the glory which so good a work hath justly acquired him. Our Kings against the Rebellion of Hereticks, and in the like necessity have had recourse to them; we have followed their example, without entering into any treaty prejudiciall to the State, or to our reputation, though our necessity hath been much greater then theirs. Rather set before your eyes, that the English, who assist you to establish Heresie, are the ancient Enemies of the Kingdom, who yet bear the title of that usurpation, and have their hands imbrued in the innocent blood of an infinite number of Catholicks, who have constantly suffered death for the service of God and the Church. Cease likewise to hold us guilty of high treason, because we will not obey an Heretick Prince, whom you call our natural King; and have a care, that bending your eyes to the earth to look upon humane laws, you forget not the divine laws that come from heaven. It is not Nature, nor the right of Nations that teacheth us to acknowledge our Kings, but the law of God, the law of his Church, and that of the Kingdom, which require from the Prince that is to command us, not onely proximity of blood, which you stand upon, but also the profession of the Catholick Religion; and this quality hath given name to that law which we call the fundamental Law of the State, always followed and observed by our Ancestors without any exception; though the other of proximity of blood hath been sometimes altered, the Kingdom remaining nevertheless entire, and in its former dignity. To come therefore to so holy and necessary a reconciliation, we accept the Conference which you demand, provided it may be only between Catholicks, and to deliberate about the means of preserving Religion and the State. And because you desire it should be between Paris and S. Denis, we intreat you to like of *Montmartre, St Meaux, or Chaliot* in the Queens Palace; and that you would be pleased to send those that shall be deputed by you, upon some day you shall think fit, before the end of this month, whereof we being advertised, will no fail to have  
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ours there, and to proceed with sincere affection free from all passion praying to God that the event of it may be such, that we may finde the preservation of Religion and of the State; and a good, secure durable peace, as we also pray him to conserve you, and give you his spirit to know, and embrace the most wholesome profitable counsell for the generall safety.

This answer being received and read in the Counsell of the King, who was not yet come backe from his journey into *Poitou*, they that were there present determined to prosecute the conference, but to deferr the particulars thereof, till they had the Kings consent to them, and the generall votes of the Councell. Thus by a writing full of curteous expressions they excused the delay, and finally having received their approbation, and replyd again with other letters, they concluded to hold the conference at *Surenne* between *Paris* and *S. Denis*.

*Surenne* is chosen for the place of conference.

There was great contention at *Paris* about the election of the persons that were to intervene at this treaty; for the League and the Spanish Ambassadors strove to procure that one of them might be *Guillaume Rose* Bishop of *Senlis*, a man of a sower nature and sharp eloquence, which for many years he had profusely used against the Kings, and against their party and on the other side, they that inclined to peace, desired that *Sieur de Villeroy* might be admitted, who by many was excluded as partiall to the King: at last for the common satisfaction they were both left out, and those that were unanimously chosen were, the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, *Pericard* Bishop of *Auranche*, *Godefroy de Billy* Abbot of *S. Vincent de Laon*, the Admirall *Villars*, the Count *de Belin*, the Baron *de Talmay*, the Sieurs *de Montigny* and *Montaulin*, President *Jeannin*, and President *Maisstre*, *Estienne Bernard* Advocate in the Parliament of *Dijon*, and *Honoré de Laurent* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Aix*. The King of the Kings side chose the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, the Sieur *de Chavigny*, and *Bellieure*, the Count *de Schombergh* President *de Thon*, *Nicholas Sieur de Ramboillet*, the Sieur *de Pontcarre* and Secretary *Revol*. But at the first meeting, with the mutuall consent of the Deputies, there were added the Sieur *Vic* Governor of *S. Denis* on the Kings side, and for the League the Sieur *de Villeroy*, who the Duke of Mayene desired by all means should assist in the treaty, and in the progresse of it the Sieurs *de Rosne* and *la Chastre* were likewise admitted.

The persons elected on both sides to intervene at the Conference.

In the mean time the Duke of *Feria* upon the second of April had solemn publick audience of the States, at which in Latine oration he proffered the Catholick Kings assistance and supplies to the assembly, for the conservation of Religion and the election of such a King as the condition of the times required, and likewise presented letters from King *Philip*, wherein after many courteous expressions, he referred himself to what the Duke of *Feria* and the other Ambassadors should represent in his name, who said that they reserved themselves to doe it, when the Duke of Mayene and the other Princes should be come unto the States, who were yet at the meeting at Reimes with the Duke of Lorraine.

There their minds were no lesse disagreeing, nor the opinions lesse differing then in the States; for the Duke of *Lorraine* seeing the rest were not inclined to yeeld to him as head of the family, and knowing the Spaniards were already engaged in the designe of getting the *Infanta* elected, began to be weary of the warr which he had sustained all those late years to the great damage of his people; and though the Spaniards sometimes scattered reports, that the *Infanta* being chosen Queen should take the Cardinal his Son to be her husband, it seemed to him so absurd, that he was not at all inclined to believe it, and since he could attaine to nothing else, would have been content with Peace, whereby the Cities of *Thoul*, and *Verdun* should remain his. On the other side the Duke of *Mayene* desired he should persist in armes, and favour the election of him and his Sons, thinking his pains and endeavours deserved that reward, and that no other body at that present was able to undergoe that weight, but he rather gave signes of this intention then propounded it, and laboured dexterously to insinuate it into the rest, among which as the Dukes of *Anmale* and *Elbauf* adhered to him, so the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Guisse* assented not, both being intent to endeavour for themselves, and full of hopes that the Spaniards might at last concur to marry the *Infanta* to one of them. The Duke of *Mayene* strove to withdraw them from that thought, by letting them see it was far from the intent of the Spaniards, who had no other designe then to get the Crown into the power of the *Infanta*, and by her, either in her life-time, or after her death, to have it united and incorporated to that of Spaine, to which it was very repugnant to give her a young French husband,

The Lords of the House of Lorraine being met at Reimes to treat about the election of a King differ in opinions by reason of their own interests.

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and such a one as might be able not onely to governe her, but also the people, and forces of the Nobility and Kingdom.

*Girolamo Gondi with the Grand Duke of Thuescany's consent treats an agreement with the Duke of Loraine in the Kings behalf, offering him the Princess Catherine in marriage for the Prince his Son; and the Count de Schombergh treats an agreement with the Duke of Mayene but with weak hope of successe.*

It was a remarkable thing, that though this was an Assembly of the House of Loraine, the King should yet have a very great party in it, for by the Grand Duke of *Thuscany's* consent *Girolamo Gondi* had formerly begun, and now continued to treat with the Duke of *Lorraine*, to induce him and the rest to think of agreeing with the King, proposing his conversion, full caution and security for Religion, and to give his sister in marriage to the Prince of Loraine, with those Cities which the Duke desired and pretended to; and on the other side, by means of the Count of *Schombergh* he had begun to deal with the Duke of *Mayene*, shewing him that they might with much more ease agree privatly between themselves then if they should stay for the event of the conference, for he was ready to gratifie him, and give him that really in present, which the Spaniards promised but verbally to give in future. But the hopes of every one of these interested persons were still too fresh and lively, which dazeling their understanding and incumbering it with passion, would not suffer them yet to come to this determination; so that neither agreeing among themselves nor in any third person, they parted at last without any conclusion save that the Duke of Lorain gave Commission to the *Sieur d Bassompier* his Ambassador to the States, to adhere in the treaty to the Duke of *Mayene's* will, in what concerned their interests and the affairs of the Spaniards without declaring himself in the businesse of election. The Duke of *Mayene* with his Nephew of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Elbœuf* went towards Paris, being yet uncertain of his own designe; the Duke of *Lorain* more desirous of quiet then any thing else, returned into his own State, and the Duke of *Aumale* went into Picardy to assist Count *Charles*, who staid about the confines with the forces of the Catholick King.

In the meane time the conference at *Surenne* was begun upon the nine and twentieth of Aprill, where after the first meetings and mutuall exhortations to lay aside all affection and interests, and to apply themselves sincerely to the common good and safety; the Deputies shewed one another their Commissions and authority; they gave passe-ports and safe conducts on both sides, and a discourse was begun of making a cessation of arms in the neighbouring places, to the end that the Deputies themselves, and those of their retinue might stay

stay freely, and treat without disquiet or suspicion, which truce was afterwards established and published upon the third of May for four Leagues about *Paris*, and as much about *Surenne*, which did so rejoyce the Parisians, who had been so many years shut up and imprisoned within their walls, that every one might easily perceive how much joy and consolation the peace (if it should follow) would bring to all the people of France. Both parties agreed in this one point, that peace was necessary to raise up France from her present miseries and future ruine, every one praised it, and shewed himself ready to imbrace it, but they disagreed absolutely in the means proper to attain it. For the Deputies for the League, held the foundation of all things to be Religion, and that no other agreement ought or could be concluded, wherein the first and chiefest consideration was not about it, and therefore exhorted the Royallists to forsake the Heretick Prince whom they followed, and uniting themselves all to one end, unanimously to choose a Catholick King, such a one as might be acceptable and approved by the Pope, by whose establishment, the roots of discord being extirpated which sprung up from diversity of Religion, they might joyntly come to settle policy, good government, peace, and the repose of the Kingdom. On the other side the Deputies on the Kings part, maintained that the foundation of peace, was the acknowledgement of, and obedience to a lawfull Prince, truly French, and called by the laws: under whose shadow all of them reuniting themselves, troubles, and dissensions might be made to cease; they said Religion was a second consideration, for Christians antiently had obeyed and acknowledged many Princes that were not only Hereticks and Schismaticks, but also enemies & persecutors of the Church, and the most Holy, most Learned Fathers of Christendom, nay even the Apostles themselves had taught and preach'd that obedience; and therefore they exhorted those of the League to reunite themselves in the acknowledgment of their King, to whom the Crowne undoubtedly belonged, both by a right in all descent, and by vertue of the Salick Law; for as he would give all kind of securites the most full and ample that could be desired for the preservation of Religion; so in time he might also be reduced to imbrace and follow the Catholick Doctrine, from which he did not shew himself absolutely averse.

A truce is concluded and published, for four Leagues about Paris, and as much about Surenne for the security of them that treated; the Parisians rejoyce at it very much.

The Arch-Bishop of Lyons, and the rest of his fellow Deputies

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1593 puties could not endure to hear this Doctrine, but abhorred and confuted it with detestation, though the Arch-Bishop of Bourges with great flourishes of Learning, authorities and examples laboured to maintaine it ; but they on the other side said freely, this was the way to make the Kingdom schismaticall, and alienate it from the fellowship of the Catholick Church, and that they would rather choose to lose their lives then consent to so brutish, so pernicious a thing ; and then again the Arch-Bishop of Bourges demonstrated, that to be so obstinate upon that point, was a subjecting of the Kingdom to the Dominion not only of forreigne Princes, but of its most bitter enemies, and that for their parts (since they knew they might live with liberty of Conscience, and in the maintenance of their Religion) they would not by any means make themselves guilty of so great a crime. After long disputations the Arch-Bishop of Bourges proposed that since they could not frame themselves to acknowledge a King that was not publickly and certainly a Catholick, they would joyntly exhort King *Henry* to change his Religion and come into the bosom of the Church ; for if he should accept of the invitation, and resolve to doe so, all doubts, and occasions of dissenting from him would cease, and if he should refuse it, then every Catholick would forsake him, and all united together would choose another Prince of the blood, that were a Catholick, and one generally approved. The Confederates reply'd, they neither could nor ought to exhort nor invite the King of Navar, who had not only oftentimes shewed he regarded not, nay rather despised those invitations, but also having promised them to turn Catholick, had deceived them and abused their credulity ; wherefore if he had made no reckoning of his friends, much lesse was it to be believed he would value his enemies, and that having by the Apostolick Sea been declared a relapsed Heretick, and excommunicated, they could not treat with him, nor meddle with any thing that appertain'd to his interest. The Royalists shew'd that now he seem'd to be of another opinion, and that the invitations formerly made unto him, had been threatening ones, accompanied with force, and therefore he had rejected them, as unseemly to his reputation ; but that now he took those exhortations in good part which were made to him by way of entreaty, and shewed a thousand signes that he would reconcile himself to the

the Church; that he had not kept his promise by reason of the hinderance of arms and warr, for it was fit his conversion should be with decency and honour and without violence, and that they hoped to see him a Catholick very shortly: to which the others replied, that they should be very glad of his conversion, (if it should come to passe) for his own soules sake; but that these were politick artifices to deceive the simple, nor could they ground any resolution at all upon it.

Divers sittings were spent in these disputes, without coming to a conclusion; so that many judged (as they had prognosticated from the beginning) that the Conference would be dissolved without fruit. Hence the Spaniards taking courage, (both because of the resolution which they of the League shewed, that they would never assent to acknowledge any other King then one that was sincerely a Catholick; and because of the perseverance they saw in the King and his Deputies, to set the point of Religion after the Salique Law and the politick Government of the Kingdom) resolved to make the utmost push for it, and to propose the election of the *Infanta* for the last engine of their attempt. Wherefore the Cardinal-Legate having caused many Processions and Prayers to be made, with no lesse pomp then devotion, to beg of God that he would inspire the States in the good choice of convenient means for the common safety: There met in his Palace upon the nineteenth of May, besides the Spanish Ambassadors who were to make the Proposition, the Dukes of *Mayene*, *Guise*, *Aumale*, and *Elbæuf*, the Count *de Chaligny*, the *Sieur de Bassompier* in the name of the Duke of Lorain, the *Sieur de la Pierre* for the Duke of Savoy, *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for the Duke of Mercœur, Cardinal *Pellevé*, and the Count *de Belin* Governour of Paris; and in the name of the States six Deputies to treat with the Spanish Ministers, the Archbishop of *Lyons* and the Bishop of *Senlis* for the Clergy, the *Sieurs de la Chastre* and *Montolin* for the Nobility, the *Prevost des Marchands* of Paris and *Estienne Bernard* for the Commons. In this meeting, wherein all the spirits of the States, and the very soul of the League consisted, the Duke of *Feria* began to detest the Conference that was held with those of the Kings party; saying, that the Cardinal-Legat and he had assented to it onely that they might not fail of any possible means to reduce those that were gone astray into the bosome of the

May the 19  
1593 there is a  
private meet-  
ing in the Le-  
gat. Palace;  
where the  
Lords of the  
House of Lo-  
rain are pre-  
sent, and other  
Deputies re-  
presenting the  
three Orders.



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holy Church, and to the end that the obstinacy of the *Politicks* being more cleerly seen, who set Religion behinde the consideration of temporall things, the world might be certified of their wickednesse, and of the good intent of the Catholick King, whose principall object was Christian Charity, the safety of Religion, and (with these conditions) the peace and happinesse of that most Christian Kingdom; but this tryall also having been made, that nothing might be left undone, and to satisfie the curiosity of all men, it was now at last time to dissolve those Treaties, which without hope of any fruit carried with them the danger of many mischiefs, and thenceforth apply themselves to the election of one, who by common consent should possesse the Crown; for which end they were met together with so much difficulty, and from so many several places: that as the Catholick King, who had spent so much gold, and powred out so much blood of his subjects for the upholding of that cause, had never refused any overture of those remedies which he beleevd might conduce to the generall good; so at last he was come to know, that there was no better nor more helpful resolution for all parts then one alone, wherein both justice and decency, profit and conveniency did jointly concur; that this was the election of the *Infanta Clara Eugenia Isabella* Daughter to his most Catholick Majestie to be Queen of France, to whom, as born of *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Second, whose male line was ended, the Crown justly and lawfully belonged, as by a thousand authorities, and constitutions of law and reason it was easie to prove; that the King wished and desired the consent of the States should concur in that just election for the more general satisfaction, to the end that the gratitude of the French, remembering how much he had done for their service, might agree with the justice of the cause, to establish the common peace and contentment. Here he enlarged himself fully in the *Infanta's* praises, shewing her prudence, worth, and magnanimity, qualities worthy to order so noble a Government; and finally concluded, there were already eight thousand Foot and two thousand Horse ready at the States least request to enter into the Confines, and that as many more should be ready within three months, all which Forces should be paid by the King till the War were ended; and that the Duke of *Mayene* should have an hundred thousand Crowns paid him every

The Duke of Feria in the meeting proposeth the election of the *Infanta* to be Queen; being Daughter to *Philip* the Second King of Spain, by *Elizabeth* eldest Sister to *Henry* the Third, K. of France.

every moneth to maintain ten thousand French Foot and four thousand Horſe; that if theſe were thought leſſe then was requiſite, the Catholick King would add ſo many more as ſhould be ſufficient; it being to be believed, that out of the infinite affection he bore his daughter, he ſhould not fail to imploy all his force to make her a free peaceable poſſeſſor of the Kingdom; promiſing and aſſuring laſt of all, that the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorraine* eſpecially, and then all the other Lords and Gentlemen ſhould be largely requited and contented, the Clergy brought to their firſt ſplendor, the Nobility ſatisfied, the people eaſed, and all the ſeverall Orders of France ſettled not only in full peace and tranquility, but alſo in the antient luſtre and glory of their nation.

The Duke of *Feria* having concluded his ſpeech in this manner, the Biſhop of *Senlis*, who with impatience had expected the end of it, without giving time to any other body, whom it concern'd by order, to tell his opinion, ſtood up and ſaid ſcornfully; the *Politicks* were in the right, who had ever ſaid, that intereſt of State was hid under the cloak of Religion, which he with thoſe of his coate having with infinite labour always endeavour'd to confute in their pulpits, he was now ſorry at heart to hear from the mouths and by the confeſſion of the Ambaſſadours, that it was true, and that the Preachers deceiving themſelves and others had defended and protected a thing that was falſe; that from thenceforward he ſhould believe the Spaniards were no leſſe politick then the *Navarrois*, but he pray'd them for their own honour, and the reputation of the *Holy Union* to deſiſt from that thought; For the Kingdome of France having for the ſpace of twelve hundred years been gloriously poſſeſſed by men, according to the Inſtitution of the *Salique* Law, it was not fit now to transferr it upon women, who by the variety of their marriages, might call in variety of Maſters, and ſubject the French Nation to the dominion of Forreigners. This free unexpected answer made by one of the chief inſtruments of the League, and of the Kings ſharpeſt enemies, did not only diſmay the Spaniſh Ambaſſadours, but many alſo of the Aſſembly, doubting that to free a reproof made without any reſpect might diſcompose all things and put them in confuſion. But the Duke of *Mayenne* endeavour'd with dexterity to excuſe the Biſhop of *Senlis* his words, aſcribing them to exceſſe of zeal, or too much fervour

The Biſhop of *Senlis* though a bitter enemy to the King, answers the Duke of *Feria* ſharply and oppoſes his propoſition.

The Duke of *Mayenne* dextrouſly excuſes what the Biſhop of *Senlis* had too freely ſpoken.

your



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vour of mind, intimating that sometimes he went beyond himself, and shewing that when he was made sensible of reason, and what was fit, he would of himself correct that which being drawn by his first violence he had so licentiously spoken unawares. The Ambassadors took heart again at the encouragement of the Duke of Mayene, of Cardinal *Pellevé* and some others, but truly it remain'd evident, that it was not out of ambition, or for any interests (as many would have had it thought,) but because his conscience so perswaded him that the Bishop of *Senlis* in all the course of those commotions had so profusely favoured the party of the *Union*, and spoken so sharply, and with such continued Liberty against the person of the present King, and the memory of him that was dead. However it were, certain it is, his words helped to abate the credit of the Spaniards, and his example moved many of those who followed the League not for their own interest, but in respect of Religion.

*Juan Baptista Tassis and Inigo Mendoza propose the Election of the Infanta in the publick Assembly of the States.*

And yet the Spaniards not losing heart by reason of the Duke of Mayene's dissimulation, and of the hopes they had in many of the Deputies, demanded publick audience in the Assembly of the States, and having obtained it, upon the six and twentieth day *Juan Baptista Tassis* was the first that spoke, who with a short but very cunning speech, made the proposition of the *Infanta*, and after him *Inigo de Mendoza* with a long disputation divided into seven heads, explain'd the rights that she pretended to the succession of the Crown both of them concluding, that it was not to put that in controversy, which was to be acknowledged from the voluntary election of the States, but to inform and satisfy them, that he alledged those reasons, to the end that with prudent advice, the free disposall of the Assembly might go along with right and conform it self to justice, the *Infanta* being willing to acknowledge that from them by way of election, which duly belonged to her by rightfull succession. This proposition was no less deeply resented by the major part of the Deputies, then it had been by the Bishop of *Senlis*; many disdain'd that the dominion of Strangers should be proposed to them, as to men who were either slaves to the will of others, or ignorant of their own interests: others laught to see this proposition made without preparations of arms, men, and moneys, as both need and the reputation of the businesse required: others con-

demne

*The Spanish proposition is ill relished by the Deputies, and esteemed unjust.*

demned the Spaniards of little discretion, in having had the boldness to declare their designe, without having prepossessed their minds and disposed them towards it, by the powerful preparative of private interest ; and there wanted not of those, who disputed also about the right; and said that though women should be declared to have right to the inheritance of the crown, it probably belong'd not to her, but to the Kings of England, who were first descended from daughters of France, and with whom there had been so many and so tedious wars to reject that pretention, and to uphold the *Salique Law*, and the legitimate succession of the males. But they that were most of all displeased at it (though secretly) were the Princes of the House of *Lorain* who pretended to the election themselves, and the Duke of *Mayene*, though he more cunningly dissembled it, shewing in appearance that he would not dissent from the King of Spain's will, nor from what he had agreed upon with the Ambassadors at Soissons, yet he underhand stirred up the Deputies to reject that proposition, as dishonourable to the Nation, dangerous in point of servitude, hurtfull to themselves, and to the Liberty of those that should come after them, and not grounded upon any present security, but all vainly supported by the uncertainty of future promises.

There was no doubt but the Deputies would unanimously refuse that proposition, yet not to exasperate the Spaniards, and to give matters time to ripen, they answered after many compliments that their desire should be taken into consideration, to the end an answer might be given as soon as was possible; which while it was expected, the Duke of *Mayene*, to find out a way to exclude that business, began to treat with the Ambassadors what husband the *Infanta* should have when the States had elected her Queen, and urged them to declare what commissions they had from the Catholick King concerning that. Their answer was altogether like the rest of the treaty, for they made no scruple to declare, that the King thought of matching Her to *Ernest* Arch Duke of *Austria* the Emperours brother, whom he had also appointed to succeed the Duke of *Parma* in his Country of Flanders. This answer was presently excluded, for all replied with joynt consent ; that they would not have a King of a different language and nation, and that the eares of French men could never endure to hear it ; and though the Duke of *Mayene* for diverse respects fain'd to approve

The Spanish Ambassadors answer concerning a Husband for the Infanta.



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prove of the *Arch-Duke*, the rest notwithstanding declared freely they would none of him, which as soon as the Spaniards knew, seeing the *Infanta's* election would goe but in a desperate course, if some considerable prop were not added to uphold it, they said they had Commission in case the States approv'd not of the *Arch-Duke*; to propose, that the Catholick King would marry the *Infanta* to a French Prince, who should be nominated and elected by him within six moneths. This proposition displeased not all of them in generall, because there were many pretenders, among<sup>st</sup> were ~~which~~ the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Nemours*, and the Cardinall of *Lorraine*; but the Duke of *Mayene* publickly commending the proposition, endeavoured to sound whether they inclin'd to any one of his Sons, and being sufficiently certified they were not like to consent unto it, because they would not put the Dominion of the Kingdom into his hands, being certain the *Infanta* should be barely a wife, not a Mistresse, he began to draw the contrary way much more then he had done before, and apply'd himself to foment the Conference, which had never been intermitted at *Surenne* between the Catholicks of both parties.

The Duke of Mayene being assured that none of his Sons should be nam'd for the *Infanta's* Husband, prosecutes the treaty with the Royalists.

The King who had notice of all that was in agitation sought every way by means of the Conference to hinder each resolution of the States; but his Deputies could not doe much in it by reason of the important opposition of Religion, nay rather his own Catholicks were discontented themselves, that his conversion so much desired, and so often promised, was deferred more and more every day. The Princes of the Blood threatned openly and now thought in good earnest of taking some resolution, because they saw the election of a King to another family was so closely treated of: and every one, even of himself, fell easily into an opinion, that by going over to the League, he might come to marry the Spanish *Infanta*, and have the protection of the Catholick Kings forces for his establishment; whereupon not only the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was extraordinarily moved, but also the Count *de Soissons* newly disgusted by being put beside the mariage of the Princess *Catherine*; the Prince of *Conti* reckoned not the insufficiency which was believed of him, to be to his disadvantage, but rather thought the Spaniards would like him the better, to the end that the *Infanta* remaining without issue, there might some hope continue of uniting the Crowns; and finally also it was

Pretenders to the *Infanta* out of hope to attain the Crown.

pretended

pretended to by the Duke of Montpensier, a Prince valiant in war, of a most ready wit, handsome person, and gracefull behaviour: so that the *Infanta's* election perchance was better thought on among the King's party, then among those of the League. But particular men, who had not these pretensions, and were onely moved by two respects, that of their own profit, and that of Religion, exclaimed openly, that the Kings stubbornnesse gave the Spanish cunning and boldnesse opportunity of breaking out: that now at last all the Kings excuses and delayes were come to an end; that even he himself had no longer the heart to alledge any reason, nor propose any excuse; that it was evident he was bewitched with the subtilties of the Ministers, and fast tyed to the Doctrine of his Arch-Hereticks: that it was fit now at last to think of their souls, of their Religion, of the safety of themselves and their children, and not be made instruments to send themselves and all their posterity to the Divil; that they should even let him and his desperate Hugonots go to perdition alone, and not carry the whole Kingdom with him for company.

Next after respect of Religion, particular interests immediately succeeded; every one detested the toil and burden of War, every one had compassion upon himself, upon the sufferings of his own Family, the ruine of his domestick affairs, and the continued expences, that found no end; every one sigh'd, every one long'd for the repose and quietnesse of peace; and among all the rest Monsieur d'O, weary of being Treasurer without money, *Bellegarde, S<sup>t</sup> Luc, Termes, Sancy, Grillon,* and all the old servants of *Henry the Third*, bewailed themselves, and their ill fortune, which instead of a King of gold whom they were wont to have, had given them now a King of iron; for the late King powred forth gold plentifully to the benefit of his Servants, whereas the present King in the narrownesse of his fortune, being no lesse thrifty in his minde and nature, propounded nothing for reward or recompence, but Wars, Sieges, Skirmishes and Battels: they said, they could no longer sustain the intolerable toils of War, and to live incased between a back and brest of iron as Tortoises are in their shels; that they could not abide a King accustomed after the Hugonot fashion, to run up and down day and night, to live by rapine upon what they could finde in the miserable

The Royalists excluded from the hopes of reigning, and weary of their toyls, make great complaints against the Kings obstinacy, saying, that whereas before they had a King of gold, they had now a King of iron.



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Cottages of poor Country people, to warm themselves at the flame of an house on fire, to have their horses their chamber-fellows when they slept, or the stinking cattell of wretched Peasants; that war was ordinarily made for some time to attain peace and quietnesse; but now they served a Prince who did not care to end the troubles of War, accounting volleys of shot, wounds, death, and battels to be the onely delights. These complaints sometimes accompanied with railings and cursings, sometimes spoken among Proverbs, and in *raillerie*, after the French manner, were so publick, that they came to the Kings ears, which were continually filled by the serious advertisements of the Count *de Schombergh*, and the High-Chancellor, to whom was added *Jaques Davy* *Sieur du Peron*, who while he negotiated the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s affairs, had by disputing converted the Baron *de Salignac*, one of the Kings bed-chamber, whom he long had favoured, and by his means had got himself in to converse with the King at idle times in his most private lodgings; where sometimes with serious learned disputes, sometimes with eloquent discourses, sometimes with elegant Poetry (in which he was very excellent,) sometimes with witty merry talking, had gotten so much favour, that from pleasing entertainments, he was begun to be admitted also to the handling of more weighty matters. This man seeing the way to his own greatnesse was much more easie by the Kings conversion, then in the Cardinal of *Bourbons* exaltation, set himself to procure it by most vigilant means, and with all possible endeavours, making use of the present conjuncture with admirable warinesse and discretion.

All these things (but particularly the necessity) which were very well known to the King, at last moved him so, that to begin with some security to declare himself, he gave order to the Count *de Schombergh*, and Secretary *Revol* (who were come to him to know what they should finally propose in the Congregation at *Surenne*) that they should sound the mindes of the Catholicks of the League, to finde how they were like to relish and receive his conversion, if he should truly determine to return unto the Church; which businesse having been consulted of among his Deputies, they resolved to make overture of it, by demonstrating to them of the *Union*, that the King would observe his promises within a few dayes where.

The King persuaded by those he trusted in, and by necessity, causes a proposition to be made in the Conference at *Surenne*, to finde how his Conversion would be relished, it hee should resolve to turn.

wherefore being met at their wonted Conference (in which they had till then contended with great difference, and without concluding any thing to the purpose) the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* told them, he brought them good news, and such as would rejoyce every true French heart, which was, that the King touched by Gods inspiration, would within a few dayes comfort all his Subjects, by turning to the Catholick Faith and reconciling himself to the Church, and that therefore as they were certain this newes would be acceptable to them all, so they prayd them to see what wayes might be taken to favour and promote that conversion, or to guide it in such manner, that it might bring forth the generall peace and quiet. All the Deputies of the League remain'd in suspence at this proposition; but the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, least that doubtfullnesse of mind should be discovered, answered readily, that he beleev'd his fellow Deputies would give him leave to say, they rejoyced at the King of Navars conversion, that they were very glad of it, and that they praid to God it were true and reall; and for the rest he demanded time to consult with them in private, which having done for many hours, because their opinions differed, they at last answered, that (as they had said before) they rejoyced at his conversion, which though it should come to passe, it belong'd not to them to know and declare whether it were good and sincere or no; that that was a businesse which concern'd the Apostolick Sea, and the Popes judgement, wherefore they could not so much as think of any thing depending upon that conversion, the censure whereof was not under their power and authority; and though they persisted in this opinion, yet the Kings Deputies would needs present a writing to them, which contain'd three points; One an offer of the Kings conversion; another that in the mean time while that came to passe, the means of securing Religion, and concluding peace might be treated of; and the third, that while these things were doing, a generall cessation of arms might be concluded through the whole Kingdome. The Deputies could not refuse to accept this writing, which being by them brought to be discuss'd by the Duke of Mayene and the States, the debates were very long and various; for as the Royalists endeavour'd to discover the intentions of the Confederates, so they would not declare what they would doe if the King should publickly return unto the Church.

The Arch-Bishop of Bourges tells them in the Conference, that the King inspired by God would turn to the Catholick Religion.

The Deputies of the League answer the Arch-Bishop of Bourges his proposition.

The Kings Deputies present a writing to those of the League which is accepted.



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The Spaniards  
fearing the  
propositions of  
the Royalists,  
offer that their  
King should  
give the *Infanta*  
in marriage  
to one of the  
Princes of the  
House of Lo-  
raine.

But this proposition made by the Kings party wrought such a jealousie in the Spanish Ambassadors, that with their utmost spirits they pressed for a resolution to their desire, for the facilitating whereof they were faine to offer that the Catholick King should be content the *Infanta* should marry one of the Princes of the House of Lorraine; but this proposition also raised many doubts, because there was no certainty, the *Infanta* being once elected and declared, that either she, or the King her Father would observe that promise, to which any private man can hardly be obliged, much lesse a Queen or Princess; and again because if that first Husband should dye, she might perhaps take another, either of the House of Austria, or a Spaniard, or of some other Nation; likewise, because she having no children by this marriage, the King of Spain would afterward pretend right to the Crown; but much more then all the rest, because the Duke of Mayene saw himself and his posterity excluded from that advantage, whereupon not only this businesse was protracted without coming to any resolution, but it was determined in the States, that there should be a very moderate answer made to the writing presented by those of the Kings party in the Conference, without untying or breaking off the thread of that treaty; wherefore both parties being met at *la Roquette* a house in the field without the *Porte S. Anthoine*, the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* said, that as concerning the Kings conversion, they wished it might be reall and unfained, but that not only they could not hope it was so, but on the contrary, they had great cause to beleieve it was not without dissimulation; for if it had proceeded from sincerity, so many delays and puttings off would not have been sought, and if he were touch'd with any inspiration, he would not remain in his heresie and in the publick exercise of it, he would not cherish and keep about him the principal Ministers that taught it, nor would he still leave the chief Offices of the Kingdom in their hands; and yet because it appertain'd not to them to approve or reprove that conversion, they left the judgment thereof unto the Pope, who alone had authority to determine it; as for the treaty of peace, and security of Religion, they could not treat thereof for the present, for many considerations, least they should treat with the King of Navar who was without the Church, and least they should give a beginning to the acknowledgment of him, or anticipate the

the Pope's judgement. Then for the point of Cessation, they could give answer to that when satisfaction was given to the two first Articles. Thus neither assenting, nor very much dissenting, they held the matter in suspense till the Duke of Mayenne saw whither the businesse begun with the Spaniards was like to tend.

But the Cardinal-Legat being wonderfully solicitous, not only because the Spanish negotiation went on difficultly, but much more because he saw mens minds inclined to the Cessation, out of the hope they had conceived of the Kings conversion and the desire of quiet, used his utmost power to hinder it; and faining himself not well, wrote a Letter to Cardinal *Pellevé* upon the thirteenth day of June, praying him to go to the States, and in his name to make them a grave Remonstrance of the danger and damage that depended upon the Consequence of *Surenne*, and advertise them that not onely they could not treat concerning the conversion of the *Navarrois*, but not so much as about Peace, a Cessation of arms, or any other businesse with him, as well by reason of the Decrees of the sacred Canons, and the Declarations of the Apostolick See, as also of the Oath they had taken, never to assent to, or make an agreement with the Heretick: Which things were set forth in the Letter with great vehemence of words, protesting in the end, that if they should continue to treat of Peace, or a Cessation, he would depart from the Citie, and from the Kingdom, that he might neither assent to so great an evill, nor disobey the Commissions he had from the Pope. This Letter was first read by the Cardinal in the States, and afterward published in print to the knowledge of every one, did something divide mens mindes, who were running on eagerly toward a Cessation of arms.

In the mean time the King knowing how much harm the want of reputation, and the weaknesse of their Forces did unto the Spaniards, and not being willing to run into the same trouble, resolved to set himself upon some notable enterprise not far off, with the noyse and fame wherof he might increase his reputation, and foment those affairs that were transacting in favour of him: wherefore, having drawn his whole Army together, with great diligence commanded out all the neighbouring garrisons, and made plentiful provision of Canon, ammunition, Pioneers, and other things proper for a secure resolute

The Card. Legate writes to Card. *Pellevé* to make protestation in his name unto the States, that they can neither treat of the Kings conversion, peace, nor any thing else, because of the Decree of the Canons & the oath the Deputies had taken.



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The King to  
give reputation  
to his party,  
besiegeth  
Dreux.

resolute designe, upon the seventh of June he laid siege to *Dreux*, a Town but sixteen leagues from Paris, which for its situation, fortification, and the quality of the defendants was accounted very strong. The Suburbs of the Town were valiantly taken the first day, they within who before thought to defend them being beaten back in all places; but when they had lost all hope of making them good, they endeavoured to have burnt them down: The whole Army being quartered with great celerity, they began the next day to throw up four Trenches, which were hastened with so much diligence by the Baron *de Biron*, and the Sieur *de Montlouët* one of the Field-Marsalls, that upon the thirteenth day all four of them were brought into the Moat; nor with lesse diligence were four Batteries planted; one of four pieces of Canon against the great Bulwark, toward the *Porte de Chastres*, another of six against the *Porte de Paris*, the third of three against the curtain toward the great Church, and the fourth of five Pieces in the *Fauxbourg St Jehan*, which battered a great Tower that stood on that side. The King hastened and encouraged the Works in all places with his presence; wherefore scarce was the *Orillon* of the great Bulwark beaten down, when two Colonels drew neer to view the place, which being by order taken by the Army for the beginning of the assault, all the severall Nations ran furiously to it, striving in emulation who should be first to give the onset. Whereupon the besieged over-matched by the number and resolution of the assailants, forsook the *Orillon*, in which a Regiment of French lodged and fortified themselves the same evening. The next day all the Batteries continued playing upon the wall, and the breaches being already made, and the Army ready to fall on in four severall places, the defendants took a resolution to quit the Town, and retire into the Castle, which while they were doing in disorder, they were overtaken by the Army which at the same time entered furiously, and were constrained to fire some houses of the Town, that they might gain time enough to retire. But the fire having done very much harm, and burnt down many buildings on all sides, at last by the Kings command it was quenched by the Swissers, who remained last in the battalia neer his Person. So upon the eighteenth day the Town remained in the King's power; and with the same eagerneffe they began to besiege the Castle

The defendants quit the Town, and having fired many houses to gain time to save themselves, retire into the Castle.

with

within the out-line whereof without the circuit of the walls, there being a great deal of cattell, many of the Townsmen, and also many Country-men who were got in thither; the Baron *de Biron* caused a *Pettard* to be fastened the same night unto the Gate, and with a great slaughter of the enemies, but not without the blood of his souldiers, where he lost above an hundred, made himself Master of that out-line, with all the spoil. But the taking of the Castle, by reason of its situation and strength proved very difficult, and a very great number of men were slain, till the Count *de Torigny* making them work notwithstanding any danger whatsoever, had perfected a great Trench, under favour whereof the Batteries were planted; which while the King, a despiser of all danger, was carefully overseeing, two Colonels were killed close by him, and the Duke of Montpensier sore hurt with a shot in the chin, which grazing upon his jaw wounded him also in the shoulder. Over against the King's Batteries there stood a Tower of an ancient form, and of so perfect a structure, that the Canon-shot which were made at it did very little harm. Wherefore an English Engineer, considering the great waste of powder that was spent with very little or no fruit, took a resolution to try another means, and having under shelter of certain double planks lined with plates of iron got unto the foot of the Tower, he caused three great holes like ovens to be digged under it, and putting a barrel of powder in each, gave fire to them; which though it wrought a much lesse effect then a Mine uses to do, yet it threw down part of the Tower, and made such a breach, that the Artillery did better service in battering the rest: nevertheless the besieged were not dismay'd at it, but with valiant constancy continued for some dayes to make resistance. But so diligent and eager was the oppugnation without, that at last, after many experiments, and many assaults, the defendants, who besides their not having any Commander of authority to govern them, saw also, notwithstanding the nearnesse of *Paris*, that no relief appeared from any place, resolved out of extreme necessity, to yield themselves, and delivered up the Castle into the King's hands upon the eighth of July.

The noyse of the King's Victory dismay'd the Deputies in *Paris*, who in this interim had laboured no lesse in their negotiations, then they at *Drenx* had done in matters of War; for



1593 for the Spanish Ambassadors being resolved to make the utmost tryall, met with the principall of them again in Councel and told them, that to take away all obstacles that might hinder the *Infanta's* Election, the Catholick King would be content, as soon as she was chosen, to marry her to the Du. of Guise which though it stung the Duke of Mayene to the quick, yet being taken unawares, and finding no other remedy so upon the sudden, answered, That he returned most humble thanks to his Catholick Majestie for the so great honour he vouchsafed to do his Nephew, but he desired to see the Ambassadors Commission, and to know whether that condition were expressed in it; for by how much the greater and more desirable the favour was, so much the more warily was it fit to proceed in believing and embracing it. The Duke of Mayene though verily that the Ambassadors had not that power from the Catholick King, but that they propounded it of themselves being drawn by the necessity of affairs; but he presently perceived the contrary, for they taking their Commission, shewed an Article, wherein by way of interchange, was contained the election of the *Infanta* with expresse condition that she should be married to the Duke of *Guise*. The Duke of Mayene was astonished, not knowing any way to untie that knot nor could he dissemble so well, but that they all perceived the alteration of his countenance: But the *Sieur de Bassompierre* Ambassador for the Duke of Lorain relieved him, who said that a thing of so great importance ought not to be concluded without making his Master acquainted with it, who as he had been principally interested in the expences and trouble of the War, so was it fit nothing should be concluded without having first his opinion and consent; and here, to give the Duke of Mayene leisure to think, he enlarged himself in a long discourse of what the Duke of Lorain had done in favour of the League, and of the esteem that was fit to be had of his authority. The Spaniards, when he had made an end of speaking, answered, that they assented the Duke of Lorain should be informed of all that passed, who, they were certain would be well pleased with the honour done unto his Family. In the mean time the Duke of Mayene having recollected himself, after he had again thanked the Catholick King and the Ambassadors, said, that he accepted the offer: but as it was not convenient for the Catholick Kings reputation,

The Spanish Ambassadors promise in their Kings behalf to give the *Infanta* in marriage to the D. of Guise as soon as shee should be chosen Queen, which troubles the Duke of Mayene.

The *Sieur de Bassompierre* Ambassador for the Du. of Lorain, demands to have that treaty suspended till his Master were advertised of it.

tation, that the *Infanta* should be elected, without having first certain means to establish her: so neither was it fit to hazard the State of his Nephew, and of the whole Family, without those conditions which being acceptable in generall, and necessary for the present affairs, were sufficient to maintain and secure him for the future: for that end he demanded time to consult and to propose those conditions wherewith the designe was to be effected. With this delay they parted, the Cardinal-Legat and the Ambassadors remaining extremely contented, and as it were assured that they had steered that Negotiation into the desired haven.

But the Duke of Mayene intent by all means to disturb it, began to work upon his Nephew, telling him, he doubted the Spaniards had propounded him, not to effect the business, but to deceive him; he not being able to perswade himself that they should have laboured and done so much to bring the *Infanta* to the Crown, and should after be content to subject her to an Husband, who being a French-man, and encompassed with his own party, might govern her, and be King indeed, while she should onely be Queen in title: that no profit, nor advantage of any kind whatsoever would redound thereby to King *Philip* and his Kingdom; for if his desire were onely to marry his Daughter to a King of France, he might easily compasse that with whosoever should possess the Crown, whether he were friend or enemy; but if he aspired to unite the Crowns, this was not the way to doe it, and therefore he could not see what advantage could thereby result unto the Spanish Monarchy: Wherefore it was good to think and provide against the deceit that might lie hidden under it: That to elect the *Infanta* now, and reserve themselves afterward to marry her within a certain time, was to refer it to her choice either to take or refuse him; and that it was necessary to finde some conditions to secure the Match: But moreover, though the King of Spain should proceed sincerely in that business, it was good to consider (without letting ones self be deceived by passion) what means there were to establish themselves in the Kingdom: That there was no doubt but the Duke of *Lorain*, who had hoped to have the Kingdom for himself, or that the *Infanta* should marry the Cardinal his Son, would be disgusted at it, and withdraw his assistance; which, how much hurt it would do, might easily be comprehended, by rea-

The Duke of Mayene desirous to disturb the proposition of the Spaniards, puts many difficulties into the Duke of Guise his consideration.



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son of the opportunesse of his State, through which all the supplies passed that came out of Germany to both parties, that it might be doubted the Duke of *Savoy* would doe the same, who had till now upheld the warr in *Province* and *Dauphiné*; for being deprived of the hopes he had already conceived of obtaining the Kingdom, or at least some province of it, he would no longer submit himself and his States to the dangers and calamities of warr; that the Duke of *Nemours* was already almost wholly averse from them, and only the respect he bore to an elder brother yet held him, which if it were taken away, he doubted not but he would doe his own businesse himself; that the same was to be feared of the Duke of *Mercoeur*, as soon as he should lose the hopes of obtaining *Bretagne*: wherefore the forces of the League being diminished in that manner, it was good to think how they should be able to oppose the Kings power, which they could hardly resist now they were all united; that the King of *Spain* had his hands full with the war of *Flanders* and the commotions of *Aragon*; that his Kingdoms were exhausted, and that he was indebted two millions to the *Genoveses*; that he had no good Commander in cheif, and therefore it was to be doubted he could not perform all he promised; and in conclusion that this was a \* *Rubicon* which could never be sufficiently thought upon before it was past over.

\* *Rubicon* the name of a river in Italy which Julius Cesar passed in the beginning of his expedition against Pompey, whence, To passe the *Rubicon*, is become a phrase for to enter into a dangerous exploit.

The Duke of Guise though inwardly of another mind, answers that he will not digresse from his Unkles Counsailes.

To these considerations the Duke of *Guise* answered moderately, making shew that he would not digresse from his opinion, but in his minde he thought otherwise; whereof his treaties, and manner of proceeding, the concourse of his adherents, the meetings that were made in his house and his Mothers, gave manifest conjecture; wherefore the Duke of *Mayene*, not trusting absolutely to him, thought as a second means to propose such high conditions as might terrifie the Spaniards; which were, That the Duke of *Guise* should be elected King at the same time when the *Infanta* should be chosen Queen; that the election should be kept secret till the marriage were consummate, to which effect, the States should give authoritie to the Duke of *Mayene* to declare it when it should be time; that in case the *Infanta* should dye first, the Duke of *Guise* should remain King alone, and govern the Kingdom by himself; that if she were left a widdow, she should be obliged to take a husband of the House of *Lorraine*, with

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with the Counsell of the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crown; that if she had no issue, the eldest of the Duke of *Guise's* brothers should succeed, and so the first born of the Family successively from male to male; that only Frenchmen should be admitted to Offices, Places, Dignities, Benefices, Governments of Provinces, Cities, Castles, and Fortresses of the Kingdom; that the command of the *Militia* together with authority of Lieutenant Generall should be left unto the Duke of *Mayene*; that the government of the Provinces of *Bourgogne*, *Champagne*, and *Brie* should be given to him, and his heirs for ever, with power to dispose of the Governments, Offices, and Benefices of them all; that two hundred thousand Crowns should be paid to him in present, and six hundred thousand more within a certain time, for which fit securitie should be given him; that the debts should be paid which he had run into upon occasion of the present warr; that one hundred thousand Crowns revenue should be assign'd to him for himself and his posterity, as also the principallity of *Jainville* and the Cities of *Vitry* and *S. Disier*; and after many other lesser demands, that all the presentations and nominations he had made of Churches, Benefices, Governments, Donatives, Places and Favours bestowed by him as Lieutenant of the Crown should remaine valid, as likewise all those he should make or grant, till the consummation of the marriage and the establishment of the King and Queen.

The Duke of Mayene fain- ing to be glad, but desiring indeed to hinder the Duke of Guise's greatness, asks exorbitant conditions of the Spaniards.

But these conditions though they were high and difficult, did no way startle the Spaniards, who already were resolved to satisfie him, provided they might attain to the *Infanta's* election, being certain they should find a thousand occasions, and a thousand excuses afterwards, to observe only what they should think convenient, and being also willing that the Duke of *Mayene* should be reasonably requited; but he seeing he was excluded from the reward of his labours, and that they thought of giving the Kingdom to others, and not to him and his posterity, though the foundation of all things consisted in his person and endeavours, and finding that the conditions propounded were neither sufficient to divert the resolution of the Spaniards, nor the inclination, or rather the will and desire of his Nephew, resolved to set other engines a work, to interrupt the course of those proceedings;

The Duke of Mayene seeing himself excluded from the Crown, begins a Treaty to bring in the Cardinal of Bourbon.



wherefore having still (though but luke-warmly) kept the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in good hopes, he now prosecuted that bulinesse with so much heate, that it was brought in a manner to a conclusion. He demonstrated to every one of the Deputies apart, how odious a thing it was to break the *Salique Law*, how difficult to exclude the house of *Bourbon* from the Crown, whose succession they had confirmed when they declared the late Cardinal of *Bourbon* King, by the name of *Charles* the tenth; how dissonant it would be to mens eares, and how displeasing to mens minds, to hear treaties were held to introduce the succession of women, and the assumption of new Families to the Crown, while there were so many Princes in the Royal Family, among which one might be chosen to the generall satisfaction; that though the King of *Navar* was obstinate in Heresie, the Prince of *Conty* insufficient for Government, the Count *de Soissons* lost in the love of the Princesse *Catherine*, who was no lesse an Hugonot then her Brother; yet was there the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who had always with his own danger undauntedly opposed the increase of Heresie; that he was a Cardinal, and had ever been obedient to the Church, so that he could neither be excluded by the Pope, nor by the King of Spain; that he was in his manly age, so that he would be a King without a Guardian, and one able to uphold the Government of the Kingdom himself: that no great trust was to be had to the Spaniards, who had failed so much both in publick and in private; that the Ambassadors, who promised such mountains of gold, lived themselves very mechanically; and without that decency that befitted the Majestie of their King, and the greatnesse of those offers they made; that he himself had very great sums due to him, and yet could not get so much as a *denier* from them; that they had seen the gallant exploits Count *Charles* his Army had done; that they had so much to do in *Flanders*, they would have no leisure to minde other mens businesses; that on the other side the Cardinal of *Bourbon*'s election would of it self destroy and conquer the King of *Navar*; for there was no doubt but all the Catholicks of that party would follow the Cardinal, and the *Navarrois* would be left alone with the desperate dependence of the Hugonots, whereby the French Forces alone would be able to subdue Heresie, and establish a Catholick King, and a true French-man, without having



having further need of foreign Supplies; that it was needfull to remember the Bishop of *Senlis* his words, and not confirm men in a belief, that whatsoever was past had been done out of interest and ambition, but that it was necessary to shew the world, that the sole respect of Religion had put arms into their hands.

These reasons seconded by his authority, wrought a wonderful impression in the mindes of the French, of themselves inclined to observe the *Salique Law*, and to reverence the Royal Family; wherefore the Duke seeing he had drawn the major part of the Deputies to his opinion, dispatched the Admiral *de Villars* with a Writing of Articles with his own hand, to confer with the Cardinal of Bourbon, who was at *Gallion*, a house of the Arch-Bishop of *Rouen's*; but he was no sooner gone, when he sent one post after him, to give him order not to make too much haste; for President *Jeannin*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons*, together with Madame *de Montpensier* had put him in mind of another sufficient means to divert the Spanish designes, without running so hastily to the election of one that was his enemy, who also by the weaknes of his understanding, & lightnesse of his nature, would not be very fit to govern in times of so great distraction; and that he endangered the dividing of his party; for it was very probable the Duke of *Guise* and his adherents, upheld by the Spaniards, would not approve that election; in which case his third party would be the weakest of them all. The remedy they propounded was that of the Parliament, whose authority they thought sufficient to hinder the businesse in agitation: wherefore Madame *de Montpensier* having excited the first President *le Maître* to think of some means that the Crown might not fall into the hands of Strangers; he, as a man of good intentions, and who had followed the League for no other end but the Catholick Religion, set himself boldly to the enterprise, and after the managing of it many dayes, assembled all the Chambers of the Parliament, and with full consent of all caused a Decree to be made of this tenour following:

The Duke of Mayene to hinder the Spanish designe, gets the Parliament of Paris to make a Decree, that the Crown should not be transferred upon Strangers, and to give order to him to hinder all such like treaties.

U Pon the Propositions already made to the Court of Parliament by the *Procureur General*, and the businesse taken into deliberation in the meeting of the Counsellours of all the severall Courts, the said Parliament not having (as it ne-

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ver formerly had) any other intention then to maintain the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, and the State and Crown of France under the protection of a most Christian Catholick French King, hath ordered, and doth order, that this day after dinner President *le Maistre* accompanied by a good number of the Counsellors of this Parliament, shall make remonstrance to my Lord the Duke of *Mayene* Lieutenant Generall of the State and Crown of France, in presence of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, who at this present are in this City, that no treaty ought to be held for the transferring of the Crown into the hands of forreign Princes or Princesses; that the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom ought to be observed and the Decrees made by the Parliament about the declaring a Catholick and French King executed; that the said Duke of *Mayene* ought to use the authority that hath been given him, to hinder the Crown from being (under pretence of Religion) transferred into the hands of Strangers, against the laws of the Kingdom: Moreover, that he ought to provide as soon as may be for the repose of the people, by reason of the extreme necessity to which they are reduced, and in the mean time the said Parliament hath declared and doth declare all treaties held, or that shall be held for the future, about the establishment of any forreign Prince or Princess whatsoever, invalid, and of no force or effect, as being in prejudice of the *Salique Law*, and the other fundamentall Laws of this Kingdom.

This intimation or remonstrance being made in publick by the President unto the Duke of *Mayene*, though he made shew to resent it, and with grave words reprehended the boldnesse of the Parliament; yet it bridled the Spanish treaty very much; for the Assembly of the States (which more then any other body ought to have resented this decree of Parliament as made in prejudice of their authority,) shewed on the contrary that they were not displeas'd at it, and being possessed by the Duke of *Mayene's* agents, abhorred the attempt of the Spaniards, and inclined to a truce, concerning which they treated now more hotly then ever in the Conference at *Surenne*. Much greater was the inclination of the Parisians who tired out with their necessities, and seeing no neerer way to their redresse then the conclusion of a truce, the sweetness whereof they had begun to taste in that little cessation of arms

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that had been in those quarters, impatiently desired an accommodation, and raging threatned the Princes and the Assembly, unless they took a speedy resolution, and being perswaded that the Spaniards would not suffer their army to come and help the necessities of the City by opening the passes, only because their aime was to curbe them and keep them down, whensoever the Ambassadors went abroad in publick, they were followed with ill language and cries of derision.

The Spanish Ambassadors going through the Streets of Paris are mocked and abused with ill language.

The Kings seasonable resolution absolutely turn'd the scale of affairs; for he knowing all things that were in agitation, doubted with reason, that if the League should elect the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Catholicks that followed him, would all be like to forsake him, whereof there appeared such manifest signes, and such open murmurings were heard, that it was not at all to be doubted; for the things alledged by those of the Union in the Conference at Surenne, had made impression in mens minds; and not onely the Princes and Lords, but generally all private men grieved and detested to spend their lives and fortunes for the establishment of Heresie, which formerly they were wont to fight against and persecute; and even in the King's own lodgings there were heard continually the voyces of them that cursed their own blindnesse, and exhorted one another mutually to change their resolutions, shewing that since so many promises made to them had been broken, they were obliged to take a course for the maintenance of Religion and their common safety; that it was now no longer time to shed their blood for a Prince obstinate in heresie, and who abusing their credulity so long, had fed them vainly with words; that it was high time to take notice how by fighting madly Catholick against Catholick, they did nothing else but prepare the Kingdom either for the Spaniards or the Hugonots, equally their enemies; that there had been enough done to maintain the lawful Successor of the Crown, but he shewed himself ungrateful for so great services, and obstinate in his error; that he was no longer to be followed in his perdition; but it was fit (reuniting the consciences of the Catholicks) to establish a King who should acknowledge the gift he received from the good will of his Subjects; that there were already so many Princes and Lords, so many Knights and Gentlemen, and so many valiant Souldiers slain in that cause,



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cause, that the Kingdom was thereby all wounded, bloodlesse, and dying, and if some remedy were not applied they were neer sacrificing the very carcassee of France to the wickednesse of the Hugonots and to the pride of the Spaniards.

The Princes of the blood after many consultations, were much more resolute, and the Duke of *Montpensier* who lay in bed by reason of his hurt, told the King when he came to visit him, that all the Princes were ready to forsake him, and that he himself in the condition he then was, though he did it with grief of heart, would not yet be the last to save his soul and satisfie his conscience. Lastly the Count of *Schomberg*, being advertised by Monsieur *de Villeroy*, told him the Admirall *Villars* was already upon his way: carrying Articles to the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, that within a few dayes he should hear, he and all the rest of the Princes would be at Paris; that God had given him the victory, and expected the fruit thereof, that having taken *Dreux* with so much honour in the very face of his enemies, he might now turn unto God, and to the Church, and none could believe he did it perforce. The same did Secretary *Rezol* confirm, the same *Villeroy* himself wrote unto him from *Pontoysse*, shewing him that he could not avoid one of two things, either that the Cardinall of *Bourbon* being elected King would deprive him of the adherence of his Catholicks; or that the *Infante* being chosen with the Duke of *Guise*, all the strength of the King of Spain would be poured out and come like a torrent upon him.

The King moved by these considerations, or else interpreting the so urgent conjuncture of affairs, to be as it were a divine inspiration, and thinking himself called by some heavenly and more then human power, determined to turn Catholick, and sent Messengers with speed on all sides, to call Prelates and Divines to assist and instruct him in his conversion. Among these he invited some of the Preachers of Paris, whereof some refused to goe, and some few, among which was the Curate of *S. Eustache* (though the Legate advised and commanded otherwise) would yet be present at so solemn an action. All these being met together at *Mante*, the King having received sufficient instruction in matter of the Articles of Religion that were in controversie, seem'd to cleare

The King sends for Prelates and Divines from severall places, and being instructed at *Mante*, publishes that he will goe to *Masse* at *S. Denis* upon the five and twentieth of July.

up his mind, and visibly to apprehend the hand of God, which recalling him from his errors, brought him back into the bosome of the Church, and made it be noised abroad, that upon the five and twentieth of July he would go to Masse at S. Denis.

This news his Deputies brought to the Conference of *Surenne*, where the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* recapitulating all things past, concluded, that the King had caused the *Marguesse of Pifany* to be sent to Rome, to find means that his conversion might be authoris'd by the Pope; but since he had not been received, he would no longer deferr nor put off his own salvation, but would reconcile himself to the Church, that afterwards he might send to render due obedience to the Pope, by a solemn conspicuous Embassy; and that having consulted with the other Prelates and Divines, they had determined, that the King should make himself be absolved *ad futuram cautelam*, and goe to Masse, that afterward he might demand the Popes benediction; and that this for many seasons had been thought the neereft and most secure way, as well not to put the Crown in arbitrement to the discretion and declaration of strangers, as to find a speedy remedy for the necessities of the Kingdom. The Arch-Bishop of Lyons on the contrary disputed, that he could not be received without the Popes assent, nor absolved without his declaration, and protested, that they would neither account him a Catholic nor acknowledge him King without order from the Pope, to whom absolutely, addresse was to be made, before coming to those acts of absolution.

The Arch-Bishop of Bourges tells them in the Conference at Surenne that the King is resolved to reconcile himself to the Church.

But the report of this Conversion being spread abroad among the people, there was no curb could bridle men from rejoycing, nor their tongues from divulging and arguing, that upon it depended the pacification of the Kingdom; so that the Cardinal Legate in great perplexity of mind, published a writing to the Catholics of France upon the thirteenth of July, wherein he advertised them of the perverse authority which some Prelates arrogated to themselves of absolving the King of Navar from Censures, and exhorted them not to believe that false conversion, and the perverse way that was taken about it: and lastly, forbad all men to go to those Conventicles, with danger of incurring the Censure of excommunication, and of being deprived of those Ecclesiasticall Be-

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nesices and Dignities they possessed. But it was all in vaine for all mens minds were in motion, and the obstacle of Religion being removed, every one enclin'd to acknowledge the lawful Successour, and by that means to pacifie the Kingdom. From this generall inclination the great Ones were not averse; who though they would not swerve from the Pope's judgement, and the Declaration of the Apostolick Sea, thought yet it was not fit to innovate any thing more, till they saw the effect of his Conversion, and the Popes intention which opinion fomented by the Duke of *Mayene*, and forced by the necessity of affairs, was imbraced even by the Duke of *Guise* himself, who in such a conjuncture, though his election would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself, which he himself, being accompanied by the Marshals *de la Chastre* and *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, gave the Spanish Ministers to understand.

The Duke of Guise tells the Spaniards that his election to be King of France would prove ridiculous to others, and ruinous to himself.

The ceremonies used in the act of the Kings conversion upon *S. James* his day Anno 1593 by the Arch-Bishop of Bourges in the chief Church of *S. Denis*.

In the mean time half the Citie of Paris ran to the spectacle of this Conversion, even from the day before the absolution, which was the five and twentieth of July, being the Feast of the Apostle *S<sup>t</sup> James*; which day, the King clothed all in white, but accompanied with the Princes Lords, and the whole Court, with the Guards before them in arms, went to the chief Church of *S<sup>t</sup> Denis*, the gates whereof they found shut, at which the High-Chancellor knocking, they were presently opened, and there appeared the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* sitting in his chair in his Pontificall habit, and invironed with a great number of Prelates: hee asked the King Who he was, and What he would have; the King answered, That he was *Henry King of France and Navar*, and that he demanded to be received into the bosome of the Catholick Church: to which the Arch-Bishop replied, asking if he desired it from the bottom of his heart, and had truly repented him of his former errors? At which words the King protesting upon his knees, said, He was sorry for his former error, which he abjured and detested, and would live and die a Catholick in the Apostolick Roman Church, which he would protect and defend, even with the hazard and danger of his very life; after which words having with a loud voyce repeated the Profession of Faith, which was presented to him in writ-

ting, he was with infinite acclamations of the people, and incessant vollies of shot brought into the Church, and kneeling down before the high Altar, he repeated the prayers that were dictated to him by the Arch-Bishop, and thence having been admitted by him to secret Confession, he came to set under the *Daiz*, or cloth of State, and with generall gladnesse and rejoycing was present at the solemn Masse celebrated by the Bishop of *Nantes*; after which, thorough a wonderfull throng of people, and resounding cryes of *Vive-le-Roy*, which ascended to the skies, He returned again to his Palace.

In this interim affairs having taken such a different impression, the States gave answer to the Duke of *Feria* and the other Spanish Ambassadors; who being brought into the Assembly, the Duke of Mayene gravely gave thanks unto the Catholick King's Majestie, as well for the assistance of his past, and the promise of his future Supplies, as for the honour done unto his Family, in offering the *Infanta* in marriage to his Nephew the Duke of *Guise*; and in the end told them, that the Assembly having well considered all things, did not think the time seasonable to make any Election, but that they prayed his Catholick Majestie to stay for the ripenesse of opportunity; and in the meantime not to fail them of his wonted protection and promised Supplies.

The Duke of Mayene tells the Spanish Ambassadors in the name of all the State, that they had determined to defer the election of their future King till another time.

After this resolution, which dashed all the Spaniards, it was determined in the States, that they should follow the conclusion of the Truce; and though the Legate opposed it strongly, and protested oftentimes that he would be gone; yet being pacified by the reasons that were represented to him, and with the offer of causing the Counsell of *Trent* to be received in the States, he let himself be perswaded to continue in the Citie, being also uncertain whether his departure would be well taken at *Rome*. So in the Conference at *Su-venne* a generall Truce was established thorow the whole Kingdom for the three next months, August, September, and October, and it was published with infinite joy among the people in all places; after which the Duke of Mayene being desirous to dismisse the Assembly honourably, first caused a Decree to be made for the receiving the Counsell

The Truce is concluded and published for three months; the States are dismissed, and invited to meet at the same place in October following; having first made a Decree for the receiving the Councell of *Trent*.



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*The Historie of the Civill Warres*

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of Trent, and then assembling the States upon the eighth of August, he made them all swear to persevere in the *Union*, and not to depart from it ; and having given order that they should meet again in the same place in the month of October following, to deliberate upon the state of affairs with those Instructions they should have from Rome, he at last dismissed them all, and the Deputies willingly departing, returned to their own houses.

*The end of the Thirteenth Book.*





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

*The Fourteenth BOOK.*

THE ARGUMENT.

**T**His Book contains the means used by the King to make his Conversion more fruitfull: the continuance of the Truce for the two other months, November and December, at the end of which Meaux first of all submits to his obedience: The Sienr de la Chastre follows with the City of Bourges, and the Admirall Villars with Havre de Grace and Roien: the Count de Brissac Governour of Paris makes a composition, and the King being received into the City without tumult, drives out the Spanisb Ambassadors and Garrison; the Cardinal-Legat departeth also, and goes out of the Kingdom. Many other Cities follow the King's fortune; and finally the Duke of Nemours is imprisoned, and the City of Lyons surrenders it self: the Duke of Mayene renews other conditions with the Spaniard to prosecute the War; he comes to parley with Ernest Arch-Duke of Austria Governour of the Low-Countries, and at last goes into Picardy with Count Charles of Mansfelt and the Army. The King besieges Laon; the Duke of Mayene  
and



*The History of the Civill Warres*

*and the Spaniards attempt to relieve it, there follow many encounters, at last they retire, and the place is yeelded; The Sieur de Balagny goes over to the Kings obedience with the Citie of Cambray; he is likewise received into Amiens and other Towns in Piccardie. The Duke of Montpensier takes Honfleur. There happen divers encounters in Bretagne, Languedoc, Province and Dauphiné. The King being return'd to Paris, is in his own Lodgings wounded in the mouth by a young merchant; he is taken, confesses the fact and is executed for it, and the Jesuites are banished out of the Kingdome. The King publickly proclaimes war against the King of Spaine and renewes the negotiation at Rome, to obtaine absolution from the Pope. The Maresehal de Biron is declared Governour of Bourgogne. He begins the warr prosperously in that Province, takes Autun, Auxerre, and at last Dijon, and besieges the Castles of it. The Sieur de Tremblecourt and d'Osseville enter to infest the County of Bourgogne (which is subject to the Crown of Spain) and take some places there. The Constable of Castille Governour of Milan, goes to relieve that Province; the King goes likewise to reinforce those that were besieging the Castle of Dijon. They meet, and fight with wonderfull various fortune at Fountain Françoise. The Constable retires beyond the river Soane; The King followes him, passes the river, and they fight againe, without any great effect. The King returns to the Siege of the Castles, which surrender themselves; he concludes a Truce with the Duke of Mayene that they might treat of an accommodation; and makes his entry into Lyons. The Pope resolves to give the King his benediction, the ceremony is solemnized with great joy at Rome; the newes of it is brought to the Court, whither there likewise come good tidings from Dauphiné and Languedoc.*



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He King's conversion was certainly the most proper, most powerfull remedy that could be apply'd to the dangerous disease of the Kingdom; but the Truce so opportunely concluded, did also dispose the matter, and gave due time, for the working of so wholesome a medicine; for the people on both sides having begun to taste the liberty, and benefits that resulted from concord, in a season when harvest, and vintage made them more sensible of the happinesse, fell so in love with it, that it was afterward much more easie, to draw them, without many scruples, or cautions, to a desire of peace, and a willing obedience of their lawfull Prince. As soon as the Truce was begun, men presently fell to converse freely one with another, being not only of the same nation, and same blood, but many of them straitly conjoyn'd, either by freindship or kindred; in such sort that discords, and hatreds being driven away, or indeed those factions and interests that had kept them so long divided, every one rejoyced to reunite himself with his freinds, and again to take up their former love, and interrupted familiarity, and with mutuall helpes, and assistances to redresse those necessities, and calamities, which the length of war had produced. And there being frequent kind meetings among all persons, every one related his past sufferings, detested the occasions of such wicked discords, inveighed against the authors of such pernicious evils, praying and magnifying the benefits that followed peace, and concord; in which meetings, and discourses, the Kings cause being much more favourable, (by reason of the manifest rights he had to the succession of the Crown, and because scruple of Conscience was in great part taken away by his Conversion) those things that were spoken in his favour began already to be popularly embraced, and mens minds enclined to yeeld themselves to his obedience, rather then continue so ruinous a Civill war, to satisfie the pretensions of the Duke of Mayene, or the already manifest intentions of the Spaniards. They of the Kings party, talking and discoursing with those of the League, alledged the clemency and goodnesse of the Prince they served, the sincerity wherewith he had turn'd to the Catholick faith, his familiarity, and affability to all his followers, his va-  
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lour and courage in armes, his prudence and sagacity in government, his prosperous successe in enterprises: and on the other side, asked those that were for the League, if they did not yet perceive the Ambition of the House of Lorain, and the subtilties of the Spaniards? upbraided them that they made war against the good true French-men, in favour of the antient enemies of the nation, and that with their own bloods they sought to establish the Spanish Monarchy upon the ruines and desolations of France; they deplored so great a blindnesse, and praid them, that recovering their wonted charity towards their country, and taking compassion of themselves, they would take shelter under the benignity of that Prince, who stood with his armes open, ready to receive and content them.

These things made wonderfull impressions in mens minds, quite tired with the warre, and beaten down with the calamities they had continually endured; and the King behaving himself with his utmost industry, gratically received, and filled with very large hopes all those that came to speak with him; and under pretence of going to see their houses, and their friends, cunningly made his most trusty Counsellers disperse themselves into severall places, labouring with great art to draw men in all places to his devotion. And because the Duke of Mayene still kept practices on foot, either to conclude the peace, or prolong the Cessation; under this excuse the *Sieur de Sancy*, the Count of *Schombergh*, and President *de Thou* went to Paris, and staying there many dayes, endeavoured both by wary managing the businesse, and by force of eloquence, to gaine the King the most adherents they could possibly. The Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* went to that City, under colour of visiting his Diocesse, to treat with the *Sieur de la Chastre*, whom they had already discovered to be much scandalized with the Spaniard's manner of proceeding. The High Chancellor went into the territories of *Orleans* under pretence of overseeing his own affairs. The first President of the Parliament of *Rouen* went thither, to introduce some treaty with the Admirall *Villers*; for which effect the King himself also hover'd about those quarters. The *Sieur de Fleury* went to *Pontoyse* to treat with his brother-in-Law, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, and the Prelates that had had to doe in the Kings Conversion, dispersed themselves into severall places,

ges, to testifie the sincerity of his repentance, and to imprint those reasons by which they argued in justification of that authority whereby they had given him absolution. In this manner the Kings busineses went on within the Kingdom, whilest *Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers*, chosen Ambassadour to Rome, set himself in order to go with a gallant Train, to yeeld obedience in the Kings name unto the Pope, and at his feet to desire the confirmation of matters already done. The King resolved to send along with him *Claude d'Angenes* Bishop of *Mans*, a man for his learning and experience known in the Court of Rome, *Jaques Davy* *Sieur du Perron* elected Bishop of *Eureux*, *Loüis Seguiere* Dean of Paris, and *Claude Gouin* Dean of *Beauvais*, both famous Canonists: but because the Duke of *Nevers* both by reason of the quality of his person, and in respect of his indispositions, could not make the journey with so much haste, the King dispatched the *Sieur de la Clielle* post before, with Letters to the Pope full of humility and submission, wherein he gave him account of his Conversion, and of the Embassy he had appointed to ask his benediction, and render him due obedience. The King thought the Du. of *Nevers* very fit for that imployment, not onely as being a Prince exceedingly famed for wisdom, and a person full of honour & reputation; but also because being an Italian, besides his readinesse of language to be able to negotiate without Interpreters, he had many dependencies among the Princes of *Italie*, and much interest with many of the Cardinals: and he added those four Prelats, that with Canonick and Theologicall reasons they might be able to represent and maintain what they themselves had done in his absolution: But he also thought good to send *la Clielle* before, as well to demonstrate his impatient desire to gain the Pope's favour, as because being a crafty man, and of a deep reach, he hoped he might opportunely dispose the businesse before the Dukes rivall. Thus did the King set forward the course of Affairs.

*Lodovico Gonzaga* Duke of *Nevers* is chosen Ambassadour of obedience to the Pope from the King after his conversion, & four Prelates are appointed to accompany him.

But the ends were neither so certain, nor the means of handling them so resolute on the other side; for the interests of the Confederates being various, and often repugnant to one another, matters proceeded not in one and the same way. The Duke of *Mayene* had given notice to the King's party, that he had embraced the Truce, to expect what should be re-

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solved on at Rome, interposing no other difficulty but the Pope's assent about the conclusion of the Peace: and therefore he continued to treat by the means of *Villeroy* and Pretident *Jeannin*, to whom he afterward added the *Sieur de Bassompier*, to shew that in all things the Duke of *Lorain* was united with him, and by means of these, who eagerly negotiated the conditions of agreement, he promised he would send the Cardinall of *Joyeuse* and the Baron *de Senecey* to Rome to intercede to the Pope, that approving the King's conversion, he would be contented that by acknowledging him, an end might be put to the Civill Warr; and setting this as a prime foundation, he treated neverthelesse of securing the Catholick Religion, and of establishing the affairs of his own Family: But inwardly his thought was very different; for his hopes of attaining the Crown not being yet quite extinct, and attributing all sinister events to the malignity of the Spanish Ministers, and not to the intention of the Catholick King, he speedily dispatched his wifes Son the *Sieur de Montpezat*, with *Bellifaire* one of his confiding Ministers, unto the Court of Spain to sound the mind of the King, and of his Councill, and to labour to remove the jealousies which the false relations of the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d'Ivarra* had begot, and to desire that the *Infanta* being chosen Queen, might marry his eldest Son, and if the King consented to it, they should settle the conditions, and require such supplies as were necessary to bring the enterprize to a conclusion. For this end he had embraced the Truce, and desired it should continue to give time for the negotiating of this affair, and for those preparations that should be made in Spain.

The Duke of Mayene sends the *Sieur de Montpezat* into Spain, to treat with the Catholick King, that the *Infanta* being elected Q. of France, might be given in marriage to his eldest Son.

On the other side, the Spanish Ministers were more then ever fixt in their resolution not to assent to his advancement, being certain, that when he should have attained his intention, he would be most ungratefull for the benefit received, and a most bitter enemy to their Monarchy; Whereupon they not only continued to honour and favour the Duke of *Guise*, and to promise him the marriage of the *Infanta*; but the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d'Ivarra* plotted how to transferre the Duke of *Mayene's* power upon him, and to suppress his Uncle by his means; and they went on so far (being drawn by hatred and disdain) that sometimes they thought of taking away his life; but that was contradicted not onely by *Juan Baptista Tassis*,

*Tassis*, and *Inigo de Mendoza*, men of more moderate minds, and who measured things more by reason than passion : but even the Duke of *Guise* himself was not inclined unto it, being a youth of a solid nature, and right intention, who on the one side abhorred to plot against his Uncle ; and on the other, knew himself too weak both in reputation and forces to overcome the mature prudence of the Duke of *Mayene*, and the well-grounded authority he had settled in his party. They that helped to keep the Duke of *Guise*'s youthful thoughts in the right way, were the *Mareschals de la Chastre, Rosne*, and *S<sup>t</sup> Paul*, who had been long ago bred up by his Father, and both because they had been exalted by the Duke of *Mayene*, and because they knew the arts of the Spaniards, dissuaded him from setting himself upon that precipice, offering to his consideration, that he had neither men, moneys, Cities, nor Commanders that depended upon him ; that the Spaniards were reduced to extreme necessity for want of money, Count *Charles* his Army destroyed, the affairs of *Flanders* in an ill condition, and without a Head that was able to order matters of so great weight ; that on the other side the Duke of *Mayene* held all the Cities and Fortresses of the party in his own hands, that he had a long settled authority among the people, was highly esteem'd for valour and prudence, that all the French forces depended upon him, that the Duke of *Lorraine* was joyned with him, that the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Elbeuf* depended on his will, and the Parliament was united with him ; so that to let himself be ingaged by the persuasions of Strangers, was nothing else but to expose his own fortune to a most certain ruine, to please two malignant Ministers, who sowed fire and flames, to satiate that hatred which without much reason they had conceived ; which considerations added to the weakness and ill carriage of the Spaniards, made such an impression in the Duke of *Guise*, that he began to be disgusted with them, accounting himself mocked in the marriage of the *Infanta*, and being incensed that they should go about to use his youth as an instrument to ruine his Family.

Among these, the Cardinal-Legat, as he did not totally assent to what the Spanish Ministers plotted against the Duke of *Mayene* ; so was he displeased with him for having crossed the election of the *Infanta*, and of the Duke of *Guise* ; in the invention whereof, he thought he had (to the exceeding



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great glory of his wisdom) found means absolutely to gain unto himself the good will of the Catholick King, with the securing of Religion, and the exclusion and suppression of the King of Navar; which were the three principall points of his designes, and that he had also found a person of the Nation who was liked of by the people, which was the point whereupon he pressed the Pope's Commissions; and now seeing that thought frustrated, and the Truce purposely concluded with the contrary party, he was extremely vexed at it; wherefore still persisting and continuing to perswade the Confederates not to make any reflexion upon the imaginary Conversion of the *Navarrois*, (so did he yet call him in contempt) he laboured to make an agreement amongst them, to the end that the States coming to meet again, they might perfect the establishment of the Royalty; for so they called the joynt election of the *Infanta* and the Duke of Guise to be King and Queen of France.

The Pope neither approves of the *Infanta's* election nor marriage, as things not feasible; but only seems to consent unto them not to disgust the Spaniards.

He strove likewise to imprint these opinions at Rome by frequent Letters, pen'd according to his desire; but the Pope, a man of mature prudence, suffered not himself to be absolutely perswaded by the Legate's intelligence; but being advertised of every particular by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, neither approved the *Infanta's* election, nor her marriage with the Duke of Guise: but seeing the business of it self very difficult, and crossed by so many impediments, he judged it vain, and no way feasible; and therefore cared not to declare himself, seeming onely to give his consent, that he might not alienate the King of Spain from him, with whom he saw it necessary to hold a good correspondence, lest he should precipitate the affairs of Religion and the Church into some dangerous troubles. He could have been contented from the beginning, that <sup>to</sup> one of the Princes of the House of Bourbon that was truly a Catholick <sup>he</sup> should have

2 { thought fit the *Infanta* should be married, because by the election  
 1 { of a Prince of the Bloud, all the Catholicks of France would have  
 { been elected, and had by many ways given his Ministers notice of his intentions; and to such a Prince he could have been reunited in one body, and by the alliance with the Catholick King, his assistance would have been assured; so that neither the temporall state of the Kingdom would have been in danger of falling into the hands of Strangers, nor the spir-  
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rituall of being oppressed by the Hugonots. For these very reasons he approved not the Duke of Guise's election, beleeving the Catholicks of the Kings party would never be brought to acknowledge and obey him, whereby the Warre would become perpetuall, and he was likewise of opinion, that King *Philip* would never give his Daughter to a weak, poor, and ill-grounded Prince, with almost a certain danger, that she should never be Queen, more then in name; besides, he perceived, this hated election would gain the King of *Navar* many adherents, and by this means turn more Cities to favour him in one day, then he would be able to take by force in his whole life time. One thing only kept him doubtfull in this thought, which was the unfitness of those Princes that were nearest in blood; for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was but a weak man, and very unhealthfull; the Prince of *Conty*, by reason of his naturall defects unable to governe, and also (as it was said) to get children; the Count *de Soissons* though of a good wit, and noble courage, was so drowned in the love of the Princesse *Catherine* (the King's Sister, an obstinate Hugonot) that the Catholicks durst not confide in him, and the Duke of *Montpensier*, a youth of exceeding great worth, was more remote in the degrees of Royall Consanguinity; wherefore as soon as he knew the King was disposed to return to the obedience of the Catholick Church, he began to incline towards him, thinking it the shortest way to settle the commotions, and remove the dangers of the Kingdom. But it was a businesse not to be resolved on without great deliberation, as well to be assured that his conversion was sincere, and that the heart of a Lion lay not hid under the skin of a Lamb, as because it was not known which way the French would receive that alteration; wherefore there was much to be thought on, both to be by all means possible made certaine, that the King was a true sincere Catholick, and that the people would willingly submit themselves to his devotion; for if the King should but feigne that conversion for interest of State, Religion would be thereby set in manifest danger; and if the people should not accept him, the Popes own reputation would be in no lesse danger, for having run to approve the conversion of a relapsed Heretic, more hastily then the common people; besides, the respect which by all means was to be born to the King of Spain

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Pope *Clement* could have wished that some Catholick Prince of the House of *Bourbon* might be elected to the Crown, & that he should marry the *Infanta*; but when he heard the Kings intention to turn Catholick, he began to incline to him.



1593 (already possessed of the title of *Defender of the Catholick Faith, and Protector of the Sea of Rome*;) who very clearly shewed he had spent so much gold, and powred out so much blood of his armies to preserve Religion in the Kingdom of France, counselled that in a matter of high importance he should proceed with great dexterity, length of time, and with well weighed, and perfect maturity; being certain that King *Phillip's* supplies had hindred the King from getting the totall victory, whilst he was obstinately an Hugonot, and therefore to them was the reward and gratitude due for the Conformation of the *Gallique Church*, and great heed was to be taken not to establish a fierce and powerfull enemy, who might afterward disturb him very much in the possession of his Kingdom.

By these reasons the Pope was perswaded not to yeeld, nor assent at the very first, but to let himself be counselled by the event of things; and yet to begin his principall intention, he thought good to give some glimpse of hope to those who negotiated secretly at Rome for the King, whom they called King of Navar. The Pope favoured a principall servant of the Family of Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, named *Giacopo Sannesio*, a man obscurely born in a Castle of the Marches of *Ancona*, who had long served the Cardinall's father (as they said) for a companion of his studies, whilst he was employed in causes in the *Rota Romana*, and because he was exceeding faithfull, and not of too searching a nature, and therefore a man of very few words, the care of all his domestick affairs lay upon him. This man was acquainted and sometimes held discourse with *Arnaud d'Offat*, a man born at *Anche* in Gascogne of mean parentage but of a most excellent wit, and most regular course of life, who having been brought to Rome by Monsieur *de Foix* Ambassadour from France, staid afterward behind in the Family of Cardinal *d'Este*, and besides his singular learning, and eloquence, was by many years experience, exceeding well versed in the Court of Rome. He being a private man, and long time accustomed to be seen in the Court, was not observed by any body, and managing Spirituall busineses for the Queen Dowager of *Henry the third* as the erecting of Monasteries, granting of Indulgences, and other such like things, might without shew of any business of importance, negotiate with *Sannesio* in a corner of the Antichamber

*Giacopo Sannesio* a servant to the Family of *Aldobrandino*, favoured by Clement the eight was afterward enriched and elected Cardinal.

*Arnaud d'Offat* Agent at Rome for the Queen Dowager of *Henry the third*.

tichamber, seeming only to talke of ordinary things; wherefore the Pope who avoyded open proceedings, and desired to draw the thread of the businesse secretly, gave order to *Sannesio*, that as a friend to this French-man (who was well known to him to be a man of worth,) he should begin as of himself, to treat of the King's affaires, which Treaty being begun thus under hand, proceeded so far, that when Monsieur *de la Clielle* arrived, there had already past many overtures on both sides.

*Giacopo Sannesio* a friend of *d'Ossat*, had order from the Pope to treat with him (but as of himself) about the affaires of the King of France and the Kingdome.

The *Sieur de la Clielle* was come to Rome, with letters from the King to *Monsignor Serafino Olivario* Auditor of the *Rota Romana*, a Prelate, who because he was descended of French Ancestors, had ever been faithfull to the Crown, and desired to serve the King's cause, but saw the passage very difficult, not only to introduce the *Sieur de la Clielle* to have audience of the Pope, as he required, but also to treat in any kind of way, concerning that business, yet being a man of a sweet pleasing nature, both very dextrous, and affable in his discourse, and therefore acceptable to the whole Court, and even to the Pope himself, coming to have audience, under pretence of other businesses he at last brought in that, and in the end would needs shew the Pope the Letter which the King had written to him. The Pope either taken at unaware by *Serafino*, or intending to persevere constantly in his dissimulation, or being troubled to be in a manner constrained to impart his designs to others then those he had determined; shewed himself highly displeased, and would have broke off the discourse of that business, if the Auditor talking sometimes seriously, sometimes in jeast, had not appeased him, concluding finally, That one ought to lend an eare even to the Devill himself, if one could believe it possible for him to be converted. The Pope likewise turning the business into mirth, jeasted a great while with *Serafino*, who pressing him still for an answer, and urging him to hear *la Clielle* not as the King's agent, but as a private Gentleman, from whom perchance to his satisfaction he might learn many secret particulars. The Pope told him he would think upon it. The same evening by the means of *Sannesio* he gave *d'Ossat* directions to goe talk with the Gentleman that was come from France, and to give him good hopes of his negotiation, advertising him (but as from himself) that he should not be dismayd for any difficulty whatsoever he should meet withall.

*Monsignor Serafino Olivario* having received letters from the King, brought by Monsieur *de la Clielle*, shewes them to the Pope.

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The Sieur de *la Clielle* is brought secretly to the Pope, leaves the Kings letters, and departs with no very good answer.

Cardinall *Toledo* treats often with *la Clielle*, but resolves that the Pope cannot admit the Kings desires, He being a relapsed Heretique.

*d'Offat* gives order to *la Clielle* to perswade the King to go on in shewing himself a Catholique.

Divers Treatises are printed against the Absolution of *Henry* the fourth given him by the French Prelates.

The next night *Silvio Antoniani* the Popes Chamberlain went to *Serafino's* house, and taking onely the Sieur de *la Clielle* into his coach, brought him by a private way into the Popes chamber, where he having told him that the King of France had sent him to his Holinesse feet to present those letters to him, (which he had in his hand) the Pope without staying till he had made an end, brake forth into angry words, complaining that he had been deceived, and that he had thought he should have received a private Gentleman, and not an agent of a relapsed, excommunicated Heretique, and commanded him to depart out of his presence. *La Clielle* not at all dismayed (according to the advertisement that had been given him) added many words of humility and submission, and said that being able to do no more, he would leave the King his Masters Letters, and the Copy of his Commission, which he had brought in writing, and though the Pope angerly bade him carry them away, yet he left them upon the Table, and having kifs'd his foot, was carried back to the place where he had been taken up.

The day following he had order to confer with Cardinall *Toledo*, with whom having had very long discourses three severall times, still it was concluded that the Pope could not admit the Kings desires, because he had formerly sent to the Apostolique See, and yet had returned to the vomit of heresie, and the Cardinall having taken particular information of the Kings busineses, and of the condition of the affairs of France, left the matter so undecided. But the night before *la Clielle* departed from Rome, his answer was with great secrecy given him by the means of *d'Offat*, that the King should go forward in shewing himself truly converted, and should give signs of being sincerely a Catholike, for the Pope was resolved to reject the Duke of *Nevers* to satisfy his own conscience, and to try the Kings constancy, yet with the opportunities of times, he should at last obtain his intent.

With this conclusion *la Clielle* went toward France, without having so much as conferred with *Monsignore Serafino*, (which had been given him in charge) the Pope desiring that every one should beleieve him most averse from approving the Kings conversion, which the greater part of the Court of Rome thought to have passed with some dis-reputation to the Pope, and that a few Prelates had licentiously arrogated that power to themselves which belonged only to the Apostolique See; whereupon

whereupon there wanted not those who wrote, and Printed 1593  
divers Treatises, wherein they argued that a relapsed Here-  
tique, and one declared to be excommunicate, could not be  
admitted to a Catholique Kingdom, and that the determinati-  
on of the French Prelates to give him absolution was Schisma-  
ticall and to be censured by the *Tribunal* of the *Holy-office*, for  
so they call the judgement of the Inquisition. *Arnaud*  
*d'Offat* wrote against these Treatises, maintaining with  
many reasons taken out of the Sacred Canons and from the  
Doctors of the Holy-Church, and with many pious Christian  
Considerations, that the Pope not onely might, but also that he  
absolutely ought to approve the Kings conversion, and admit  
him to the obedience of the Catholique Church; but though  
in that discourse there was never any thing found, that was not  
manifestly Catholique, and though he wrote with exquisite  
modesty, yet could he not get leave to print it, and all he  
could do, was to shew some copies of it to discreet persons,  
which was not onely not reproved, but secretly approved even  
by the Pope, who was not displeased that mens ears should by  
little and little be made acquainted with this doctrine.

*d'Offat* an-  
swers them;  
but cannot get  
leave to print  
his discourse.

But the Legate being wholly of another opinion, and more  
then over desirous of the proposed Spanish election, was busy  
in managing all the engines, that were proper to bring that de-  
signe to perfection; and therefore besides many exceeding  
long letters, and many distinct informations sent to the Pope  
and to some Cardinalls, he at last also dispatch'd *Pier Francesco*  
*Montorio*, to give more exact advertisements, and to crosse  
the Kings Embassy; but a politick device which he subtilly  
made use of, redounded to the exceeding disadvantage of his  
design; for *Montorio* falling sick at Lyons, took a resolution to  
dispatch his instructions post to Rome, to the end they  
might arrive there before the Duke of *Nevers*: in which the  
Legate having written that he thought it convenient, by some  
means which should seem fit, to hold the Duke of *Nevers* in  
hand, and prolong the businesse, till it could be known whether  
when the Truce was ended, the Spaniards were like to attain  
to the election, and to have sufficient forces in readinesse to e-  
stablish it, keeping the King of *Navarre* also doubtfull in the  
mean time, to the end he might not apply his wonted spirit to  
make preparations for warre; this Item served the Pope after-  
ward for a pretence to admit the Duke of *Nevers*, who having

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The Pope sends Antonio Possesvino a Jesuite to tell the Duke of Nevers, that he should not come to Rome to execute his Embassy, because the King was not yet acknowledged a Catholique: thereupon the King goes to Mantua.

in this interim passed *Langres*, was gone toward Italy, through Switzerland, & the country of the *Grisons*, but being arrived at *Poschiavo* a town in the *Valtelline*; he was met by father *Antonio Possesvino* a Jesuite, who was sent to him by the Pope, to let him know, that as he rejoyced in the report, of the king of *Navars* conversion, so could he not admit an Embassy, in the name of a King, whom he acknowledged not, for such as he stil'd himself, and that therefore he might spare the pains of coming. The Duke not loosing heart, though much troubled went forward, but not the straight way to *Rome*, and being come to *Mantua*, he sent *Possesvino* back unto the Pope, endeavouring by many reasons written to him, and the Cardinalls his nephewes, to obtain permission to execute his Embassy, and the *Marquesse de Pisani*, Cardinall *Gondi*, and the Monsieur *de Meiz* Leiger Ambassadour for the king at Venice being come unto him, they with a common consent wrote, and treated many things, which were promoted at Rome by the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadours: Cardinall *Toledo* also carrying himself very favourably in the businesse.

The Pope making use of the advertisement the Legate had given him, to colour his secret intention, shewed that article of *Montorio's* instructions to the Duke of *Sessa* Ambassadour for the King of Spain, and to many Cardinalls depending upon that party, and faigned to let himself be drawn by that respect, and that to that end he would not totally exclude the Duke of *Nevers*; and though both the Duke of *Sessa*, and the Spanish Cardinalls stiffly opposed it, affirming, that at the end of the Truce, the Catholique King would certainly have such forces in a readinesse, as should, to the generall satisfaction of the confederates, be able to establish the proposed election; yet the Pope took a middle way, which was to admit and hearken to the Duke, not as an Ambassadour from the King of France, but as a Catholike Prince, and as an Italian, and therefore he sent back *Possesvino* to him again to Mantua, to let him know that his intention, and last determination, and to advertise him that he should come without state; and with but a small retinue, to the end he might not be held, and acknowledged in the degree of an Ambassadour, but of a private person; which though the Duke thought very hard, and from so difficult a beginning, guessed he should compasse no prosperous end of his Embassy, yet he resolved to go forward, as well because he would

The Pope sends Possesvino again to the Duke of Nevers to bid him come on to Rome where he should be received as a Catholique Italian Prince, though not as an Ambassadour.

would not digresse from the Councell of the Venetian Senate, and the other princes who were the Kings freinds, as also to make the uttermost tryall in a businesse of so mighty importance.

But in France, there happened at this time (besides the ordinary discords) a new misfortune to the League, for the City of Lyons unexpectedly took arms against the Duke of Nemours who was governour thereof, and proceeded so far that they made him prisoner in the Castle of *Pierre Anse*. The Duke of Nemours a Prince of great courage, but of a haughty imperious nature, being departed full of pride by reason of his prosperous defence of Paris, and come unto his government of Lyons, had begun to nourish a design within himself, to reduce it into a free Signiory, together with *Beaniolois* and *Forests* (which were ~~more~~ three precinct joynly under his command) and to adde unto them as many other places and towns as he could; and his brother the Marquesse of *St. Sorlin* having the government of *Dauphine*, he designed to unite that province also unto himself, and by that means joyning his state to that of the Duke of *Savoy* (from whose house his family descended) to be assisted, and fomented by him; but because he knew that neither the Nobility, nor people would ever consent willingly to separate themselves from the Crown of France, and submit themselves unto his tyranny, he had by long contrivance been raysing all those means, which might serve to obtain his intent by force: For this purpose he had under severall pretences, driven many of the chief Citizens out of the City; and exposing the Nobility to manifest dangers, was glad to see many of them perish, who were able to oppose his design; nor that sufficing him, he had upon severall occasions caus'd a great many forts, and Citadels to be built, which encompassed the City of Lyons with a Circle, having begun at *Toissay*, *Belleville*, and *Tisy*, and then continued at *Charlieu*, *S. Bonnet*, *Mombrison*, *Nirieu*, *Coindrien*, *Vienne*, *Pipet*, and lastly to perfect that circumference, he treated with the *Sieur de S. Julien*, that for fiftie thousand Crowns he should let him have *Quirieu* to raise another Fort there likewise, and passing from the circumference unto the center, he meant to rebuild the ruined Citadell of Lyons, and designs and platforms were all ready drawn for that purpose. In these strong places he kept Garrisons of horse, and foot, that depended upon his pleasure, and

An insurrection in the City of Lyons against the Duke of Nemours, who being Governour nor plotted to make himself absolute Lord, but being discovered he is imprisoned, and the Government given to the Arch-Bishop of the City.



not having enough to maintain them of his own, fed them with extorting from the people, and with a pernicious licence of plundering, and spoiling the Country. To these actions were added outward shewes not unlike them; for he kept about him a great retinue of Strangers, undervalued and abused the Nobility of the Country, and in his publique writings no longer used the title of Governour, but barely of Duke of *Nemours* as an absolute Lord. In this interim the time of holding the States at *Paris* being come, he though invited would neither go, nor send thither, still speaking dishonourably of the authority and actions of the Duke of *Mayene*, his brother by the mothers side, and when the Truce was concluded, though he declared that he accepted it for as much as concerned the Kings party, yet neverthelesse would he not dismisse the least part of his Souldiery, but rather entertaining and raising new every day, kept the Country more oppressed in the time of the Cessation then it was before in the heat of War. The principall men and the people of *Lyons* moved by all these things, resolved to complain of it to the Duke of *Mayene*, who for the safety of the City, and the maintaining of his own reputation, thought it good to withstand his brothers ambitious designs, and therefore under colour of desiring that the Arch-Bishop of *Lyons* should go to Rome with Cardinall *Joyeuse*, he caused him to go unto that City, giving him Commission to maintain the peoples liberty, and to give him notice of every particular, to the end he might seasonably provide against danger. This Remedy hasten'd the breaking out of the mischief; for the Duke of *Nemours* having no good correspondence with the Arch-Bishop, and seeing the Citizens ran popularly after him, thought to draw some companies of Souldiers into the Town, either for his own security, or to bridle the people, who were already half in an uproar; But this newes being come amongst the Citizens increased by the wonted additions of report, they no longer delayed to rise, and having taken armes barricadoed up the City, and shut the Duke into a corner of the Town, who having in this necessity desired to speak with the Arch-Bishop, whom before he had not cared to see, the event proved different from his design; for the Arch-Bishop making then no account either of his words, or complements, (which he knew proceeded but from necessity) continued to exhort the people to defend their own liberty; and told them

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which way they should manage their businesse; so that, finally the barricadoes being made up close, and a greater number of men being in Armes, they of the Councell went armed unto him, and told him that for the security of his person, the people being in a mutiny, and for the safetie of the City that was in danger to be sacked, they intended he should retire unto the Castle of *Pierre Anse*, which not being able to contradict, he was at last brought thither, and with more severe guards diligently looked to, and the chief men having assembled the Councell, made a Decree whereby they deprived him of the Government, and likewise the Marquesse his brother (though from him they confessed they had never received any injury at all,) and gave the authority of governing the City unto the Arch-Bishop, which was afterward confirmed upon him by the Duke of *Mayene*.

By a decree of the chief heads of the City of Lyons the Duke of Nemours is put out of the Government and the Marques of S. Sorlin, out of that of Dauphiné.

But this news being come to Paris, many were exceedingly troubled at it, the Spanish Ministers grieving that they had lost one of the Chief instruments of their power; but *Mame de Nemours* being afflicted much more for the danger & ruine of her Son; and many there were who perswaded themselves that all the mischeif proceeded from the Duke of *Mayene*, who not only had desired to abate the arrogance of his brother, but had also done it to get Lyons into his power, and joyne it to his Government of *Bourgogne*, that he might remain Master thereof, whatsoever the event of things should be; it being known to every one that in the Treaties he held with the King, and also with the Spanish Ministers, he had demanded that Lyons and *Bourgogne* should joyntly be granted to him; wherefore though he laboured to seem discontented and angry at the accident that had happened unto his Brother, there was not any body that believed him, seeing he not only omitted to treat of freeing him indeed, though he talked much of it; but also that he had confirmed the authority of Governour upon the Arch-Bishop, which those Citizens had conferred upon him.

This new dissention opened a passage to new troubles, which at that time were like to have steered a more prosperous course; for the Duke of *Mayene* had at last reunited himself, and composed matters with the Duke of *Guise*, their common friends having made them perceive that their discord would in the end be the ruine of them both; wherupon the Duke of *Mayene*

The Dukes of *Mayene* and *Guise* united themselves in affection and agree joyntly to favour each other in the election to be King.



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Mayene to free himself from the aspersions of crossing his Nephews advancement; and the Duke of Guise, not to shew himself regardless of his Uncle's labour in upholding the party, were mutually agreed that if the Duke of Mayene found means to attain the Crown for himself, the Duke of Guise should be obliged to keep united with him, and assist him with all his forces; and in case the Duke of Mayene could not obtain the Kingdom for himself, or for one of his Sons, he should likewise be obliged to help the Duke of Guise to attain it either by the marriage of the *Infanta*, or some other way.

*Tassis* being returned from Flanders, treats with respect and confidence with the Duke of Mayene.

This accommodation did infinitely displease the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d' Jvarra*, who saw themselves deprived of the proper instrument to keep the Duke of Mayene in jealousy, and to be able when occasion should require by that means to keep down and suppress his greatness; and yet *Juan Baptista Tassis* being returned from Flanders, who had been there to confer with *Don Pedro Enriquez* of Toledo *Condé de Fuentes*, who held the Government of the Low-Countries till the arrivall of the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, began to treat of piecing up again with the Duke of Mayene, such being the opinion and desire of that principall Minister, who perceived well that without his help and consent, all other attempts would prove fruitlesse; and though the Spanish Ministers at Paris thought themselves deceived, and ill dealt withall by him, yet the *Condé* did not judge it a fit time to take revenge, but to manage things with patience and dissimulation, since they had seen by experience, that the principall Deputies of the States, depended upon the will and authority of the Duke of Mayene. At *Tassis* his arrivall they began to treat, the Legate also interposing, though he was much more inclined to the Duke of Guise, but not being willing to digresse from the King of Spains resolutions, not only by reason of his ancient inclination, but also because in that State of affaires there was no breaking friendship and good correspondence with him, without indangering Religion.

*Tassis* began with letting him know the good will the *Condé de Fuentes* bore him; then he went on himself condemning the perverse carriage of his Collegues and in the end intimated and implied, but did not affirmatively declare, That

the Catholick King would be content to give the *Infanta* to one of his Sons, provided they could but agree in other matters. After this conference the other Spanish Ministers began to change their manner of proceeding, and to beare more respect to the Dukes person and authority, and the Cardinal Legate himself to doe the same; so that it was easie for him to believe there were new orders come from Spain in favour of him; as it was true, King *Philip* being finally resolved, to procure the *Infanta's* election with any Husband whatsoever, and having conceived an opinion, that the Duke of Mayene standing fixt in his designe of attaining the Crown for his posterity, would consent to most profitable conditions for his Kingdom.

The King of Spain, provided the *Infanta* might be elected, resolves to give her any husband.

But that which made the businesse difficult was the present weaknesse of the Kings condition; for his Treasures being wonderfully exhausted, he could not make those great preparations that were necessary to uphold so great an enterprize, and he was brought so low that the Merchants would no longer accept his bills of exchange, and the *Genoëses* to whom he was indebted many Millions, refused to make new payments; his weaknesse was with all possible care concealed by his Ministers, and they continued to affirme that against the end of the Truce, twelve thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse should be in a readinesse to enter into Picardy, and one hundred thousand Crownes should be paid to the Duke of Mayene every moneth to maintain as many French forces; and to gaine the greater belief they strained themselves to pay him twenty thousand in present, and give him bills for six thousand more upon their credits, striving in all things to please, and still to increase new hopes in him every day more and more.

This piecing up with the Spaniards, besides the accommodation with the Duke of Guise, was the cause of interrupting the Treaty of peace which had been continued many dayes with the Kings Deputies, in which though not only Monsieur *Villeroy*, but also President *Jannin* had laboured very much, yet was there not any Conclusion agreed upon; for the King was grown jealous, that the Duke of Mayene treated but slyly, without any desire to conclude; and this suspicion grew from some of the Legate's letters to the Pope, which were intercepted, wherein though he spoke very ill of the Duke



1593 Duke of Mayene, and imputed it to his ambition, and malignity that the *Infanta* and the Duke of *Guise* were not elected; yet he affirmed he had tyed him up in such a manner, that he should never conclude an agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and that he had taken a secret oath to that purpose in a writing signed by him, the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbœuf*, the Count of *Brissac*, the Marshalls of *Rosne*, and *S. Paul* and many other of the principall men, a copy of which writing was inclosed in the same Letters, wherefore *Villeroy* going to the King to treat on still about the peace, he would do nothing else but shew him the Letters, and the writings, whereof he also gave him a copy to shew the Duke of *Mayene*, who not being able to deny, but that the oath was true, excus'd himself yet for it with saying, that he had alwayes intended to conclude the peace with a reservation of the Popes consent, and if he should approve it, he was then immediately loosened from the obligation of that oath; nor did the sight of the evill which the Legate wrote concerning him, at all withdraw him from his resolution; for he interpreted those to be old opinions and that the new orders from Spain had varied all things; wherefore applying himself to joyn close with the Spanish Ministers, from the treaty of peace, he came to negotiate the prolonging of the Truce, to give things time to ripen; nor was it hard to obtain the lengthning of it, for the other two months *November* and *December*: because the King also desired, before he moved any farther to know the event of the Duke of *Nevers* his Embassy, and the Popes resolution.

The Truce is prolonged for two moneths more

But this accommodation made up betwixt the Duke of *Mayene* and the Spaniards, made the Pope more wayward to the Kings entreaties, not being willing to admit his reconciliation, whilest he doubted the French of the League would not follow his judgement, but continue the Warre, being united with Spain; it being fit for the reputation of the Apostolique See, for the security of Religion, and for the satisfaction of the world, that he should be the most wary, the most constant and the last man that should approve the Kings conversion; least those mischiefs which might proceed from the establishment of a King not yet well settled in his Religion, should be imputed to his lightnes and credulity; wherefore the Duke of *Nevers* being come neer to Rome, he sent *Possellino* to him again, to let him know, he intended not he should stay above

The Pope sends the Duke of *Nevers* word he intends not he shall stay at Rome above ten dayes.

above ten dayes in the City, and that he had forbidden all the Cardinalls either to see him, or treat with him; which things though they seemed wonderfull hard to the Duke, yet being resolved to prosecute the businesse to the utmost, and beleiving all these were but shewes to set a higher price upon his favour, he went on and entred privately into Rome, at *Porta del Borgo* upon the twentieth day of November.

He went the same evening privately to kisse the Popes feet, & at the first audience desired only that his time might be prolonged, the term of ten dayes being too short to treat of a matter of so great moment; & that he might have leave to visit the Cardinalls and to deliver the letters he had to them from the King, offering to treat of that businesse in the presence of the King of Spains Ambassadors and of the Duke of *Mayen's* Agents, and to shew them that a King of France could not but be received, who humbly suing and being converted, desired to return unto the obedience of the Church. He had no other answer from the Pope but that he would consult with the Cardinals, and with their Councell would resolve; but in his following audiences the Duke endeavoured with many reasons & great eloquence to perswade the Pope, first of all that as being Pope, and the Vicar of Christ he could not reject one who being converted return'd into the bosome of the Church; and then that as a prudent experienced Prince, he ought not to refuse the obedience of the stronger, and more powerfull party; & finally that as Protector of the common Liberty, he ought not to permit that the Kingdom of France by the continuance of a ruinous desperate Warre, should run the hazard of being divided and dismembred, with manifest danger of the liberty of all Christian Princes, and particularly of the See of Rome. He enlarged himself upon the first point with proofs of Scripture, and with many examples, and authorities of the primitive Church, and the fathers; but knowing the difficulty did not consist in that, he enlarged himself much more in the other two, and thinking the Pope persisted to be so obdurate, particularly because he doubted of the Kings forces, and that the Catholicks of the League united with the King of Spain were strong enough to suppress him, he took much pains to shew that the major part of the *Parliaments* of France, all the Princes (except those of the House of *Lorain*,) the flower of the Nobility,

The Duke of  
Nevers being  
entred private-  
ly into Rome  
goes the same  
evening to  
kisse the Popes  
feet.



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lity, and two thirds of the Kingdom followed his party, that his adversaries were few and of meane quality, disagreeing among themselves, and full of desperation, so that to the Kings perfect establishment, and the totall quiet of the kingdom, there wanted nothing but the consent of the Apostolique See and the benediction of his Holinesse. He reckoned up all the Kings Victories which did indeed proceed from his valour, but also from the power & strength of the Nobility and people that followed him; he exaggerated the weaknesse of the Spaniards who might well keep the Civill dissentions alive by art and industry, but could not sustain them by force of Arms. He strove to shew the articles and artifices they used, and that their aim was to usurpe the Kingdom, as they had lately discovered their secret in the proposition of the *Infanta*: he excited the piety and justice of the Pope, not to make himself author of violating the *Salique-law* and the other fundamentall ones of the Kingdom; not to assist those who laboured to dispoyle the lawfull blood of the Crown; and finally not to permitt that discords should be sowed under his name to the utter ruine of the foundations of a most Christian Kingdom, and first born of the Holy Church. Last of all he concluded that he brought along with him some of those Prelates who had given the King absolution, and who desired to present themselves at his feet, to give him an account of what had been done, their minds giving them that they should make him cleerly see they had not swerved from the obedience of the Apostolique See, nor from the rites and customes of it, and that what they had done was conformable to the Sacred Canons, and the minde of the Holy Church.

The Pope lets the Duke of Nevers know that he cannot prolong the term of ten dayes, and that he could not admit the Prelates who came along with him to his presence, unlesse they submitted themselves to the Penitentiario Maggiore who is the chief officer that hath power to absolve a penitent.

The Pope was constant in his determination, and though the Dukes reasons moved him, yet being resolved howsoever not to be too hasty; and so much the rather because the Duke seemed to urge that the absolution given to the King in France might be confirmed and approved, but not to propose the submitting of the King to the censure and judgement of the Apostolique See, he said he would think upon an answer, and two dayes after not having the heart to talk any more with the Duke, and to answer his reasons, he let him know by *Silvio Antoniani* that he could not prorogue the terme of ten dayes, lest he should discontent those Catholiques who being obedient to the Church, had ever, and did yet uphold Religion, and that

that that time was sufficient, having nothing else to treat of; 1593  
that it was not fit he should speak unto the Cardinalls, having  
been admitted as a private man, not as an Ambassadour; and  
that as concerning the Prelates that came along with him, he  
could not admit them to his presence, unlesse first they submit-  
ted themselves to Cardinall *Santa Severina* the chief penitenti-  
ary to be examined by him.

This was the Popes last resolution: for though the Duke  
obtained another audience, yet could he not alter his deter-  
mination, but he sent Cardinall *Toledo* to let him know the  
same things, with whom having had many long discourses, the  
substance of the businesse varied not; and though the Duke ve-  
ry much troubled with a Catharre, was of necessity fain to stay  
beyond the time of ten days, yet could he not prevail any  
thing at all, and finally being brought to his last audience in  
the Popes presence, after having at large repeated all his  
reasons, he fell upon his knees, and beseech'd him, that at  
least he would give the King absolution in *Foro Conscientiæ*:  
but neither could he obtain this, and departed exceeding ill  
satisfied, having finally with more liberty and spirit then he was  
wont, aggravated the wrongs that were done unto the King,  
and the injuries that were put upon his own person, who for-  
getting his want of health, his age, and quality, had taken the  
pains to come that journey, for the safety and quiet of Christ-  
ians.

The Duke of  
Nevers falling  
upon his knees  
beseeches the  
Pope at least to  
give the King  
absolution in  
*Foro Conscien-  
tiæ*, and it is  
denied.

After he was gone from his audience, Cardinall *Toledo*  
came to him again, and told him that if the Prelates did so much  
abhor the face of Cardinall *Santa Severina*, they should be  
heard by the Cardinall of *Aragon* Chief of the Congregation of  
the *Holy Office*; but the Duke answered, that they being come  
as Ambassadours in company with him, he did not mean they  
should be used as criminalls, but that the Pope should admit  
them to his presence; for to him as Head of the Church they  
would give a good account of their actions: but the Cardinall  
replied that it was not decent for them to contend and dispute  
with the Pope; the Duke added that he would be content if  
the Pope would but admit them to kisse his feet, and that  
then they should render an account to Cardinall *Aldobrandino*  
his Nephew.

But neither would the Pope accept of this condition;  
whereupon the Duke of *Nevers* having distinctly set down in

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writing



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The Duke of  
Nevers goes a-  
way discontented  
from  
Rome.  
The Duke  
comes to Ve-  
nice, where  
the French  
Prelates print  
a book of the  
reasons that  
moved them  
to absolve the  
King.

writing all that he had done, departed from Rome taking the Prelates with him, and went to the City of *Venice*, where the Bishop of *Mans* published a little book in print, wherein he set forth the reasons, that had moved the Prelates to absolve the King; one of which was, that the Canons permit the Ordinary whom it concerns to absolve from excommunication, and every other case when the Penitent is hindred by a lawfull cause from going to the Popes feet himself, and another, that in the point and danger of death the penitent might be absolved by any one; in which danger the King manifestly was, being every day exposed in the encounters of warre, to the perill of his enemies; and besides that, conspired against a thousand wayes by their wicked treacheries, to which reasons adding many others he concluded, they had power to absolve him *ad futuram Cantelam*, reserving his obedience and acknowledgment to the Pope, which he at that time fully rendered him.

When the Duke was gone, the Pope having assembled the Cardinalls in the Consistory, declared that he had not been willing to receive the King of *Navars* excuses and obedience: because his conscience would not suffer him to lend his faith so easily to one that had formerly violated it; that to admit one to so potent a Kingdom without great regard, and due caution would have been a very great lightnesse; and being certain that others would have beleev'd, and followed his judgement, it was not fit proceeding blindly, to make himself a guide to the blinde, and to lead the good French Catholiques to the ruinous precipice of damnation; and that therefore they should be assured he would continue constant, and would not accept of false dissimulations & politique tricks in a matter of so great consequence. Thus the Spaniards remayned satisfied, and the Catholiques of the League contented; yet was not the King moved with all this, or turned aside from his first intention, the *Sieur de la Chelle's* relation having applyed an antidote to that so bitter potion.

*Pierre Barriere* a Vagabond fellow having conferred with two Fryers resolves to kill the King, but being discovered, he is taken tortured, and put to death.

The King at this time was at *Melun* in which town one *Pierre Barriere* was taken and put in prison, who had conspired to kill him; but by whom he was instigated is not well known; he was born obscurely in the City of *Orleans* and followed the profession of a Waterman in those boats that are wont to go upon the *Loyre*, but being known for a man of a brutish cruel

nature

nature he had been made use of in the acting of many villanies; from which, and the dissoluteness of his carriage being grown to a vagabond kind of life, he was at last fallen upon a thought of this fact, which having imparted to two fryers, the one a *Cappuchin*, the other a *Carmelite*, he was (as he said) earnestly perswaded to it by them; but being yet doubtful and uncertain in his mind, he would needs reveale his Secret also to *Seraphino Banchi* a Dominican Frier borne in Florence, but living in Lyons. This man struck with horror; to hear the boldness, and wicked intent of this fellow, dissembled nevertheless, and told him, it was a thing to be well considered, and not to be so soon resolved on, and bade him come again the next day for his answer, which he would think upon and study to know how he should determine the question; in the meane time thinking how the King might be warily advertised of it, he intreated the *Sieur de Brancaleon* a servant of the Queen Dowagers, who was then in the City, to come to him the same day, and hour he had appointed, and they being both of them come at the same time, he made them stay, and talk a great while together, to the end that *Brancaleon* might know *Barriere* perfectly; then having told him he could not yet resolve what counsel he should give him, because the question was very full of difficult doubts, he dismissed him, and discovered the whole businesse to *Brancaleon*, to the end that giving the King notice of it, the mischief might be prevented. *Barriere* going from Lyons, and coming not many dayes after to Paris, conferred about it first with the Curate of *S. André* and then with his father *Varade* Rector of the Jesuites who (as he affirmed) perswaded him to doe the deed; wherefore he departed resolved to attempt the execution of it, and being come to *S. Denis*, lingered after the King to find an opportunitie to effect his designe. But being come with the King to *Melun*, *Brancaleon* also came thither; by whom being known and pointed out, he was put in prison by the Archers of the *Grand Prevost*, and being examined and brought face to face with *Brancaleon*, he confessed that he was once minded to have killed the King, and that he had conferred about it with the Dominican Fryer at Lyons; but that afterward having heard of his conversion, he was resolved not to doe it; and that he was going towards Orleans, in which City he was born, being determined to put himself in-



to a Monastery of Capuchins ; but these things he spoke with so much insolency, and contempt, as plainly shewed him to be guilty, having also a great two edged knife about him, which gave proof of his intention to commit the fact ; whereupon having been many times examined, and tortured, he was by the appointed Judges condemned to die , which sentence being told him, with perswasions to a sincere confession of his crime, he confessed the whole businesse , and related all the particulars distinctly, thence being brought to the place of execution, and having ratifyed all he had said before, he suffered the usuall punishments, as a reward for his audacious rashnesse.

In the mean time the terme of the Cessation was almost expired, and the Duke of Mayene intent to gain the most time he could possibly, had again dispatch'd the *Sieur de Ville-roy* to the King, to get it prolonged ; but he not having been able to obtain any thing, he after him dispatched the Count *de Belin*, who was perswaded he should compasse it ; but the King was utterly averse from that intention, knowing certainly that they desired to gain time, not to expect the resolutions from Rome, but indeed the supplies and preparations from Spain, and therefore he was determined to lose no more time, but since his adherents had held many practices through the whole Kingdom, he made haste to let the warre breake out, that he might see whether those mines that were prepared, would take effect. Wherefore though the Duke of Mayene, besides others used also *Sebastiano Zametti* (who of a Merchant of Piedmont was become a man of great businesses in Court) and though the President *de Thon*, and the Count *de Schombergh* met with him at Paris, yet was it not possible by any Conditions how large soever to perswade the King to prolong the Cessation , no not for a few dayes.

But no sooner was the terme of the Cessation expired, when the effects of the Kings conversion, and of the practices his Ministers had opportunely set on Foot, began to shew themselves ; for Monsieur *de Vitry* Governour of *Meaux*, who being deep in arreares had in the time of the Truce been with the *Condé de Fuentes* to get them paid, and having not only failed of that which he thought it most reasonable to demand, but also waited many dayes before he could be admitted to tell his

his businesse, a thing absolutely intolerable to the French impatience; he came back full of spite and discontent, often repeating those words, which are almost grown a proverbe, *Point d'argent, point de Vitry*; wherefore taking occasion from his inability to pay the Souldiers himself, he called the people of the Town to a parly, and told them he had constantly followed the party of the League as long as the businesse was matter of Religion; but now the King was turned Catholick he would not deny him due obedience, nor follow them, who for ambition and interest would prosecute the warre, and therefore delivered up the keys of the Town into their hands, and leaving them at liberty to dispose of themselves, went straight to put himself on that side which he manifestly saw was in the right; and putting on a white scarfe, and making all his Souldiers weare the same colour, was going to march out of the Town; but the people excited by those few words, and the example of their Governour, cryed out unanimously, *For the King, for the King*, and presently chose four Deputies to goe and deliver the Towne into his power.

\* No money, no Vitry.

Monsieur de Vitry Governour of Meaux goes over to the Kings Party, and causes the Townes-men to send Deputies to the King to deliver the place into his hands.

This place was exceeding opportune, as well by reason of its nearenesse to Paris, as because it shut up the passage of the river *Marne*; but the example of it to all the other Towns of the League, was of much greater consequence; for being the first that submitted it self to the Kings obedience, it was likely to open a way to a novelty of such importance, that the sum of affaires consisted in it; wherefore the King deliberating (as his custome was) in his Counsell what course was to be held, and what conditions should be granted to it, was in a little suspence, because the opinions of his Counsellors were different among themselves; some of a more fierie nature (who could not so easily forget the past insolencies of the Common people, and the inveterate enmity of the actions) with the adherents of the Hugonots, (for yet some of them came to Councell) would have had them that returned unto their obedience, bridled with severe conditions, and that they should redeem their former faults, and offences by sharp repentance being desirous to wreak their long troubled hatred, and proudly to triumph upon the enemies which they already accounted conquered. But the more wise and moderate men considered that these return'd unto their obedience



1593 ence, neither through the necessitie of a Siege, nor for fear of force, but out of the instinct of their own will, and that it was therefore fit, the example should be such as might invite and allure other places of greater importance to follow it, that this beginning was to serve for a rule to other compositions, and agreements; wherefore since the King used all possible endeavours to win the people to acknowledge him, it would have been a crosse Counsell, now to reject, and fright them with sharpnes, and severity; that it was necessary to help this first motion to bring forth a happy obedience; to accommodate ones self to the imperfections of the Subjects, and with the bait of good usage to promote those wavering thoughts: they call'd to mind how pernicious the pardon granted to the Flemmings by the Duke of *Alva* had been by reason of his strictnesse, exceptions, ambiguities, and want of sincerity in the conditions, whence it came to passe, that that strictnesse and doubtfulnesse of pardon alienated more Cities and more people from the Catholique King, then so many punishments, so much blood, and so many violences had done before; therefore they exhorted the King to grow wary at his Neighbours cost, and not to run into those errors which they heard the Spaniards reproached with every day.

The Duke of *Alva* by granting a strict ambiguous pardon to the Flemmings alienates more Cities from the Catholick King then his former punishments and rigours had done.

The Deputies of *Meaux* are graciously received by the King, who grants them many Priviledges, and confirms the Government upon Monsieur de *Vitry*, and his Son.

This opinion being without doubt the best and most fruitful, suited wonderfully with the Kings nature inclined to gentlenesse and clemency, and with the necessity of his affairs; and the knowing that his enemies, though weak and divided, were not yet suppressed, and utterly ruined, induced him to consent unto it, and to resolve to open that so large gate, that all others might runne willingly to passe in at it; wherefore having received the deputies with kind demonstrations, he graciously granted the Citizens of *Meaux* all conditions they knew how to aske, among which that the exercise of the Catholique Religion alone should be allowed in their Town; he granted them also exemption from many impositions, the confirmation of the offices and benefices granted by the Duke of Mayene, and the continuation of the immunities and ancient Priviledges of the Place; he confirmed the Government upon Monsieur de *Vitry*, and after him upon his eldest son, and gave him a certain summe of money to pay his debts, and also paid the souldiery that followed him, and entertained them in his service.

This

This blaze of liberality, and clemency spread a wonderfull lustre through all parts of France, so that upon the same thereof many others resolved to follow the example, and to try if they could finde more quiet in the Kings goodnesse, then in the troubles of the Warre, and so much the rather when they saw the Kings Edict published upon the fourth of January 1594, wherein with a great and specious flourish of words, he confirmed the foresaid Conditions, which Edict was also received without any kind of delay, and approved of in the Parliament.

The Sieur de  
Eufrumel and  
Monsieur de  
la Chastre, com-  
pound with  
the King for  
themselves and  
their Govern-  
ment.

About the same time the Sieur d'Eufrumel Brother in law to Monsieur de S. Luc, & Governour of Peronne, Mondidier & Roye made agreement for himself, and those three principall Towns of Piccardy, to put themselves under the Kings obedience; but to make his revolt more specious, he would first make a Truce for many months, whereby those aforesaid Towns remained neutrall. The same did the Sieur d'Alincourt and Monsieur de Villeroy with Pontoyse; for the King was content they should remain neutrall by a particular Truce, that he might make use of Villeroy in drawing on the treaty of Peace, which was yet kept alive with the Duke of Mayene.

But Monsieur de la Chastre one of the principall men of the League declared himself for the King freely, and without any pretence in the beginning of February; for having in vain demanded supplies of men & mony from the Spanish Ministers, being incensed at the repulse, and weary of the discords, which he saw in his Party, he agreed with the King, by means of the Arch-Bishop of Bourges, for himself and the Cities of Orleans and Bourges, obtaining for them the same conditions that had been granted to Meaux, and for himself the confirmation of the degree of Marehall of France, conferred upon him by the Duke of Mayene, and of the Governments he had in possession which after him were to come to his Son the Baron de la Maison.

The City of  
Lyons declares  
for the Kings  
party.

In the same month happened the composition with the City of Lyons; for the people of that place having expected that the Duke of Mayene should either come thither in person, or send a man of great authority to accommodate the businesse with the D. of Nemours, & to remove him from that government by giving him a convenient recompence, he not being able to leave Paris in the condition it was in, and not having an equivalent

Y y y y y y

recompence



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recompence to offer, (for the Government of *Guieune* which the Duke of *Nermours* would have accepted, was already promised to the Duke of *Guise*, and the Marquesse of *Villars* who commanded there, would not heare of submitting himself to any other body,) he could neither remedy the popular Commotion, nor oppose the force of the Marquesse *de S. Sorlin*, who to recover his Brother, molested the whole Country of *Lyons* with exceeding great plunderings, and also straitned the City; wherefore after the people had in vain expected many months, not knowing what resolution to take, they at last called Collonell *Alfonso Corso* who was near that place with a good number of men, and having brought him into the City, publicly set up the Royall Standard, having thrown and beaten down all the armes and Monuments of the League every where.

The City of *Aix* in Provence besieged by the Duke of *Espemon* being not releived submits to the Kings obedience.

A while before the City of *Aix* in Provence being straitly besieged by the Duke of *Espemon*, and seing they could receive no releif neither from the Duke of *Savoy* nor from any other part, the Count *de Carsy* being in it, who had married a daughter in law of the Duke of *Mayen's*, and was Commander in Chief of the forces of that Province, took a resolution since the King was turn'd Catholique, to submit himself to his obedience; but upon condition that the Duke of *Espemon*, should not come into the Towne, to whom both the Citizens, and the Count himself professed a particular enmity, in which point they were satisfied by means of Mounseur *Les-dignieres* and of Collonell *Alfonso Corso*.

In this so violent a motion of the principall Heads and Cities of the *Vnion*, part wherof had already agreed to obey the King, and part talked of agreeing, the Cardinalls-Legate was in great feare and trouble: for he having promised at Rome that there should follow no alteration upon the Kings conversion, was now in great perplexity for fear the Pope should account him either a light, or a negligent man, and having perswaded and urged that the Kings Embassy might not be received by the Apostolique See, he doubted now that all sinister events would be imputed to his evil counsell, and was extreemly vexed that so much labour, and so great endeavours used by him to bring the affairs of the League to the end he pretended, should now prove vain and unprofitable, and that all the engines of his contrivance should be

The substance  
of a writing set  
forth by the  
Cardinall Le-  
gate to keep  
the Catholick  
League on  
foot.

be overturned in a moment; wherefore being fallen into a profound consideration, he after long consultation resolved to set forth a writing wherein he informed and assured the people of France, that the Pope judging the King of *Navarrs* conversion to be fain'd, and counterfeit, had neither approved it, nor admitted the Duke of *Nevers* as his Ambassadour, but as an Italian Prince, and a private person. He protested moreover, that the Pope would never approve of that conversion, nor admit the King into the bosome of the Church, upon which ground he exhorted all Catholicks not to swerve from the judgment & union of the *Apostolike See*, nor from the obedience of the Pope. With this writing he thought he might stop the motion of mens minds, that inclined to submit themselves to the King, and judged that the scruple of Conscience would be stronger to withhold them, then the consideration of temporall lawes to spur them on; but this counsell produced a contrary effect; for most men were incensed, that so great a Prince should be refused to be received to repentance, whereas the Church is wont with so much paines to endeavour, and with so much tenderneffe to embrace the conversion of every meanest sinner; and the people being perswaded by a desire of Peace, and rest, and abhorring civill discords which had produced so many mischiefes, both in publick and in private, were much the more ready to take a resolution, and shelter themselves under the Kings obedience; and yet the Legate either persevering in his old opinions, or his heart not suffering him to unsay what he had writ and advised at Rome, continued firmly to uphold the League, as well with the Pope, as among the French Lords themselves, with whom he was every day at close consultations.

Equall to his was the trouble and terror of the King of Spains Ministers, who seeing some of them were fallen off, whom they accounted the most confiding men; and though pieced up, yet not totally trusting to the intelligence they held with the Duke of Mayene, not seeing that the Duke of Guise himself was very well satisfied, they knew not that all their hopes would vanish, if the present need were not speedily succoured, which was very difficult as well by reason of the want of money, as the ill conditions of the affairs of *Flanders*; and though they bestired themselves with all their power, they could neither find any that would pay their Bills of exchange,



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nor that would have to do with them ; and to be fain to stay for those provisions that came slowly out of Spain , was a remedy too late, and too far of ; they resolved therefore to make use of the nearest assistance, which was that of Flanders, and dispatched many messengers to hasten the advance of the Army, and at last *Juan Bapista Tassis* went thither himself ; but besides that, there was no way to pay their forces, for want whereof, some Spanish *Tertia's* and a great many Italian Horse had mutined ; Count *Charles* of *Mansfield* also who was to command the Army (desiring for his own interests, not to stirre from Flanders, either because he inclined not to obey the Duke of Mayene, or else not thinking that with so few men, and no money he could come of with honour,) interposed many delays and many hinderances, so that the Spanish Camp small in number, ill provided, and disagreeing, durst not advance from their own confines.

The Duke of Mayene wavering in so many adversities thinks to make his peace with the King.

But the Duke of Mayene was more afflicted and troubled then all the rest. He saw the Count *de Carsy* and the Mar-  
shall *de la Chastre* lost, in whom he was formerly wont to con-  
fide more then in any others; the City of *Lyons* gon, to which  
place he had resolved what ever happened to reduce the reli-  
ques of his fortune ; his Brother the Duke of Nemours no  
longer Prisoner to the City, but to the King himself ; *Meaux*  
and *Pontoise* in the Kings hands, which Towns so nearly  
bridled the City of Paris, the people whereof allured on the  
one side by the benefits of Peace, and plenty, and on the other  
spurred on by their ancient inclination, and respect of Consci-  
ence, wavered in their resolutions, and it was uncertain to  
which Party they would at last incline. For all these causes  
he was many times thinking to make his peace with the King,  
before he was forsaken of all, to which the *Sieur de Villeroy*  
perswaded him, with frequent Letters, proposing to him ho-  
nourable and advantageous Conditions ; which he shewed  
him, that when he was brought lower, he could not be able to  
obtain ; but would be forced to capitulate, not as the Head  
of the *Vnion*, nor as Lieutenant Generall of the Crown, but  
as a particular Prince, and private person ; but on the o-  
ther side he knew not how to quit his old hopes, in which the  
Spaniards did all they possibly could to confirm him ; besides  
that to make his peace without the Popes consent, to whose  
judgement he had referred himself, seemed to him so undecent

a thing and so contrary to his reputation, that he could not accommodate his minde unto it, and whatsoever the event of busineses should be, he was resolved rather to perish, then shew that the past War had been imbraced by him, out of an ambitious end, and not for the maintenance of Religion; and he made lesse reckoning of his own ruine, and the destruction of his Family, then of the losse of his honour, and reputation, which he thought he should lose, if he digressed in never so small a matter from the will, and determination of the Pope, and the Apostolick Sea; for which reasons he depended wholly upon those informations, that were expected from Rome, and from the Court of Spain, and in the mean time had sent Monsieur de Rosne into Flanders, not only to hasten that Army, but also that by him he might be sincerely advertised of the qualitie of those supplies which he might certainly hope for from thence.

In this interim Cardinall Joyeuse, and the Baron de Senecey sent last of all by him to the Pope, and the Abbot of Orbaix sent by the Duke of Guise, were come to Rome upon the two and twentieth of January, and being brought to have audience of the Pope, after the narration of all things that had past (the sinister course of which they imputed to the evill Counsell, and the too evident covetousnesse of the Spaniards,) they beseeched him that he would be Mediator, to know King Philips last resolution, and firme determination; and that he himself would be pleased with men and money to succour the danger of religion, and the urgent necessitie of the League, as his predecessors had done; to which Propositions the Pope after having related what had past with the Duke of Nevers, answered that as concerning the Catholique Kings determination, he would endeavour to know what it was, and to confirme him in the good intention of defending the Faith, and upholding the League; but as for his assisting with men and money, he began to excuse himself from that, by the emergent occasion of the Warre with the Turke in Hungary, in which he was necessitated for the universall safety of Christians to imploy the sinewes of his strength; and yet he said that in as much as he was able he would not faile to lend his assistance also to the affairs of France. It was not very difficult for the Ambassadors, and particularly for the Baron de Senecey, a man of a quick understanding to apprehend the Popes meaning,

The Pope being sued to by the Duke of Mayen's Ambassadors for supplies of men & money excuses himself by the Warre of Hungary against the Turke.

he



1594 he being very backward to spend money, and not well satisfied in the affaires of the *Vnion*; wherefore they wrot unto the Duke of Mayene that he must think to furnish himself by other means; for from the Pope there was nothing to be hoped for, nor was he to depend upon him for the obtaining of any considerable supplies.

The King of Spain shewes the same coldnesse in assisting the League to the Sieur de Montpezat.

In the like course also went the negotiation in Spain; for the Sieur de Montpezat having after many delayes treated with the King himself, and besought him, that without referring himself to his Ministers that were in France, he would declare his pleasure as well in matter of the election & marriage of the *Infanta*, as of the supplies of men & monies for the establishment of the Princes that should be elected, and also of the Conditions he would grant the Duke of Mayene, he could never draw any other conclusion from him, save that he would write to Rome, and to the Arch-Duke *Ernest* to settle what should be resolved on, and done, and that it was necessary to expect the informations and answers from both places, which coldnesse and irresolutenesse openly shewed that the King either through wearinesse, or weaknesse was little inclined to go on with the War; but on the other side *Don Bernardino Mendoza* by his long abode there, well versed in the affairs of France, having before this written to the Sieur de *Rombouillet* that if any body were sent to the Court of Spain to treat in the name of the House of *Bourbon*, it was very probable that the Catholick King would agree to Peace, the King not passing by that occasion had caused the Sieur de *la Varenne* (a Gentleman of great understanding, and deep reach, and one whom he trusted) under pretence of going to see that Court, and travailing through severall parts of the world (as the French use to doe) to joyne himself even with the company of *Montpezat*, and to go to the Court of Spain along with him, where having conferred often times with *Mendoza*, & others of the Councell of State he brought back word at his return, that the Spaniards would certainly conclude a Peace, if means could be found that it might be propounded and negotiated with their reputation; which though it was attributed to the arts of that Counsell to make use of the same engines against the Duke of Mayene that he used against them, yet being come to his knowledge, either purposely, or by chance, it confirmed him in the suspicion he was fallen into by reason of the doubt-  
full

full answers which his Ambassadour had received from the Kings own mouth. 1594

But whil'st at Rome they referre the resolution of affairs unto the Court of Spain, and in Spain they are referred to the advertisements from Rome and Flanders, the humour of the French which was not capable of so much patience, wrought so effectually in favour of the King, that all things were in great commotions, and the *Vnion* of the Confederates dissolved of it self in all places. The people of Paris murmured, and kept a noyse being reduced to exceeding scarcity, and the benefit they had felt a while before during the Truce, made their present sufferings more troublesome, more intolerable, the dearth grew every day more necessitous, and the interruption of commerce, and the decay of trading had brought the common people to extreme misery for want of victuall, inso-much as that powerfull incentive failing, wherewith the Chief among them were wont to keep them to the League, which was the danger of Religion, since that by many signes the Kings conversion was seen to be reall and unfained; every one inclined to free himself from trouble, and by peace to make an end of the continued sufferings of so many years. They saw that in those places that submitted themselves to the Kings obedience, the Catholick Religion was maintained, the Clergy mens goods restored to them, Garrisons taken away from those places that belonged to Churches, the exercise of the Hugonot Religion excluded, the Corporations maintained in their priviledges, the Catholicks had their Offices confirmed upon them, the Governments put again into the hands of the same Commanders, and that there appeared no innovation nor danger of any kind whatsoever. The same of the Kings devotion flew abroad, and his inclination to the benefit of the Catholick Religion, that his Councell was composed all of Prelates, and Persons bred up in the same faith; his clemency and benignitie were exalted; his minde farr from revenge commended, and besides all this, the plenty and quiet they of his party enjoyed, were envied by those of the League in the extremity of their sufferings. The covetousnesse of the Spaniards, and the ways they had gon in, had filled every one with discontent, the discords that rained among the Heads of the faction put every understanding man in despair of expecting any prosperous end after so long toils, and

The Parisians murmur by reason of their sufferings which they begin again to feele, and so much the more because the point of Religion being taken away, they every day hear of the Kings good usage of the Catholiques.



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and labours; wherefore the people began to make many conventicles, and meetings, and the *Politicks* failed not to represent fitting considerations to all degrees and qualities of persons, nor did the Count *de Belin* who as Governour had the Charge to hinder the progresse of this inclination, seem to take any care of it, either because he was indeed unsatisfyed with the Duke of *Mayene*, and the Spaniards, or because he thought it impossible longer to withhold the City from revolting, and therefore agreed to get the Kings favour, that he might by him be confirmed in that Government.

The Count *de Belin* is removed from the Government of *Paris*, and the Count *de Brissac* elected in his place.

But the Duke being present, it was not hard for him to finde out what way the Governour went, and being instigated by the importunities of the Legate, and Spanish Ambassadors, he resolv'd to remove him from the Government, which when it was known, the Parliament opposed it stiffly, but in vain, because the Duke of *Mayene*, after having severely reprehended the Councillours of Parliament, would by all means have the Count *de Brissac* accepted, whom he desired, to satisfie by that means, his wonted Government of *Poitiers* having been violently taken from him a while before by the Duke of *Elbœuf*, in which change the Duke was very much deceived; for *Brissac* (though he depended upon, and had anciently been bred up in his family, yet) having spent all his own, to follow the Dukes fortunes, he had also lately been deprived of that Government which he onely loved; whereupon he was full of secret discontent, and was not likely to omit those occasions that should represent themselves to set his fortune right again; nor was the Government of *Paris* proposed to make him amends; for besides the expence which the splendor of that charge carryed along with it, which was very unproportionable to his present ability, he was also certain that he should not continue in it; for there was a treaty already of giving the Government of the Isle of France to the Marques of *S. Sorlin* and though they talk'd that it should be given him excluding the City of *Paris*, yet was it very probable that by the importunities of his Mother he at last would obtain it.

The Duke of *Mayene* being resolved to be no longer idle to the lessening of the reputation of his Parry, goes from *Paris*.

But the Duke after he had setled *Brissac* in the Government, confiding absolutely in him, resolved to go from *Paris* to *Soissons*, and from thence to the Army, beleeving (as it was true) that his lying idle lessen'd his reputation, and gave the people greater conveniency to revolt; and yet at his departure

departure many things crossed him, and he was put in a suspicion of the new governours fidelity, and of the intelligence which the *Prevost des Marchands* held with many *Politicks* that were affected to the Kings party. The Legate, and the Spanish Ambassadors exhorted him likewise not to go, but their words were not taken in good part, he thinking they desired his abode in the City that they might confer the charge of the army & of managing the War upon the D. of Guise; indeed he was something moved by the persuasions of his mother Madame de Nemours, she telling him that the sum of all things consisted now in the conservation of *Paris*, & that she had discovered some practises that past between the *Politicks* of the City and the new Governour; but neither was that able to dissuade him from his departure; for it diminished his reputation, and prejudiced the course of affairs to much to stand with his hands at his girdle, and let himself be straightned to the last necessities without seeking any remedy; and he considered that if the King being Master of *Pontoise* and *Meaux*, and by consequence also master of the Rivers, and having *Dreux*, *Orleans* and *Chartres* in his power should have a mind to besiege *Paris*, he should be locked up in the City, and not be able to do any thing to releive it, and having notice that the King had made a Leavy of six thousand Switzers which were ready to enter into the Kingdom, and knowing that the Queen of *England* was sending new supplies of men and ammunition, he thought it necessary to draw the forces of the confederates together, to make opposition in the Spring-time, if the King should take the field with a great Army, which could not be done unlesse he himself in person were active in the businesse, not judging the Duke of *Guise*, or the Duke of *Anmale* either for authority or experience sufficient to raise, or command the Army, in which charge the secret intentions of men, now more suspected by him then ever, would not suffer him to trust any other person. Moved by these reasons, and not being able to perswade himself that the Count de *Brissac* would forsake him, and change that Faith which he, his Father, and his Grandfather had ever constantly kept, he at last departed and took his Lady, and his son with him, leaving his mother, his sister, the Cardinal-Legate, and the Spanish Ambassadors at *Paris*.

But he was no sooner gone, when the Governour finding himself alone, and little valuing all the rest that were in the

Z z z z z z

City,



1594

The Count de  
Brissac present-  
ly begins to  
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the City to  
perswade them  
to submit to  
the Kings obe-  
dience.

City, thought that occasion for the raising of his fortune again, was not to be lost; wherefore having drawn *Jehan Viller* the *Prevost des Merchands*, and the two chief *Eschevins* which were *Guilliaume du Ver* *Sieur de Neret*, and *Martin l'Anglois* *Sieur de Beauvipaire* unto his party, he went on to deal with the first President, and the other Counsellors of the Parliament. These were displeased with the Duke of *Mayene*, because in many occasions, and particularly in the last of changing the Governour, he had (as they said) us'd them sharply and ingratefully, and openly derided and abused them, and much more were they disgusted at the Spaniards, by reason of the Proposition of the *Infanta*, against whose election they had shewed themselves openly; but that which imported most of all, was that the Presidents & Counsellors of the Parliament, (as men distrustful and disaffected) were ill used by the Catholique Kings Ambassadors, and by the Garrison of Italians, Walloons, and Spaniards which depended on them so that they not only heard proud threats, and opprobrious speeches against themselves to their very faces, with often mentioning the name of *Brissac*, but their servants, and Carterers were abused in the markets by the Souldiers, even to the violent taking away from them whatsoever they bought; for which they having often complained to the Duke of *Mayene*, had not gotten any remedy, but only perswasions to be patient; but at last from this long sufferance, they turned to fury, which wakening mens minds (as it was wont) had made them see how neer they were to the hated servitude of strangers, and how much better it was to secure their own fortune with the stronger party, and free themselves at last from anguish and trouble; wherefore it was not hard to draw them to the opinion of the rest, and bring them to consent to submit the City to the Kings obedience.

Things being thus settled within, and the Governour thinking himself to be in such a condition as to dispose of the people his own way, began to treat with the King by means of the Count de *la Rochepot* with whom he had an exceeding neer affinity and freindship, and being come from the beginnings of a Treaty to agree upon the conditions, the Count de *Scombergh*, Mounseur de *Bellieure* and the President de *Thou* were imployed in the businesse, who within a few dayes concluded what was to be done as well to satisfie the Count de  
*Brissac*

*Brissac*, as to gaine the City without tumult, or blood-shed, and finally the Count himself having conferred in the field with the *Sieur de S' Luc*, who had married one of his sisters, under pretence of treating about her Portion, about which they had been long in suite, it was joyntly agreed upon, That in the City of *Paris* the *Fauxbourgs* therof, and ten mile round about, there should be no publique exercise permitted, save of the Roman Catholique Religion, according to all the Edicts of former Kings. That the King should give a generall pardon to all of what state or condition soever, that had in word or deed upheld and fomented the League, stirr'd up the people to sedition, spoken evill of his person, written or printed against him, thrown downe or despised his Royall Armes, or the Arms of the Kings his Predecessors, or that were guilty in any kinde whatsoever of the past seditions, excepting those that had traiterously conspired against his Person, or that were accessory to the murther of the late King; That the goods and persons of the citizens, should be free from violence and plunder, all the Priviledges, Prerogatives, and immunities confirmed, and kept in the same degree they were wont to be in the times of former Kings; That all places, offices and benefices into which the D. of *Mayene* had put men when they were vacant by death, as well within the Parliament as without, should be confirmed unto the same persons, but with an obligation to take new Patents from the King. That all the present Magistrates of the City should be confirmed if they would submit themselves to the Kings obedience. That every Citizen that would not stay in the City, might have free liberty to depart, and without further leave carry away his goods. That the Cardinal-Legate, Cardinall *Pelle-vé*, and all the Prelats with their servants, might with their goods, and furnitures freely stay, or go, how, and when they thought it seasonable. That the Princesses and Ladies that were in the City, might stay, or go in like manner with full liberty and security. That the Spanish Ambassadors with their attendants, goods, and families, might also have Passeports and safe conducts from the King to go securely whither they pleased. That the Souldiers of the Garrison, French and strangers of any Nation soever, might march out of the City armed in ranke and file, their Drumm's beating, Colours flying, and light match, to go whither they thought good. That two hun-

Conditions of agreement concluded between the King and the Governour of *Paris*.



1594

Particular  
conditions  
concluded in  
the favour of  
the Count de  
Brissac.

dred thousand Crowns should be paid to the Count de *Brissac* in recompence of his expences, and losses, and that he should have twenty thousand Francks of an annuall pension, the Charge of Marshall of France conferred upon him by the Duke of *Mayene* should be confirmed, and the perpetuall Government of *Corbie* and *Mante* granted to him; which things with many other of lesse moment being agreed upon, both sides applyed themselves to the execution of them.

The King desires to be crowned; some object that it cannot be done but at Reimes where the *Sacred Ampoule* or holy viall is kept which (they say) was brought from Heaven by an Angell to anoint King *Clouis*.

The King at this time was at *Chartres*, where he had caused himself to be crowned, and anoynted, or (as they call it) *Sacré*; about which there had been many difficulties, which nevertheless by the authority of the Councell were seasonably removed; for he, that he might take away the doubts of scrupulous minds, desiring to his Conversion to add this Ceremony, which is wont to be used to all Kings, some objected that the Consecration by an ancient custome could not be but at the City of *Reimes*, nor by the hands of any other then the Arch-Bishop of that Church; but having diligently overlooked the Histories of former times, the learned found that many Kings had been consecrated in other places; and since that City was not in the Kings power, reason consented not that he should therefore remain without that due ceremony, which they thought necessary for his perfect Establishment. This difficulty being removed, there succeeded another, how the King could be anointed without the oyle of *S. Ampoule*, which was kept in the Cathedrall of that Citie, and which (as fame reports) was brought down by an Angel from Heaven, purposely for the consecration of King *Clouis*, and the other Kings of France his successors; but neither of this was there any other necessitie save bare tradition: whereupon it was determined that neither the Citie, nor the oyle being in the Kings power, the oyle should be brought that is kept in the Citie of *Tours*, in the Monastery of the Friars of *S. Martin*, of which there is a report (confirmed by the authority of many writers) that it was likewise brought from Heaven to anoint that *Saint*, when, falling from the top of a ladder, all his bones were broken, and shattered in pieces; wherefore Monsieur de *Souvray* Governour of *Tours*, having caused that viall to be brought out in Procession, by those Monkes that had it in keeping, and having placed it under a rich Canopy of State, set round pompously with lights, in the top of a Chariot made

made expressely for that purpose, and guarded by four Troops of Horse, he himself going before it all the journey, brought it a long with him to the Citie of *Chartres*, and with that oyle they anoynted the King at his Consecration, causing it afterward to be carried back to its place, with the same ceremony and veneration.

There arose also a competition among the Prelates, which of them should perform the act of consecration; for the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* pretended that function belonged unto him, as Primate; and on the other side, *Nicholas de Thou* Bishop of *Chartres*, alledged that the Ceremony being to be celebrated in his Church, it could not be taken away from him. The Councell sentenced in favour of the Bishop of the Diocesse; and so upon the twenty seventh of February the King was consecrated with great Solemnitie and Pompe, both Ecclesiasticall and Military, the twelve Peers of France being present at the Ceremony; six Ecclesiasticall, and six secular, which were the Bishops of *Chartres*, *Nantes*, *Mans*, *Maillezays*, *Orleans*, and *Angiers*, representing those of *Reimes*, *Langues*, *Laon*, *Beauvais*, *Noyon*, and *Chalons*: and for the Secular Peeres, the Prince of *Conty* for the Duke of *Bourgogne*, the Duke of *Soissons* for the Duke of *Guienne*, the Duke of *Montpensier* for the Duke of *Normandy*, The Duke of *Luxemburgh* instead of the Earle of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Retz* instead of the Count de *Toulouse*, and the Duke of *Vantadour* instead of the Count de *Champagne*; the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges* did the Office of *Grand Aumosnier*, the Mareshall de *Matignon* of High Constable, the Duke of *Longueville* that of High Chamberlaine, the Count de *S. Paul* that of *Grand-Maistre*, and the High Chancellor *Chiverny* holding the Seals in his right hand, sate on one side of the Cloth of State.

\* The French sayes *Dinan*.

The King according to the custome of the Kings of France, upon the day of this Solemnity, received the Communion in both kinds, tooke the oath which all the Kings of France are wont to take, to maintain the Catholick faith, and the authority of the Holy Church, and at his coming out of the Church, touched those that had the Kings evil, to the number of three hundred; from the Church he went unto the feast, where according to the custome sate the twelve Peers that had been present at the Ceremony, the Princeesse *Katharine*

The obligation on of ~~France~~ upon the day of their consecration.

*rins*



1594 *rine* Sister to the King, with the other great Ladies that were at Court, and the Ambassadors of the Queen of England, and the Republick of Venice. After dinner the King went to *Vespers*, where he received the order of the *S' Esprit*, renewing his oath for the conservation of the faith, and the persecution of Heresie; which Ceremonies as they filled the hearts of his own party with great joy and gladnesse; so did they the more move the inclination of the others to acknowledge and obey him.

In the mean time the Treaties in Paris were ripening for the reducing of that Citie, being mannaged with great dexterity and secrecie by the Governour, the *Prevost des Marchands*, and President *le Maistre*; but thwarted more then ever by the violent perswasions of the Preachers, who ceased not to cry from their pulpits, that the Kings Conversion was fained and dissembled, and that no body could acknowledge him with a good conscience. The businesse was likewise crossed by the practices and boldnesse of the *Sixteen*, who since the accident of President *Brissson*, having remained with small credit, and lesse power, being now fomented by the Legate and the Spaniards, and no lesse by the Dutchesse of *Nemours* and *Montpensier* (who had turned their sails according to the wind) they began to rise again, meeting frequently, often stirring up commotions, and proceeding audaciously against those that were suspected to be of the King's party; but the Governour making use of his authority, and also of the Duke of Mayene's name, laboured to dissipate and suppress them, under colour that he would have no Conventicles, nor armed insurrections in a time of so great suspicion: and finally, having accorded with the Parliament, they caused publick Proclamation to be made, that upon pain of death, and confiscation of goods, none should go to any meeting, except in the Town-house, and in the presence of above five Magistrates: Upon the foundation of this Decree, the Governour sharply using force, did within a few dayes destroy and take away the opposition of the *Sixteen*, in so much, that being at last in such a condition, that he was able to dispose of the Citie, he resolved that he would receive the King upon the 22<sup>d</sup> of March in the morning; and to this end, having spread a report that the Duke of Mayene was sending men and Ammunition from *Soissons* to re-inforce the Citie, and that it was necessary

By an artifice of the Governour of Paris a Proclamation is made that upon pain of death, and confiscation of goods, none should assemble but in the Town-house.

The Count de *Brissac* having agreed to receive the King into Paris, sends forth the forces hee distrusts, faining that the Duke of Mayene was sending Supplies, and that it was necessary to meet them.

necessary

necessary to send to meet them, he caused Colonel *Giacopo Argenti* to go forth the day before with his French Regiment, in which he confided not, sending them toward *Beauvais*, by which way he said those Supplies were coming; *Martin l'Anglois* had already dealt with, and by the promise of a great sum of money, drawn *S<sup>t</sup> Quintin* over to his party, who commanded the *Tertia* of Walloons that was in the Town: but the suspicion of it being come to the Duke of *Feria*, he caused him to be laid hold on upon the one and twentieth day, and removed that whole *Tertia*, as likewise that other of Spaniards into the quarters neer his own house, which being about the *ruë S. Antoine* in the remotest place from that part where it was intended the King should be brought in, it proved very much to the purpose, that the strongest Forces were quartered at so great a distance. The Neopolitan *Tertia* commanded by *Alessandro de Monti* was sent by the Governour into that part of the City which lies beyond the River, saying he would keep them there in a readinesse to receive a great quantity of victuall which was to be brought in on that side the next day. Only the Germanes were retained toward the quarters of *S. Honorè* and *S. Denis* as being more easie either to be perswaded, or defeated, the Governour not being willing by emptying that quarter utterly, to increase the suspicion that already began to spread hotly in all places.

The evening being come, the Governour having at his house assembled the *Prevost des Marchands*, and those Heads and Magistrates of the people, which he hoped would consent, layd open to them his intention, the Articles of agreement made with the King, and the necessity they were reduced to of freeing themselves by peace from those sufferings and dangers which had no other remedy; and having found them all unanimously disposed to follow his advice, he exhorted them to do it freely, and with a good heart, and to provide that the alteration of things, and the introducing the King might be effected without stirre or tumult; to which every one there present being ready, they about nine of the clock at night dispatched tickets subscribed by the *Prevost des Marchands* to the greater part of the Masters of the severall wards, whom they had changed and chosen their own way, advertising them that the peace was made, and that the accommodation being to in-  
due the next morning, they should take care there were no up-  
rote;



1594 rore, but that every one imbracing peace, which was so necessary, and so long desired, should raise no tumult, the safety and goods of the Citizens being certainly secure.

The manner  
used by the Governour  
to bring the King  
into the City  
of Paris.

This order being given (which past with infinite secrecy, and was willingly executed by all) the Governour went to *Porte Neufue* about midnight, and having brought the Germans thither, set them in order with their Arms, and in a short time caused the earth to be taken away wherewith that gate had been dammed up long before. The like did the *Prevost des Merchands* at the *Porte S. Denis*, where having left *Martin l'Anglois* to guard it, he went to meet with the Governour at *Porte Neufue*. The night had been exceeding rainie, and with thunder and lightning very stormy and dark; wherefore the King having marched with his Army from *Senlis* to *S. Denis* the night before, was two hours alter the time appointed before he appeared; and in the interim the whole Citie being in a Commotion, the noise was heard by the Spanish Ambassadours, of which the Duke of *Feria* presently drew the Infantry that lay about him into arms, and *Diego d'Ivarra* riding hastily on horseback to *Porte Neufue*, asked in his wonted haughty manner what was doing there? but the Count *de Brissac* no lesse haughtily answered him, that he was not obliged to give him an account what was done: but in courtesie he would tell him, that the men and Ammunition which were coming from the Duke of Mayene were to be received there; for that to avoid falling into the Kings hands, they were come a by-way on that side, and therefore he might be quiet, and go take his rest. *Diego* either believing this, or knowing there could not be any opposition, went also to the quarter of the Spaniards.

The manner  
how the King  
and his forces  
entered into  
Paris.

It was already four of the clock in the morning, when Monsieur *de S. Luc* arrived with the first Troops of the Army at the *Tuilleries* without the gate, and having given the signe by three Rockets that were fired in the air, as they had agreed, the Count *de Brissac* advanced to see if it were hee, and to speak with him; and being come back to the place where the *Prevost des Marchands* stayd, they presently caused the Gate to be set wide open, at which Monsieur *de S. Luc* entred first of all, marching on foot with his Pistol in his hand, and placed Captain *Favas* with an hundred armed men in two rows

to guard the same Porte, and he him self with the Sieur *De Vic* and four hundred souldiers of the garrison of *S. Denis* possessed the *rüe S. Thomas*; then followed Monsieur *d'Humieres* and the Count *de Belin* (who was already gone over to serve the King out of anger for being put out of his Government) and Captain *Raullet* all on foot with their arms ready, and advancing with 800 men made themselves Masters of the *Pont S. Michel*. Thirdly entred Monsieur *d'O* Governour of the Isle of France, and destined to be Governour of Paris, who with the Baron *de Salignac* and four hundred souldiers marching along the wall, went to possesse the *Porte S. Honoré*; the Mareschal *de Matignon* who led the Switzers, having at his entrance seen the German Foot in arms, cryed out to them aloud to throw down their arms, which they refusing to doe, he having commanded those that followed him to charge their Pikes, caused about twenty of them to be slain, and as many cast into the River; whereupon the rest throwing down their arms, were taken and brought by him to *S. Thomas* Church; from whence he spread himself with his Switzers as far as the *Croix de Tiroir* in the midst of the *rüe S. Honoré*. After him entred the Sieur *de Bellegarde*, and then the Count *de S. Paul* with two other Squadrons, who made a stand before the *Louvre*, spreading themselves as far as *S. Germain's* Church. After these marched the King himself on foot likewise, compleatly armed at the head of four hundred Gentlemen, and inclosed between two rows of the Archers of his Guard; and having found the Count *de Brissac* at the entry of the Bridge, he presently took off his own white Scarf he wore, and having put it over the Counts shoulder, embraced him closely; and at the same time the Governour crying out aloud, *vive le Roy*, the word was taken up first by the *Prevost des Marchands* who stood behind him, and then from one to another was doubled thorow all the Wards of the City; and even they themselves that were not privie to the businesse joyfully reiterated the same cry. The King passing on in the midst of a lane made by his own men, commanded that none upon pain of death should do injury to any body, and with the same attendance went strait to the Church of *Nostre-Dame*, where he was received by the Priests with no lesse applause then he had been in other places. The last that came in was the Mareschal *de Retz*, who advancing in excellent order to the utmost parts of the Citie, to secure those

After 8 years space (for so long it was since King Henry the 3d fled from thence) the City of Paris returns into obedience, and Henry the 4th enters into it.

The Count de Brissac cries *Vive le Roy*, and the same cry runs thorow the whole City.



1594 quarters, met *Diego d'Ivarra*, who with two Companies of Spaniards was coming towards the tumult; but the King's Forces coming in so much a greater number, they retired where the rest of them were, and the Mareschal possessed the *rue S. Martin*; that of *S. Denis* being already possessed by Monsieur *de Vitry*, and the *Sieur de la Noüe*, who entred at that Gate. At the King's coming out of Church, the people already certain of what was come to passe, and assured of their own safety, took up the cry of *Vive le Roy* again, more joyfully then before, and began with very great emulation of one another to put on white ribands, and crosses of the same colour in their hats, striving with joy and gladnesse who should be the first to open their shops; so that within two hours the City was as quiet, as if there had been no innovation at all.

The people strive who shall mark themselves first with white ribands & white crosses in their hats, and open their shops, the City being quiet within two houres.

Before the King went to the *Louvre*, he sent Monsieur *du Perron* (a while before returned from Rome) unto the Cardinal Legate: letting him know, that it was in his own liberty, either to go or stay; but that he prayed him to finde out some means that they might conferre together, since the Pope had refused to admit Ambassadors; to which he answered, that since he was at liberty, he would not only go out of the City, but quite out of the Kingdom, which though the King endeavoured to dissuade, yet was it not possible to hinder him, aswell because he would not be constrained to treat any thing with a Prince that was not acknowledged by the Pope, as because of his old inclination; which even when all things were in desperation (perhaps to shew himselfe constant) he could not dissemble; and yet being used with great respect he stayed six dayes in the City, and thence being accompanied by the same *du Perron* as farre as *Montargis*, he continued in his way to go straight out of the Kingdom.

The Cardinal-Legate goes out of the Kingdome.

At the same time the King entred, Cardinall *Pellevé* was drawing his last breath, who having heard the resolution of businesse, sayd angerly, that he hoped yet the arms of the Spaniards and good Catholicks, would drive that Hugonot out of *Paris*, and as soone as he said those words, he departed out of this life.

The Count *de Brissac* went to the Spanish Ambassadors, and gave them charge from the King to set *S. Quintin* at liberty, which they refused not to obey, and having recalled

*Alessandro*

*Alessandro de Monti* to joyn with the Spanish forces, they resolved to be gone the same day; wherefore in the afternoon being accompanied by *Montieur de S. Luc*, & the *Baron de Salignac*, they came in the midst of their forces, which marched in order toward the *Porte S. Martin*, at the entrance whereof the King stayed on horse-back to see them depart. They bowed down exceeding low, and were courteously saluted by him again; so without more words, they went forth of the City; and being convoyed by the Kings forces as farre as *Bourget* they took the way toward *Soissons* and so travailed to the Frontiers.

The King with the same affability sent the High Chancellor, and *Monsieur de Bellieure* to visit the Dutcheſſes, and to make his excuse if that day he had not time to visit them in person, who having accomodated their affairs, departed, being very civilly used and honourably accompanied; the King with his courtesy exceeding the obligation of his promises.

The Bishop of *Senlis*, one *Orleans* an Advocate, *Boucher* a Curate, *Nicholas Varade* a Jesuite, *Christophle Aubre* Curate of *S. Andre*, *Pelletier* the Curate of *S. Jaques*, *Jaques Culli* Curate of *S. Germaines*, *John Hamilton* Curate of *S. Cosme*, Father *Guerin* a Franciscan, and divers others of the Preachers, and *Eschevins* of the City went away, some with the Legate, and some with the Spanish Ministers, all the rest of the people, and many of those that had been the Kings bitter enemies remaining, against whom (according to his promise given) he suffered not any commotion at all to be made.

Many out of jealousy depart with the Cardinal-Legate, and with the Spanish Ambassadour.

The *Bastile* remained in the enemies hands, governed by the *Sieur du Bourg*, who for the first and second day was so farre from making any shew of yeelding, that on the contrary with many Canon shot he laboured to infest the Town; but after that a Battery was rais'd against him, and that he found he wanted victuall, and ammunition, he surrendred it the fifth day, and having left it in the Kings power, followed the journey of the rest.

The Bastile after five dayes resistance is surrendred to the King by the *Sieur du Bourg*.

Thus without tumult, without difficulty, and without blood, the City of *Paris* was recovered absolutely to the Kings obedience, who having caused a generall pardon to be published, sent his Army forth of the Town, to quarter, recall'd the Parliament, open'd the wayes for provisions, to the publicke comfort of men of all qualities, and within a few



1594 dayes fetled the City again in its former populousnesse and ancient splendor.

Monsieur de  
*Villars* Govern-  
our of *Roüen*  
submitts him-  
self to the  
Kings obedi-  
ence.

The Example of *Paris* was followed by Mounfieur *de Villars* Governour of *Roüen*, who having treated and concluded by the meanes of *Maximilian de Bethune* Sieur de *Rosny*, agreed about the same time to acknowledge the King, bringing with him the free navigation of the *Seine*, *Harfleur*, *Havre de grace*, and all the coast of upper Normandy. The Treaty of his agreement had been something difficult; for *Villars* demanded the confirmation of the degree of high Admiral, which office he executed in the Party of the League, and the Baron *de Biron* who a while before had obtained that dignity of the King, was very unwilling to let it go; but in the end it being cleer that those who returned to the Kings obedience, were to be allured by the confirmation of the offices, and governments whereof they were in possession, the Baron was faine to quit it, receiving in stead thereof the degree of Mareshall, which his Father had held very long; and yet was it not without his exceeding great discontent, though the King made him a gift of 20 thousand Crowns, and promised him many governments, he pretending his merit to be the chief in all the Kings Victories, and that it was not fit to deprive him of his honours, and revenues to give them to enemies; which though he with his wonted freedom of speech exaggerated oftentimes, saying he would give his office of Mareshall for a nagge of fifty Crowns, yet could he not divert the Kings determination, whereupon he conceived so great disdain, as in after times brought forth wonderfull great inconveniences. But *Villars* having got the charge of Admiral, the confirmation of his Governments, entertainment for the *Provençall* Souldiers that followed him, & the government of *Havre de Grace* in reversion for his brother the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, declared himself in the end of March, and put those places under the Kings obedience, which obtain'd all things fit, as well for the maintenance of Religion, as their particular interests.

Thus the whole Province of Normandy being come into the Kings Power, there remained only *Honfleur* in the lower Province which held for the Party of the League. That Town stands in a corner which like a *Peninsula* thrusts it self forwards, and advances into the Ocean Sea, over against *Havre de Grace*, lying on the other side just in the place where  
the

the River *Seine* falls into the Sea, so that between the two fortresses there is nothing but the current of the River which receiving the flux of the Sea, and largely overflowing, is two great French Leagues in breadth. The Commander of this place was *Commendatory Grillon*, who as being a *Provençall* had got thither a great Garrison of that same Country, and there being with him in it one of the Sons of the *Sieur de Fontaine Martel* a principall man in the Country of *Caux*, *Captaine la Tour*, a valiant and expert warriour, *Captaine Glaise* Nephew to the Governour of *Caën*, one *Truville* a Curate, who from a Priest was become a famous Commander, and many other Soldiers and Gentlemen who followed the same faction, they had made it a principall retreat, and overrunning and pillaging the Country, and taking any prisoners without regard, imposing taxes upon rich men, and with a good number of barks well manned, making prize of those vessels that past at the mouth of the River, had filled the place not only with store of souldiers, and all preparations for warre, but also with abundance of riches: wherefore the Duke of Montpensier, desiring to take away that obstacle, that stood in the midst of his Government, and to free the neighbouring people from those sufferings, resolved to besiege it in the beginning of Aprill; wherefore he summoned in the Gentry of all the Province, and with two thousand English foot that were newly landed to goe into Bretagne, eight hundred Germans who had served in those parts a great while, four French Regiments drawn together out of the Garrisons of that Province, which amounted to the number of three thousand, three hundred harquebusiers on horse-back, and eight hundred Gentlemen marched from *Lisieux* upon the tenth of Aprill, and appeared before the Town upon the eleventh in the morning.

The Duke of Montpensier layes Siege to Honfleur which was the onely Place that held for the League in lower Normandy.

The Town on the land-side, is encompassed with a moate of forty paces broad, through which the Sea ebbs and flowes, and over it stands a spacious bridge, upon pillars of stone, but covered above with planks, and timber which the Duke had designed to possesse himself of, at his first arrivall; wherefore while the Army drew neer with an easie march, Colonel *Liferne* advanced with his Regiment towards the Bridge, being seconded by Monsieur *de Ferwaques* with two hundred and fifty Horse, but they of the Town foreseeing the designe, had



1594 had placed two Falconets upon the Bridge, and had given the Charge of making it good unto *Truville* the Curate with one hundred Foot; wherupon at the arrivall of the Kings Infantry, they began a fierce skirmish; to which Captaine *la Tour* coming on the Towns side with another hundred of the stoutest Souldiers, *la Litternes* foot began to retire, when the Sieur *de Ferwaques* (perchance with more courage then discretion) ran full speed to beate back the Enemy, who already was advanced into a large place without the narrowness of the Bridge; but *Truville* and *la Tour*, when they saw him so far engaged, that he was come within shot of their Falconets, made so seasonable use of them, that being laden with \**Tarling*, they killed above twenty of his men at a clap, and wounded twenty more, among which *Henrico Davila* who wrote this History, having his horse killed under him, was in very great danger of being slaine; But *Ferwaques* wheeling off, the English came up to the skirmish, which (being reinforced sometimes by the French Foot, sometimes by the Harquebusiers on horse-back, some times by *Ferwaques* with his horse againe,) lasted that whole day, without being able to beat the defendants from the Bridge.

\* *Tarling* is small peeces of Iron; for which kind of Charge the narrow bore of Falconets is not very proper; and therefore I rather ghesse they were *Pienners*, which are commonly used for that purpose.

Monsieur *de Surenne* one of the Field Mareschals, caused a fort to be cast up that night, over against the Bridge; which though the artillery from within annoyed it very much, was yet made defensible the next day, and having planted four peeces of Cannon in it, they played so hot upon the enemyes, that *Truville* the Curate being killed with a Culverin bullet, they were forced to forsake the Bridge; but they shewed so firme resolution, that they would not leave it to retire into the Town till they had seen all the wood-work burnt, or thrown into the water; The three dayes following the Artillery were planted, which to the number of fourteen Pieces battred from the Gate to the Sea shore on the west side; but they were so much despised by the besieged for some few days at first, that Captaine *la Tour* feared not between shot and shot to appear upon the wall, nor for all the Canoniers could doe, (who interpreted that action to be in scorn of them) was it possible either to hit him or daunt him; and yet within five dayes they had made so great a breach with their artillery, that upon the two and twentieth day, the Foot advanced to give the assault.

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The moat had been very ill discovered (a thing more pernicious then all others in matter of assault) and the Commanders believed it had been full of sand, brought up by the flowing of the Sea, that might have been able to bear the weight of those that should fall on; so that watching the opportunity of the tide, the English and the French, when the water was at the lowest, gave on in severall places of the moat; but though they found firm sand at the first, and so went on; yet being come into the middle, they sunk in so deep, that many of them stuck fast, without being able to get out, and so like wild beasts catchd in a net, were with cries and hissings pelted to death with small-shot by the enemies that were upon the wall. Captain *Gasconet* was slain there with eighty French; and of the English above 150, with their Lieutenant Colonel.

The Kings forces going on to the assault without having well discovered the moat, are killed in it with showers of musket bullets.

But the Duke vext at this so great mischance, would needs after that be present himself in all busineses, and with very great art, and no lesse diligence caused certain Bridges to be made of a middling length, which reached from the edge of the moat as far as the mud, each having in the front of it a little *Gabion* filled with earth, under favour whereof, casting great brush sagots, stones, and other rubbish into the hollow of the moat, they laboured to fill it up by little and little, though it was done with evident danger, and the losse of a great many of the best souldiers, by reason of the continuall shouring of Musket-shot, stones, Fire-works, and other inventions with which the Defendants used incessantly to offend them. But the work being finished in four days, they found the enemy had cast up a great trench within, wherewith they had made up and covered all that space of the wall that was battered: whereupon the place being viewed, it was judged very difficult, and in a manner impossible to enter it. Wherefore the Duke making all their indeavours to be imployed that same night at the Bridge which was broken down, caused it to be so pieced up with new beams and planks, that it might be passed over, though with some difficulty, and but few in front, which was effected beyond every ones belief; for the night was short, and they wrought in the dark, except onely the light the Defendants made by throwing great store of Fire-works to discover what was doing. The same night five pieces of Canon were drawn thither from the next Battery,

and



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\* Or Cuttings  
off.

and they began furiously to give fire by break of day, in such manner, that they beat down the Tower of the Gate, and a great part of it, before the besieged had time to make any retrenchments. Scarce was the breach so wide that two or three might enter abreast, when the *Sieur de Pompiere* and the *Baron d'Ailly* with two valiant Squadrons ran furiously to the assault; but finding a no lesse valiant resistance from the besieged, there began a short but furious conflict, wherein they of the Town prevailing, by reason both the Commanders that made the assault were sorely wounded, the Infantry within half an hour drew off from the wall; which that it might not be repaired, the artillery began to play again without intermission; so that toward the evening Colonel *la Liserne* and Colonel *Colombiere*, two Brothers, renewed the assault in the same place, which though constantly sustained by those within, yet the stoutest *Provençals* being slain, Captain *Glaise* wounded, *Fontaine Martel* lamed, their fire-works spent, and four of the best Pieces they had broken, *Commendatory Grillon* began to think of surrendering; so that news coming thither opportunely by Sea, that the Admiral *Villars*, and the Citie of *Rouen*, *Monti-villier*, *Harfleur*, and *Havre-de-Grace* standing on the other side of the River, had imbraced the Kings party; being by that means deprived of all hope of being relieved, he bent his minde to think of saving the abundance of riches they had there gotten together: for which purpose it was necessary to make composition, and not stay till they were brought to the utmost weaknesse. Wherefore having sent to parley with the *Sieurs de Ferwaques* and *Surene*, he at last concluded to surrender upon condition to go forth, their goods and persons safe, laying down twelve thousand Crowns for the payment of the Army, and to march on the other side of the River to those Towns that held yet for the League. Thus the Town being put into the hand of the *Sieur d'Aleret* Governour of *Tuques*, a servant of the Duke of Montpensiers, the whole Province of Normandy remained in the Kings obedience; for *la Fontaine Martel*, who was Governour of *Neuf-Chastel* in the Country of *Caux*, submitted himself in like manner about the same time.

Honfleur is  
delivered up to  
the Duke of  
Montpensier.

But already the people, and the Governors being weary of the troubles of war, and allured by the Kings clemency, and the liberall conditions he gave, who with full satisfaction

content-

contented the desires of all those that came over to his Party, made haſt in all places to acknowledge him; and the Court was full of thoſe, that negotiated the peace either of their friends and dependants, or of the Cities and Towns that came into the Kings obedience. *Abbeville* and *Montreuil* followed this counſell, in the Province of *Picardy*; *Troyes* a great City and well peopled in the Province of *Champagne*, *Sens* a City and Arch-Biſhopricke in the confines of *Brie* and *Bourgonne*, *Agen*, *Ville-neufue* and *Marmande* in the Confines of *Guaſcogne*, and finally the City of *Poitiers* was reduced to the Kings devotion by *Scevole de S<sup>e</sup> Marthe* Treasurer of France, a man no leſſe adorned with excellent learning and ſweetneſſe of eloquence, then with experience, and civill prudence.

Places that yeeld themselves to the Kings obedience.

*Charles de Loraine* Duke of *Elbæuf* compounded alſo by means of the ſame *S<sup>e</sup> Marthe*, to come over to the Kings Party, with promiſe that the Government of that Town ſhould be reſerved for him, and that he ſhould have thirty thouſand Franks in penſion, but he deſired the agreement might for ſome time be kept ſecret, hoping that even the Duke of *Mayene* alſo would come in within a while, and deſiring if it were poſſible not to ſeparate himſelfe from him.

The Duke of Elbæuf is the firſt of the Houſe of Loraine that makes his peace with the King.

But the Duke of *Mayene* was quite of another minde; for being ſtill intangled in his long ſettled hopes, or thinking it ſo beſitted his reputation, he was reſolved to looke fortune in the face, and not to come by any means to termes of agreement, unleſſe the Popes iudgement and conſent preceded; wherefore after he went from *Paris*, going ſtraight to *Soiſſons*, he began with infinite diligence to reunite his forces, and ſet them again in order, and had ſent to the Duke of *Lorraine* that together with the Dukes of *Guife* and *Anmale*, he would come and confer with him in ſome convenient place, to take ſome reſolution about their common affaires; judging that if they would keep united with him, they might gather ſo many forces again together, as being aſſiſted with ſupplies from Spain, they might eaſily either ſet their owne fortune on foot againe, or advantage themſelves in a beneficiall, and honorable accommodation, in caſe the Pope ſhould reſolve to approve the Kings conversion.

The Duke of *Lorraine* came to *Bar-le-Duc* in the confines

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of



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The Lords of  
the House of  
Lorraine meet  
at Bar to treat  
of their com-  
mon interests.

of his State, and there were the Dukes of *Mayene* and *Aumale*, but the Duke of *Guise* could not be at the meeting, because the Province of Champagne was all in a tumult, not only by reason that the Citie of *Troyes* had driven out his Brother the Prince of *Fainville*, and declared for the King, but because the Count *de S' Paul* anciently bred up in, and depending on his Family, was suspected to plot new designs: wherefore not to leave those Places that yet acknowledged him, he was faine to stay in the Province, and to send *Pellicart* his fathers old Secretary in his name unto the meeting. There the opinions disagreed for the Duke of *Lorraine* weary of the War, to the end that he might not see his State more destroyed by the continuall passing of forraigne forces, enclined wholly to peace: But on the contrary, the Duke of *Aumale*, a man of a fierce obstinate nature, was more then ever inflamed to follow the War, and had determined rather to put himself and the Place he held in his hands, under the Dominion of the Spaniards, then submit himself to the discretion and obedience of the King. The Duke of *Guise* kept his opinion the more secret by not being present, and his Secretary with excuse of giving him information of the things in Treaty, and of expecting his orders thereupon, held his sentence ambiguous and unresolved. But the Duke of *Mayene*, in whom the the sum of the businesse consisted, and who was able to turn the rest to his opinion, as he was firmly resolved not to make composition without the Popes consent, so thinking that might without much difficulty be obtained, if it were but endeavoured, was in that case uncertain what he should demand, and whither it was better Counsell to follow the hopes of the Warre, or accommodate himself to the security of Peace; But because he saw the Duke of *Lorain*, and thought he found the Duke of *Guise* more inclined to Peace, he took a middle resolution, and permitting the Duke of *Lorain* to manage a treaty of agreement in the name of them all, he caus'd them all joyntly to determine that their forces should draw together, and that supplies from Flanders should be earnestly laboured for; that they might have means to expect what end the Popes Judgement would have, and that by the reputation of their strength, and by force, they might extort more advantageous conditions of agreement; Wherefore the Duke of *Lorraine* presently dispatch'd Monsieur *de Bassompier* into France to

The Duke of  
*Mayene* seeing  
the Lords of  
his Family  
were inclined  
to Peace, per-  
mits the Duke  
of *Lorraine* to  
treat of it in  
all their  
names, and in  
the mean time  
endeavours to  
reinforce him-  
self, that being  
armed he  
might obtain  
the better  
Conditions.

treat



treat with the Count *de Scombergh & Villeroy* of an agreement, and at the same time gave order that two hundred Lanciers, and three hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back should go to *Laon*, to joyn with the forces of the Duke of *Mayene*, who having till then by the means of Monsieur *de Rosne* treated with the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, who was newly come to Govern the low countreyes, going now to *la Fere*, he sent the *Vice-Sene-schall de Montlimar*, and his Secretary *Des Portes* to him.

The opinions of the Spanish Ministers were no lesse entangled, yet very different from what he beleev'd; for Count *Charles of Mansfelt*, and Count *Peter Ernest* his Father, a man of long experience, and much reputation, President *Riccardotto*, and the major part of the Flemish Counsellours, were of opinion that at last giving over the vain and ruinous hopes of France, and agreeing with the King in some advantageous resolution, they should apply their utmost forces to their own interests in the low countreyes, where the united Provinces with the opportunitie of the Armyes being diverted, and of the Commanders being far off, had in a few yeares made exceeding great progresses, so that the Catholicke King according to the common saying, lost his own State by attempting to get anothers; but on the contrary the *Condé de Fuentes*, and the other Spanish Counsellours, wrong informed of the affaires of France by the D. of *Feria*, and *Diego d'Jvarra* persisted still in the thought of getting the *Infanta* elected, or at least to make themselves masters of many places, and get firme footing in *Piccardie* and *Bourgongne*, Provinces confining upon Flanders, which in the end should either remaine to the Crown of Spain, or if the King of France got them by composition, he should be necessitated to lay down mony in exchange, and to peice up the vast expences which the Catholicke King had profusely been at for the space of so many yeares; while the mindes of the Councillors were in this doubtfulnesse, came the news of the losse of *Paris*, which made the Arch-Duke resolve upon this last Counsell of the Spaniards; for now all hopes failing that the League should be longer able to subsist, having lost the City of *Paris* its first *Basis* and principall foundation; and on the other side, not judging that the Catholicke King, either could very easily obtain, or for his reputation ought to demand Peace, he thought it a very prudent Counsell (disintanling themselves from the ingagement and impe-



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The Arch-Duke Ernest at the news of the losse of Paris resolves to thinke no longer of the Infanta's election but to seize upon some places in the Provinces, confining upon Flanders to make amends for the past expences.

diment of the League in which it was necessary to spend without measure, to maintain many who at last proved either faithlesse, or almost fruitlesse) to make warre in Kings Philips own name, to imploy all their forces in one place and spend for their own interests, and since to talke longer of the Infanta's election would be but ridiculous, to endeavour at least with the present opportunities to get possession of the places of *Picardie* and *Bourgongne* that they might be a limit to the affaires of Flanders, and serve partly to make amends for their past expences.

With this resolution he presently dealt with Monsieur de *Rosne*, who agreed to serve the Catholick King for eighteen thousand Crowns of annuall pension, and without much difficulty compounded also with the *Vice-Senscheall de Montelmar*, that for the recompence of thirty thousand Crowns, and retaining the title of the Government for himself, he should bring a Spanish Garrison into *la Fere*, the principall fortresse of all *Picardy*. They treated at the same time with the Duke of *Aumale* who was inclined more then any other to follow them, and with the establishment of forty thousand Crowns Pension they brought him over with the Towns he possessed, and with an hundred Curassiers, and two hundred light horse; nor did they faile to work with the other Governours in both Provinces, and to give warm'th unto those practises; the Arch-Duke gave charge to Count *Mansfelt*, that drawing the Army together without delay, he should advance, and make warre resolutely upon the Confines of *Picardy*.

The Arch-Duke wrote all this distinctly to the Court of Spaine, shewing that this was the most profitable and most expedient resolution; but offering to consideration at the same time, that it was necessary to reinforce the provisions both of men and mony, to maintain it; that till then they had spent unprofitably to feed the instability of the French, who as long as they had been able to suck their milk, had made themselves fatt at the expences of others, and now they saw the brest dry revolted another way, and returned to their own nature; that their naturall enmity with the Spanish nation & their own lightnes, could never consent they should thinke of any thing either profitable, or honourable for the Crown of Spain; that the proposition of the *Infanta* though born of

The Vice-Senscheall for mony puts a Spanish Garrison into *la Fere*. The Duke of *Aumale* for forty thousand Crowns Pension revolts unto the Spaniard with the places under his Government.

The Arch-Duke Ernest informs them in Spaine of the State of affaires and lets them know his determinations.

a Daughter of France, and gotten by that King who had emptied his Kingdomes to succour their necessities, seem'd to them as strange & monstrous, as if the Dominion of a *Scythian*, or an *Indian* had bin propounded; that when to mitigate it, they propounded that she should marry a French-man, to shew cleerly there was no designe of subjecting them to the Spanish Empire, the discords and ambition that reigned amongst them had not suffered them to consent; but they had rather thought of making peace with their common enemy, then to yeeld to one another; that the little resistance which had been made in not satisfying their devouring greedinesse profusely with Spanish gold, had in a moment not onely disgusted them, but put them in an uprore; for their naturall impatience had brought so many Cities, and so many great Lords to submit themselves without regard to the faith and discretion of their Enemy, that already the principall foundations of the League were fallen away; the Cities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Rouen*, *Bourges*, and *Lyons* revolted; the Admirall *Villars*, the Count *de Brissac*, the Mareschal *de la Chastre*, and the Sieur *de Vitry*, principall Heads of the *Union*, and who had sustained the weight of the late Warre, were gone over to the Kings obedience, and already the Duke of *Elbænf* of the very House of *Lorain*, notwithstanding his sharp inveterate enmity to the House of *Bourbon*, either treated or had concluded an Agreement; that therefore it was no longer time to referre the Infanta's rights to the arbitrement of the French, but to uphold them by force of Arms, and prosecute the enterprize under his own name, and with his own hopes; that already in *Bretagne* (a member apart, in which the *Salique Law* had nothing to do) the forces of the Spaniards were vigorous and powerfull, which (if they were assisted, and by help of the Sea opportunely recruited) would be able to maintain that Province; that in *Picardie* they held many places gained by means of the Duke of *Annale*, *Montelimar*, and *Rosne*; that endeavours should be used to draw the Duke of *Mayene* to serve in the same manner, not as Head of the League, but as Commander for the King of Spain; and by his means the attaining of many places in the Dutchie of *Bourgonne* should be attempted; that the same should be done with the Duke of *Guise* for the places of *Champagne*, and with the Marquesse *de S. Sorlin* for those of *Dauphiné*; that the

seuer



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Sieur *de Montpezat* might be treated with in Spain to obtain some places, to get footing in *Provence*; that Count *Charles* was already advanced with the Army to the Confines of *Picardie*, in which Province they might make very great progresse before the King could draw an Army together sufficient to oppose them; but that it was necessary to cut off delays, to hasten the raising of moneys, to make Leavies in Italy and Germany to encrease the Army, and to labour now in good earnest to do themselves service, and no longer to uphold the pretensions and interests of others; that by possessing themselves of many places, especially upon the Confines, where they might be relieved and maintained, a Warre would be prepared for the King of France, who would be faine to spend many yeers in the regaining of his own, and by keeping him busie at home, that might hinder him from having time to think of the affairs of the Low-Countries, and of the recovery of the Kingdom of Navar: and finally, if it should be convenient for the Crown of Spain to desire peace, the King by having that pawn in hand, might make himself be partly satisfied for his expences and losses; so that the profit and reputation which would ensue from that Counsell being present and manifest, the Expedition likewise ought to be present, and the Supplies quick and resolute.

The Arch-Dukes resolutions are approved and embraced in Spain.

These Letters, very conformable to the humour and designs of the Spaniards, prevailed to cause a resolution in the Court of prosecuting the enterprize according to this determination: Wherefore, though the Sieur *de Montpezat* strove to get a favourable return to the Duke of *Mayene's* demands, he was answered much more resolutely then before; that Orders were given to the Arch-Duke, and that determinations were to be settled there, at which the Duke of *Mayene* being neerer might be present himself: And King *Philip* was so pleased with this Counsell, that applying his whole mind unto it, and with a more then ordinary brevity dispatching the execution of businesses, in which he was wont to be very slow, he gave fitting Commissions in Flanders, Italy, and to his owne Councell, concerning what should presently be done.

But this designe which (by many conjectures) was found out by the Duke of *Mayene*, made him more sollicitous then before, seeing himself reduced between two extremes, to the hard necessity



necessity eyther of agreeing with the King without expecting the Popes determination, or else to put his own liberty, and the places that depended upon him into the hands of the Spaniards, contrary to what from the beginning he had firmly resolved. On the one side, it afflicted him that the Duke of *Elbeuf* had made his peace with the King; on the other, that the Duke of *Annale* had made a composition with the Spaniards, and in this doubtfulness sometimes he inclined to follow the Duke of *Lorains* counsell, and conclude *Bassompiers* treaty; sometimes to meet with the Arch-Duke, who had invited him to come to *Mons*, and there joyntly to treat of their common affairs; but before he determined to make peace with the King, he thought best to stay for new informations from the Cardinall of *Joyeuse*, and the Baron of *Senecey*; and before he treated with the Arch-Duke, he desired to see a new dispatch from *Montpezat*, that might certifie him what was resolv'd on in Spaine; and amidst these ambiguities he was well pleased that Madam *de Guise* should treat for her son with her sister the Dutchesse of *Nevers*, to the end that she might interpose to make his peace with the King, and he was glad to heare that the Queene Dowager was gone into *Bretagne*, to treat an agreement with her brother the Duke of *Mercaeur*; nor did it displease him that his Mother Madame *de Nemours*, and his Sister Madame *de Montpensier* being departed from *Paris*, where they had often discoursed with the King about the present affairs, were come to him to propound conditions of Peace; but in all these things he not only interposed delays, but secret obstacles and impediments, to the end that busineses might be drawn out at length, and that between peace and warre the progresse of armes, and the resolutions of the towns that remained of his Party cooling, might allow him the benefit of time, to which being by nature a freind, he now thought it the only remedy for the safety of the present conjuncture. But that which kept him most of all from inclining absolutely to an agreement with the King, was the obduratenesse of the Pope, who though (after the Duke of *Nevers* his departure, least he should utterly break off the treaty of the Kings absolution) he had given way that Cardinall *Gondi* might come to Rome, yet had he done it with expresse command that he should not open his mouth concerning the affairs of France, whereby the Popes secret intention being hid,

The Duke of *Mayene* seeing the thred of his hopes broken, and knowing himself to be constrained to one of two resolutions, wavers in determining, and interposes obstacles to gain time.

The Pope permits Cardinall *Gondi* (who had stayed some time in *Florence*) to come to Rome, but with a command not to speake a word about the affairs of France.



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hid, it was in appearance manifest that he continued in the thought of rejecting the Kings earnest desires; and on the other side that which withdrew him from agreeing with the Spaniards, was the obstinate persecution of him by the Duke of *Feria* and *Diego d' Jvarra*; who after their departure from Paris, had discoursed with him at *Laon*, and attributing all things that had come to passe amisse to his fault, used him scurvily and openly threatned him, which he not enduring, but imputing the ill successe of things to their imprudence, despised, and abused them no lesse both in words, and actions.

Count Charles  
of Mansfelt  
enters into  
France with  
his Army, and  
besieges *la*  
*Cappelle*.

But the Duke of Mayene's doubts were removed, and he necessitated to take some resolution, by Count Mansfelts entry into Picardy with ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and a convenient train of Artillery; and though the Duke of Aumale counselled him to advance into the Province, and besiege *Corbie*, yet he resolved to fall upon *la Cappelle*, a place neer the Frontiers of the Dutchy of *Tirriache* accounted reasonably strong; but at that time (as they had intelligence) in as great want of Ammunition, as it was full of abundant store of victuall; so that they hoped, the taking of it on the one side would prove very easie, and on the other very profitable for the future sustenance of the Army.

*La Cappelle* situate in a spacious plaine, is of a quadrangular forme, of no great circuit, and flanked in the angles with Four bullwarks: It hath a deep moate, and full of water, which coming rather from a rivulet then a River, that runs through the field, is swelled, and raised by a banke, or damme, placed upon the edge of the moate: It was likewise encompassed with a covered way, and a Counterscarpe after the modern fashion, so that if to the strength of the place, there had been store of Ammunition, and constancy in the Defendants, it would have held the Spanish Army long in play. But the coming of the enemies having been altogether unexpected, (for first it was not beleev'd they would come into France without the Duke of *Mayene*, and then it was thought they would sit down before *Corbie*) the defendants had so little courage, or so little conduct, at the very first arrivall, *Agostino Messia's Tertia* of Spaniards, and the Marquesse of *Trevico's Tertia* of Italians made themselves Masters

sters of the Counterscarpe without dispute, and yet not having lodged themselves in the place where the damme of the water was, they fought two days with very great losse of men, before they could possesse themselves of it, for the besieged having placed their greatest hopes in the defence thereof, strove with store of Cannon shot, fire works, and an incessant haile of musket bullets, to keep the enemy farre from thence. But the third day Colonel *la Berlotte* advancing suddenly with his Walloones in another place, came at last to the damme, and having broken the Engins that stopt the water, and by the help of Pioneers made a descent to draine the moate, it remained quite empty within a little time; wherefore the two following dayes, the trenches were made, and perfected; and with a plat-forme which it was easie to raise in respect of the softnesse of the earth, they planted fourteen pieces or Artillery, ten that battred right upon the wall, and two at each Flanck, that cleered and took away their defences. The Artillery playd twelve houres together, and the breach having been veiued, *la Berlotte* with his Walloones advanced to fall on; but they within having thrown down a certain old Tower, and made the ruines of it fall into the moate, the water was thereby stopt in such manner that rising in an instant, it drowned above seventy of the assailants, and the rest had much a do to save themselves, being playd upon in their retreat with three falconets laden with tarling which the defendants had turned toward the breach. The next day they laboured to make a new passage for the water to run out, which though it was effected more easily then before, yet there were slaine seven Captaines and above one hundred fouldiers; but the defence of the water utterly taken away, and a very great space of the wall being beaten down, the *Sieur de Mailleraye* Governour of the Place, not staying for the utmost force of the Army, resolved to surrender, and marching out with his Garrison, their goods and persons free, delivered up the place into Count *Charles* his hand.

The *Sieur de Mailleraye* Governour of *la Capelle* surrenders it to Count *Mansfelt*.

In the interim the King laboured with infinite diligence to set the affaires of Paris again in order, for the establishment whereof to the generall satisfaction, it was necessary to increase the number of the Parliament, and of the other Magistrates, he not being willing to break his word, or pay them

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with



1594 with ingratitude, who having been nominated by the Duke of *Mayene*, held the degree of Presidents or Counsellours, and who had lent their effectuall endeavours, as well in excluding the Election of the *Infanta*, as in reducing the Citie to his obedience: and on the other side, not thinking it fit to put out them who in the worst times had kept the Parliament in the Citie of *Tours*. Wherefore President *le Maistre* who had held the first place, yeelding to President *Harlay* and his other Seniors, took the seventh place, and *Jehan Huillier Prevost des Marchands* was created President of the \* *Chambre des Comptes*, as *Martin l'Anglois Sieur de Beaurepaire*, and *Guillaume du Ver Sieur de Neret* obtained the degree of Masters of the Requests of the Palace Royall. The Parliament being settled, and reformed, and the High Chancellor with the officers of the Crown sitting in it, it was solemnly decreed, That obedience ought to be yeelded to King *Henry* the fourth, as lawful Successor of the Kingdom, declaring all those to be Rebels, who should deny to acknowledge and obey him; and with another Decree they deprived the Duke of *Mayene* of the Office and title of Lieutenant Generall of the Crowne. The like Decree was made by the Colledge of Divines of *Sorbonne*, who to the number of seventy declared the absolution that was given the King to be good, and valid, and that without mortall sinne; none could deny him the obedience that was wont to be yeelded to the other most Christian Kings of France; and going to the *Louvre* with the same company they did him solemn homage, *Jaques d'Amboise* Rector of the Universitie speaking for them all; which ceremony was the more welcome to the King, because they were the men that had ever oppugned the lawfull title of his Succession.

\* The Court of Accompts or Exchequer: there is one of them in every Parliament.

The Parliament of Paris Decrees that the King ought to be obeyed as lawfull Prince, declares them Rebels that disobey; and takes away the Duke of Mayene's Office of Lieutenant Generall.

The Colledge of *Sorbonne* declares the Kings absolution valid, and the Doctors thereof come to do him solemn homage at the *Louvre*.

But the affaires of Paris being settled, he received newes that Count *Charles* had besieged *la Cappelle*, and having presently dispatched the Mareschals of *Biron* and *Matignon* to draw the Army together, he himself with Monsieur *de Giury*, two hundred Gentlemen, and four hundred light Horse went towards *Picardie* the same day that he was advertised of it. But being come to *Chaunny*, word came to him that the Place was lost; to make amends for which, he began to think of setting himself upon some enterprize.

If the newes of the siege and taking of *la Cappelle* was very sad

sad and displeasing to the King, it was not much more welcome to the Duke of *Mayene*, who apprehended cleerly, that since the Spaniards had not made any application to him, they were resolved for the future to manage the warre of themselves, which thing greiving him extremely, because it not onely deprived him of the remainder of his hopes, but also took away from him both his reputation and force, by means whereof he thought to better his condition for the accommodation, which he might have occasion to make with the King, and judging that all proceeded from the sinister relations of the Duke of *Feria*, and *Diego d'Ivarra*, he resolved at last, laying all respects aside, to have an enterveiwe with the Arch-Duke, and try to set his affaires right againe with the Spaniards.

The Arch-Duke likewise desired this interview, not for the same end the Duke of *Mayene* had, but to see if he could induce him to put himself under the Catholicke King, as the Duke of *Anmale* had done, and to deliver up into his hands, those Towns and fortresses, which yet depended on him; and therefore with courteous friendly letters, and with messages full of trust and confidence, invited him to come to *Bruxelles*; which not being longer to be deferred, the Duke leaving his second son the Count *de Sommerine* at *Laon*, with part of the forces commanded by Colonell *du Bourg* (he that came out of the *Bastile*) went with the remainder as far as *Guise*, where having left all his Souldiery, he passed on with a traine of only threescore horse, to meet the Arch-Duke, who having received him with all the most exquisite demonstrations of Honor, in other matters shewed himself very averse from the beginning, to the demands which he made. The Duke thought that the same Spanish Ministers, who had crossed him in France, didso likewise in his present Treaty; and therefore being in private with *Juan Baptista Tassis*, and President *Riccardotto*, he began at large, with the narration of all particulars to shew that the adverseness of businesses had proceeded wholly from the imprudence, and perverse managery of those Ministers; to whom it not being obscure what was imputed to them by the Duke: (for they were provoked to clear themselves of many things) they went on so farre in anger, that they began to counsell the Arch-Duke to keep the Duke of *Mayene* prisoner, and trust the managing of affaires of France un-

The Duke of *Mayene* goes to *Bruxelles* to treat with the Arch-Duke.

The Spanish Ministers advise to keep the Duke of *Mayene* prisoner in *Flanders*.



to the Duke of *Guise*, accusing the Duke of *Mayene* of perfidiousnesse, and too crafty and dissembling a nature, and that onely minding the object of his ambition, he was much a greater enemy to the Catholick King, then to the King of *Navarre*. But the Arch-Duke not only thought that a counsell too unworthy, and such an one, as he beleaved, would gaine him the generall hatred of all men; but also judged that in many things the Duke had reason on his side, and that those Ministers had indiscreetly abused him beyond measure; nor did it seem strange to him, since the Spanish Ministers had treated of making any other man King of France, without consenting to his person; that he on the other side paying them in their own coyne, should think of any other resolution, rather then to content and satisfie the Spaniards, and as he was a Prince of great vertue, and a friend to what was just and fit, he counted it too great a fault, to deny the principall recompences and honors to so principall a head, and one that had done so much for the common benefit; Besides, he was of opinion that those Ministers counselled very crossly, to take away the management of affaires from a man of so great reputation, and such experienced wisdom, to put it into the hand of the Duke of *Guise*, a young man, and though of a high spirit, yet by reason of his youth, and want of experience, little able to rule so great a weight. To all this he added the continuall treating of the Dutchesse of *Guise*, to make her sonnes peace with the King, which besides that it was known in the Arch-Dukes Court, was likewise dexterously mentioned by the Duke of *Mayene* at convenient times; for which reasons, there having been many meetings between the Princes, the businesse in hand began to change its forme, the Arch-Duke knowing that the Duke of *Mayene* was not in so weake a condition, as that he would easily submit himself to the Spanish yoke: and on the other side, that he abated much of his former pretensions, by reason of the urgent necessity which pressed him at that present; so that both of them reserving themselves for the opportunitie of after times, determined that the Duke of *Mayene* should go with his forces to joyn with Count *Mansfelt*, and that joyntly with a common consent they should manage the warre, to oppose the Kings proceedings, deferring till another time, both the establishing of conditions, and the manner how they should order matters for the future.

It is resolved at Bruxells, that the Duke of *Mayene* shall joyne with Count *Mansfelt* to oppose the King together.

The King (to whom the Duke of *Nevers* (lately returned out of Italy) and the Duke of *Bouillon* were joyned) was already marched from *Chauny* with twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, with intention to besiege *Laon*; where besides the Duke of *Mayene's* young Son, there was also the greatest part of his personall estate; but to come upon it the more unexpectedly, and catch the defendants unprovided, he marched with the Army before, and by the way of *S. Quintin* and *Cressy*, came neer to *la Chappelle*, making shew as if he would assault the Spanish Camp; but while standing neer and facing the Enemy, they were skirmishing with one another, he gave order that the Rere led by the Mareschal de *Brion* should march off, and go back to besiege *Laon*, whicher not many hours after, having first sent away the *Sieur de S. Luc*, and then the Baron de *Salignac*, he with the Duke of *Nevers* departed the next morning, and came last of all before the Town.

The King be-  
siegues *Laon*, in  
which the Du-  
ke of *Mayene's*  
son was, with  
much of the  
Dukes wealth.

In it with Colonel *du Bourg*, and the Count de *Sommerine*, there were many Commanders of note, 600 French Foot, 200 Germans, 300 Neapolitanes, sixty Cuirassiers, and two hundred light-Horse, and besides the Souldiers of the Garrison, the Townsmen also concurred willingly to defend the place; they had great store of Ammunition and fire-works, and the Commanders (who had suspected a siege) had prepared and fortified all convenient places in such manner, that the siege seemed like to be of great difficultie, and uncertain event; and so much the rather, because the Spanish Camp being neer, it might keep the Kings Army in jealousy many wayes; nor was it to be doubted, but that the Duke of *Mayene* would use his utmost Forces to relieve and disengage his Son. Wherefore the King, intent before all things to shut up the passage against the relief which might come from many places, sent Monsieur de *la Chastre*, with the Troops under his command to lie upon the way that leads from *Rheims*, and the other places of *Champagne*, doubting that the Duke of *Guise* with the Forces he had in that Country, and perchance reinforced by the Duke of *Lorain*, might come on that side: on the other side, the Duke of *Nevers* placed himself upon the other way that leads from *Soissons* right unto the Town; the Duke of *Longueville* with his Troops of the Province, quartered upon the way of *Noyon*, and of *la Fere*, and all these causing



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sing the field to be scoured with infinite diligence, were ready to oppose and fight with them that should advance to bring either victuall or other relief to the besieged. The principal passe by which the Spanish Army might come directly remained yet, upon which the King lay himself; and because the way was incumbred with an hill that had a Wood upon the right hand, and a great Village upon the left, he took up his Quarters within the Village, and made Count *Soissons* and the *Sieur de Vic* encamp on the other side, at the entry of the Wood; and upon the top of a hill, where the way was, *Monsieur d'Humieres* lay in the field with three hundred Cuirassiers, and the *Baron de Giury* with five hundred light-Horse: besides, to the end the Enemy might not come unexpectedly, he sent the *Sieur de Clermont* of Amboise with five Companies of Harquebusiers on horse-back to lie at *Cressy*, and strengthened the Garison of *S. Lambert*, a Castle standing upon the same way the Enemies might come directly.

The passes secured in this manner, five Redoubts were begun to make approaches to the moat; of the first of which the *Mareschall de Biron* had charge, *Monsieur de S. Luc* of the second, the *Baron de Salignac* of the third, *Monsieur de Montmartin* of the fourth, and the Count *de Grammont* of the last; and in every one of them the Infantry being set on work, besides many of the Country people, they laboured with wonderfull great diligence, though they of the Town both with their Artillery and strong Sallies strove to hinder their Works in every place; insomuch that the two first days, before the Besiegers had time to recover themselves, there were above four hundred souldiers slain, and among them the *Sieur de Forcade*, one of the *Mareschal de Biron's* Lieutenants, and there were wounded the *Baron de Termes* who lost a leg, and the *Marquesse de Canzures*, who within a few days dyed of his hurt.

Count Mansfelt having received order from the Arch-Duke to relieve Laon with his forces as the Duke of Mayene should think fit, marches within a league of the Kings trenches.

But in the mean time the Spanish Army (which had received order from the Archduke resolutely to relieve *Laon*, according as the Duke of *Mayene* should think fit to manage the businesse) having left *Cressy* and *S. Lambert* on the left hand, took upon the right, and came upon the thirteenth day of June within a league of the Kings trenches: the Duke and Count *Charles*, as soon as the Quarters of the Army were entrenched and fortified, intended to make themselves Masters of the

the Wood that was before them, and by means of it to draw so neer the Town, that they might relieve it without venturing the summe of affairs. The *Sieur Montluet* was fortified in the Wood with four Companies of Foot, who, when upon the fifteenth day, two Captains, the one an Italian, the other a Spaniard, advanced with fifty men to discover the quality and situation of the place, and of the way, repulsed them valiantly, but without any great difficulty, because there came so few of them, and had no designe to take that Post: but the next morning the event of the businesse was quite contrary; for *la Berlotte* entering unexpectedly into the Wood with two thousand Foot, did with small resistance beate out *Montluet*, who making his retreat in the Rere of all his men, was taken prisoner; and the Kings Regiment of Guards being advanced to oppose the Enemy, three Captains and many valiant souldiers were slain in the first encounter; so that they being thus handled, would have retired, if *Monsieur de Vic*, with the Regiments of *S. Auge* and *Navarre* had not come up to resist the Enemy: But the *Tertias* of *Agostino Messia*, and the *Marquesse de Trevico* being likewise advanced, the service was exceeding hot at the entry of the Wood; and to second these, Count *Soissons*, and the Baron *de Ginry* advanced on each hand; and on the other side, the Duke of *Mayene* with his own Troop, and the Lorain light-Horse appeared in the entry of the Wood to back the Foot of his own party. But the courage of the Infantry was not equall, and the Horse by reason of the narrowness of the place, fighting among shrubs and trees, could do but little service; whereupon the Kings Regiments receiving very great losse in the fight, began to stagger; and so much the rather, because the Duke of *Mayene* seeing a Wing of Musketiers advance in the opening of a Meadow, had fallen upon them with threescore Horse, and cut them all in pieces; whereby it not onely appeared that the Enemies would have possession of the Wood, but also the Foot was in exceeding great danger of being defeated. Thus difficult and dangerous was the state of the encounter, when the *Mareschal de Biron* came up, and knowing the hazard of the Infantry, and of utterly losing the Wood, drawn by his wonted fierceness, he alighted from his Horse, causing the Count *de Torigny's* and *Sieur de la Curée's* Troops to do the like, and placing himself in the front of the Battell, sustained and stoppt the

The Spaniards  
beat the Kings  
forces out of a  
wood, where  
they had fortis-  
fied them-  
selves



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the violence of the Spaniard. At the same time the King also came up, who though the trees and hedges hindred him very much, would needs have the Baron *de Guiry* advance with all his horse, to attacque the Lorain Cavalry, which being gallantly received, for the D. of *Mayene* himself was there in person, the conflict was as difficult, as bloody; and supplies hastening upon both sides from all parts, Count *Mansfelt* came into the wood, and the *Sieur d'Humieres* went down from the hill, so that the businesse grew to a certain kinde of battaile, in which though all fought not, yet the major part was either ingaged or hindred by the unfitnesse of the place. The fight lasted with various successe, and severall encounters till the evening, at which time the King having caus'd all his Infantry to lye upon the very way neer the wood, to fortifie against the front of the enemy, and stop up their passage, sent back his horse to their wonted quarters. But the Duke of *Mayene*, and Count *Mansfelt* considering that the most part of their foot were advanced to make good the wood; whereby their quarter was left so weake, that it might with danger be assaulted by the King in the Reare; and so much the more if he should resolve upon it by night, they quitted the wood by little and little, and drew off their men to the Camp, the wood being left free, and exposed to the incursions, and skirmishes of both Armies.

The Kings  
forces take a  
great deal of  
viſtuall and  
ammunition  
which were  
brought from  
*Noyon* to be put  
into *Laon*.

While they fought here and kept the Kings forces busied, the Duke of *Mayene* had given order, that *Nicolo Basti*, and the *Sieur d'Escluseaux*, Colonel of a French Regiment, should move from *Noyon* with abundance of victuall, and ammunition, to put it into *Laon*, for the releif of the place; but the D. of *Longueville* who scoured the ways on that side, having notice of it, layd an ambush for them not far from the Towne, which though it was discovered by the scouts that went before, yet the convoy being either affrighted at that unexpected encounter, or thinking all the Kings Cavalry was there, took a resolution to retire, which not being able to do without time; and much confusion, by reason of their carriages, the *Sieur d'Escluseaux*, who was in the last ranks, as soon as his men were routed remained prisoner; the powder was divided among the Souldiers, and the carriages of victuall burnt, but *Nicolo Basti* got back safe to *Noyon*.

The greatest difficulty of the Spanish Campe was want of  
viſtuall.

victuall, without which they could not lye long in that place,  
 where while they stayed, they did so incommode the King,  
 that he could not prosecute the besieging of the Town; where-  
 fore the Duke of *Mayene* had caus'd great store of provisions  
 to be made at *la Fere*, having determined to have them brought  
 to the Campe, the straight way, which was in a manner  
 behinde them; for this purpose six hundred Spanish foot, a  
 thousand Italians, and an hundred light horse were gone thi-  
 ther, the Commanders thinking that guard sufficient, because  
 they beleev'd not the King would dare to passe by their  
 Campe, and leave it behinde him, to go to a place, so farrē  
 off, and so dangerous to fall upon them; but the thing proved  
 otherwise, for the Mareſchall *de Biron*, taking with him the  
 Sieur *de Montigny*, eight hundred Switzers, and as many French  
 foot of the Regiments of Navarre, and *S' Auge*, two compa-  
 nies of English, the Baron *de Giury* with the light-horse, and  
 four hundred horse of the Count *de Torigny's*, and the Sieur  
*de la Curée's*, departed by night from the Campe before *Laon*,  
 and being come with wonderfull silence within a League of  
*la Fere*, caused the horse to lye hid in two little woods, which  
 were on each side the way, and he with his foot hid himselfe  
 in the fields, which being full of Corne almost ripe, gave  
 them conveniency to lye unseen. The Spanish campe was not  
 above two Leagues from that place, and people going con-  
 tinually from thence to *la Fere*, they were often like to have  
 discovered the ambush, if the Mareſchall very patient, beyond  
 his own nature, had not with marveilous silence withheld his  
 men, who many houres being already passed, began to be  
 hungry, and were with much adoe kept in by him; yet they  
 persevered so long, that towards evening certain carriages be-  
 gan to appear; having intended to have gone under favour of  
 the night: much more difficult was it then to withhold the  
 English from falling upon the enemy before the time; but in  
 the end part of the carriages being past, they rose up furiously  
 and assaulted the guards on all sides. The Van which was of  
 Italian foot, made resistance valiantly, and the same did the  
 Battel which was of Spaniards; but the Reer finding them-  
 selves neerer *la Fere*, faced about precipitately to retire; but  
 with so ill fortune, that falling among the horse which was  
 already come out of the wood, it was in a moment cut  
 in pieces. The defeat of them was a wonderfull disadvantage

The Mare-  
 schall *de Biron*  
 having placed  
 himself in  
 Ambush, falls  
 upon and takes  
 great store of  
 victuall,  
 which were  
 going from  
*la Fere* to the  
 enemies camp.



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to the rest of their companions, who drawne into a body, bravely withstood the fury of the Kings Infantry; for being left unguarded in the Reer, they were assaulted also on that side by the Harquebusiers on horse-back, and yet facing every way, and sheltring themselves with their carriages, they made it good a great while, and that with no small losse to those of the Kings party, among which Colonel *S<sup>t</sup> Ange*, and Monsieur *Faveroles* Lieutenant Colonell of the Regiment of Navarre were wounded, and still marching on fought valiantly with their pikes and swords, being partly defended and covered by their carriages, till the Marechall *de Biron*, fearing least the noyse of it being heard, the whole Spanish army should fall upon their backs; and therefore making haste to put the businesse to an end, caus'd the gentry to alight, and advancing at the head of the Switzers charge with so great violence, that the lesse number, not being able longer to resist the greater, the Italians and Spaniards stoutly defending themselves, were all slaine upon the place; The horse that fled were pursued by the Baron *de Giuri*, even to the gates of *la Fere*; and of all those that were about the Carriages, very few were taken prisoners. On the Kings side were killed above two hundred, and few lesse wounded, among which in the last brush the *Sieur de Canisy* Son in law to the Marechall of *Matignon*, and the *Sieur de la Curée*. In this place also *Henrico Davila* (who was one of those that alighted from their horses with the Count *de Torigni*) put his anckle out of joynt with getting over one of the carriages, and was in very great danger, of being lamed for his whole life. The Marechall *de Biron* considering, that by reason of the enemies neernesse, he might be assaulted every moment, set fire on the carriages to the number of four hundred, and having spoyled some, and bringing away others of the teames that drew them, retyred with infinite celerity the same night.

But the Spanish army failing of this hope, the Commanders were no longer able to subsist, and therefore determined to take some resolution, before they were further straightned by the necessity of hunger; but they disagreed among themselves, about the manner of their retreat; for Count *Mansfelt* for the greater security, would have rais'd the Campe by night; and the Duke of *Mayene* fearing both confusion, and dishonor, would needs have the retreat made by day; And because

*Mansfelt*

*Mansfelt* persevered in his opinion, he was content, that the *Vanguard* led by the *Sieur de la Motte*, and the battel commanded by the Count himselfe should march away, with the greater artillery before it was light, and he with the reare undertook to make the retreat by day. In this occasion both the discipline and valour of the Duke of *Mayene* (qualities for the most part obscured by ill fortune in his military enterprises) appeared clearely; For being to retyre foure leagues, through an open Countrey, in sight of the enemy, who had so much a greater number of gallant horse, he did it with so great order and resolution, that he received no damage at all in his retreat. He placed eight *Corps de Garde*, part Italians, and part Spaniards, commanded by *Ceccho de Sangro*, & *Don Alonzo Mendozza*, and behinde these he put the flying Squadron, in the reare of which he himself with his pike in his hand, and with him the Prince of *Avellino*, the Marquesse of *Trevico*, *Agostino Messia*, *Don Antonio de Toledo*, *Don Juan de Bracamonte* and above 100 Reformadoes, and a little before *la Berlotte* retyred with his *Tertia* of Walloons, who had sixe field pieces with them, ready to be turned against the Enemy: As soon as it was broad day light, the Walloons began to march; and after them the flying Squadron; at which time the King (who had notice of it from *Parabere*, being encouraged by the Mareschall *de Biron*, who affirmed he had left so many broken Carriages, and so many dead bodies upon the way, that the Enemies would finde it extreme difficult to make their retreat) advanced with his Cavalry to fall upon them in the Rere: but the eight *Corps de Garde*, who were the last that moved, retired with admirable expertnesse; for as soon as the Wings of Muskietiers had given fire, they fell off into the rere of the Pikes without facing about, but fronting still towards the Enemy, and in the mean time the Shot played that were among the Files, who had no sooner ended their volley, but the hinder Wings were come to be the Front, and while they gave fire the Squadron retired without turning their backs: after which the second following, and after the second the third, and so the rest one after the other, drew off all by little and little to the rere of the flying Squadron; which when the Baron *de Guiry* was come up unto, with the Count *de Soissons*, and the rest that were at the Head of the Kings Cavalry, they fiercely charging their Pikes, and powring forth

The Duke of Mayene makes his retreat by day in the face of the Enemy, much superior to him in number, with so good order, that he receives no losse at all.



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a terrible thick hail of Musket-shot, repulsed them in such manner, that they wheeled about, not daring to charge in amongst them; which having been done severall times, the retreat went on with particular honour to the Duke of *Mayene*, who very tall of stature, and compleatly armed, stirred up the courage of all by his words and example, and also with his own hand overturned the *Sieur de Persy* upon the ground, who with a Troop of light-Horse had the boldnesse to charge his Squadron. But being come (already tired with service, and with heat) unto a narrower way, *la Berlotte* presented his Artillery placed on each hand upon the banks of ditches, in such manner, that the Kings Horse were constrained to make an halt, letting the whole Camp march off safe unto *la Fere*: Nor did the obstacles alledged by the Mareschal *de Biron* prove any hinderance; for the retreat proceeding slowly and warily, without hurry or confusion, the Pioneers had had time to free and clear the way.

But the enemies Army being gone, the King returned unto the Seige, and began to batter the Town; and while the Artillery played upon it, from every redoubt they make a mine, to blow up the Ramparts, and made a breach with more speed and Security; but the besieged, not being willing to lose themselves, without making due resistance, sallyed out at the *Skyt-gates* upon the first of July, and fell into the Mareschal *de Biron's* and the *Sieur de Montmartins* trenches, with so much violence, that making themselves masters of the redoubts, they made a very great slaughter there, eleven Captaines, and above two hundred Souldiers being left dead upon the place; But the Mareschal *de Biron* coming happily at the noise, and the souldiers running armed from all parts into the trenches, the Enemy was at last beaten in again, who taking another course, made a furious counterbattery, from whence they dismounted and spoiled many peeces of Cannon, and yet all things being repaired with marvellous diligence, there was already a great part of the wall beaten down, after which the rampart appearing high, it was necessary to stay till the mines and works under ground were brought to perfection; which while they were about, the Baron *de Gury* who with extream diligence hastened the work, was shot in the head with a musket in the flower of his age, and to the infinite greife of every one, lost his life; a Gentleman of great  
courage,

The Baron de  
*Gury* slain.

courage, and exceeding worth, but of so sweet behaviour, and so pleasing a witt, improved with additions of Learning, that forcing a generall affection, he was praised and beloved by his very enemies; The mines (which had been many days in hand) being perfected, had very different effects; for the *Sieur de S. Luc's*, proved fruitlesse, because the water got into in; the *Count de Grammont's* had vent given it by the besieged; the *Sieur de Montmartins*, threw down the wall, but did no hurt at all to the rampart; only the *Mareschal de Biron's*, and the *Baron de Salignac's* wrought very great effects, and yet being assaulted, one by *Colonel Grillon*, and the other by the *Count de Torgny*, they were valiantly made good by the defendants, who having at the same time sprung \* a *Fougade*, and blew up many of those, who inconsiderately were advanced upon the Rampart; The next day the assaults were redoubled severall times, the *Duke de Bouillon* and the *Mareschal de Biron* having the care of them: in which though the assailants could not lodge themselves upon the Rampart, yet the besieged lost so many men, that without releife it was not possible for them to hold out longer; wherefore they began to parley and upon the 22 of July Capitulated to surrender, if within twelve dayes the *Duke of Mayene* did not either raise the Siege, or put at least six hundred Foot into the Town: but in such manner that the besieged might not assist the releife any way, except onely in opening the gate to it when it came, nor might receive lesse then three hundred Foot at a time; Which articles being made known unto the Duke, the King sent the *Duke of Montpensier*, the *Admirall Villars*, and the *Sieur de Balagny*, (who had newly submitted himself to his obedience) to possesse the wayes as far as *la Fere*, and hinder the passage of releif, which not being come with in the time prescribed, the *Count de Sommerine*, *Colonel de Bourg*, *President Jeannin*, and the whole Garrison marching out with their armes, and baggage were convoyed as far as *la Fere*, the King honouring the *Duke of Mayene's* young Son with great demonstrations of courtesie.

The mines are sprung, Laon is assaulted and valiantly defended.

\* Fougade is a kind of mine of about eight or ten foot square, covered with stones pieces of timber, bricks and such things as may do mischief to the assailants, being fiered when they come upon it.

The number of the defendants being diminished, they not longer able to hold out, Capitulate and Surrender.

The besieged of *Laon* had hoped the *Duke of Guise* would bring them some relief by the way of *Champagne*, and the King had suspected the same; but the affairs of that Province were so distracted, that it was not possible for him to think of stirring



1594 stirring at that time ; for there were not onely practices on foot in every Town, but with every Governour in favour with the King ; and not onely the people were inclined to acknowledge him, as had been cleerly seen in the commotion at *Troyes* ; but more pernicious thoughts reigned even among those of the very party.

Monfieur *de S. Paul*, a man of mean parentage, had by all the degrees of War raised himself to the Office of Colonel in the time while the Duke of *Guise's* Father was living, and had served him with so much valour and fidelity, that he deserved not onely to hold one of the first places in his favour, and also to be advanced to higher charges of Command ; but being favoured by his protection, had by the marriage of a very rich Widow, settled himself in a gallant and plentiful fortune. He after the accident at Blois, having as one of the principall dependants, taken part with the Duke of *Mayene*, continued to serve with so much diligence, and so prosperous successe, that he not onely was appointed Lieutenant to the Government of *Champagne*, which Province was governed under the name of the Duke of *Guise*, though a prisoner ; but also in proceffe of time he was by the Duke of *Mayene* created and declared Marechal of France : He, when Paris was besieged, having gathered together great store of victuall in the Province of *Brye*, put them happily into the City, while the King stood facing the Duke of *Mayene*, and he thence drew so great a profit, that added to the dowry of his Wife, he made himself possessor of very considerable riches, which together with his pay from the Spaniards, (who at first proceeded with an open free hand) gave him conveniency to gain many followers and dependents, and to set himself in a condition of high reputation. His prosperity of fortune was accompanied (as it is wont) with pride of minde, and haughtinesse of carriage ; in so much, that the Duke of *Guise* being at liberty, and come into the Province, he who was accustomed to rule of himself, did very unwillingly hear of submitting himself to his command : and since the obligation of benefits received, and the greatnesse of his blood did not permit him to refuse obedience, he endeavoured at least to keep at a distance from him, and interpreting his Orders and Commissions his own way, onely executed what suited with his own fancy, and excused himself for the rest under severall pretences.

tences. The declining of the affairs of the League increased his pride and his ambition ; and seeing the Princes of *Lorraine* disagreed among themselves, and were ill grounded, he took the greater boldnesse, and in his thoughts went on to a designe of making himself Master of certain places, whereof he had the command.

He began with seizing upon the Dutchy of *Retel*, belonging to the Duke of *Nevers*, and with intolerable arrogancie assumed of himself the title of Duke of *Reteloy*s ; nor stopping here, he went on plotting which way to make himself Master of *Vitry*, *Rheims*, *Rocroy*, and *S. Disier* ; and he was the more fixt upon this thought when he saw the Spaniards intent upon gaining the French Lords and Commanders, and getting them into their pay ; intending, as soon as he was in possession of those places, or some of them, to put himself under the protection of the Spaniard , and labour to establish himself in his usurped greatnesse.

To this end he began to introduce a Garrison of his adherents into the City of *Rheims*, and to designe the building of a Citadel , which might serve for a curb to keep the Citizens in obedience, who not being accustomed to be commanded by a *Militia*, fearfull of losing their liberty, and of being made subject to many burthens and insolencies of the Souldiers, (to keep whose affection *S. Paul* cared not though they plundred and oppressed the people) oftentimes took recourse, and made their complaints thereof unto the Duke of *Guise*, who having written also about it many times, and seeing he was not obeyed, not onely took a wondrous great disgust at it ; but also began to perceive *S. Paul*'s arts and his intentions. Wherefore departing from Paris after the Truce was expired, and being come into that Province with an intent to remedie so great a danger , he wrote resolutely that there should be no more souldiers brought into that City, the fidelity whereof he suspected not : but *S. Paul* continuing his designe, without making reckoning of the command he had received , and the complaints of the Citizens multiplying, the Duke went thither well accompanied to bridle the insolency of the attempt ; but so far was *S. Paul* from forbearing, that on the contrary, being either in greater necessity or suspicion, he persisted yet to call some Companies into the Town ; which being come to the Duke's knowledge, and he inflamed

*Col. S. Paul* takes upon him the title of D. of *Retelois*, & while he plots to get also the city of *Rheims*, he is killed by the Duke of *Guise*.

with



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with a generous disdain, not thinking to indure it, was the cause, that coming one morning out of the Church, and meeting with *S. Paul*, who daigned not to company him, he asked him the reason, why contrary to his Orders, he yet brought more Souldiers into the City ; to which he answering, that he did it for the common security, and because he had notice of some practices that were on foot in the Town ; the Duke seeking to make a quarrell, replied angrily, and with high injurious words, that those were inventions of his own ; but that he would teach him to obey : *S. Paul* being incensed with these contumelious speeches, and not enduring such a publick affront, told him, that being Marefchall of France, he acknowledged no superiour in matters of War ; and in saying those words, whether by chance, or by way of boasting, put his hand upon his sword ; at which action the Duke running upon him with his sword drawn, and thrusting him quite thorow the body, instantly took away his life : With him fell his ill grounded greatnesse ; but the Souldiery was displeased at it, which by reason of his indulgence to them, and of the profit they made under his command, loved and honoured his name ; nor were the Citizens (though they rejoyced at his death) any way satisfied afterward ; for the strength of the League still declining, the Duke of Guise resolved both to keep the Souldiers there, and prosecute the designe of making a Cittadell.

But the example of *Rheims* stirred up all the other Cities, and many Governours of the Province in such manner, that all of them were in a commotion, and had an inclination to put themselves under the Kings obedience to free themselves from imminent dangers. So that scarce could the Duke of Guise withstand the troubles of his own Government, much lesse was he able to succour or assist the necessity of others : Nor was his stay there, and his diligent care sufficient to keep them all faithfull ; for the *Sieur de Peschay* Governour of *Chasteau-Thierry*, at the same time when *Laon* was surrendered, made composition with the King, and with the same conditions the rest had, keeping his Government, went over unto his Party.

The *Sieur de Peschay* Governour of *Chasteau-Thierry* submits himself with that place to the Kings obedience.

Almost about the same time happened the revolt of the City of *Amiens* ; for the people stirred up by the Kings Adherents, who told them that the Duke of *Aumale* having made

made agreement with the Spaniards, was likely to put the City under the dominion of strangers, attempted to drive out the Duke who was in the Towne without a Garrison; for the inhabitants alledging their priviledges, would not receive any; but the tumult having lasted foure dayes without any certain resolution, the Duke of *Mayene* came thither, who being admitted onely with the company of his guard, appeased (as he thought) the tumult, and reconcil'd the chief Citizens to the Duke of *Aumale*; but after he was departed, to returne againe to the Army, the people took up armes afresh, crying out openly *For the King, for the King*, and having brought Monsieur *d'Humieres* into the City, drove out the Duke of *Aumale*, who having lost the hope of being able to uphold himself, chose to depart before he should enter into a thought of seizing upon his person.

The Citizens of *Amiens* raise a tumult against the D. of *Aumale* and put themselves into the Kings hands.

The *Sieur de Balagni* was before this gone over to the Kings party, with the City of *Cambray*; which having been in the power of the French, ever since the time of the Duke of *Alançon*, and after his death possessed by his mother, as inheritrix of what her sonne had gotten, had been put under the government of the *Sieur de Balagny*, who, the Queen being dead, and the revolution of France following, chose to take part with the League, to the end the Spaniards might be kept from troubling him; and of Governour, by little and little made himself absolute Master both of so noble and famous a City, and of its most fertile territorie; but now the affaires of the League declined, he desiring to keep that dominion, held a treaty with the King, that if he would declare him Prince of *Cambray*, and after his declaration protect him from the Spanish forces, he would submit himself to his obedience, and to the soveraignty of the Crown of France, and that moreover he would receive the Kings Garrisons into the City, and Castle, obliging himself to serve him in time of war with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, and that on the other side the King should pay seventy thousand Crowns every yeer to maintaine the Garrison at his devotion. It was not hard to obtaine these conditions from the King, aswell because of his desire to keepe the supreme dominion of that principality unto himself, as to oppose such a difficult encounter unto the enemy upon the frontiers, and though these reasons were manifest and apparent, yet many stuck not to say, that the King

The *Sieur de Balagny* who had had the Government of *Cambray* from Q. *Katherine* as heir-esse to the D. of *Alançon*, and after adhering to the League, had made himself Master of it, makes composition with the King, upon very large conditions.

E e e e e e e

condescended



1594 condescended to grant *Balagni* that Principality which was already in the power of the French, to please Madame *Gabrielle d'Estree* whom he ardently loved, and who was neerly allyed to *Balagny*: however it was, the King having caus'd the Patents to be dispatched, and allowed in the Parliament before he went from *Paris*, sent the Mareschall *de Retz* about this time to make him be elected, and declared Prince of *Cambray* by the City, confirming the title to his wife, his sonnes, and his posterity, and after the taking of *Laon*, he entred personally into the Towne with his Army, received the homage of obedience, and having settled a Garrison, and the affaires of the City, returned to *Amiens*, where being received with wondrous pompe he granted the same conditions to the Citizens, which with his wonted liberality had been granted to the other Cities. In this expedition the King created two Mareschalls of France, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the *Sieur de Balagny*, intending to make use of them both in the warre, which he already designed to make against the Spaniards.

The news of the Kings prosperous successes which from severall parts came successively to Rome, moved, but did not much trouble the Pope; for having already secretly given the King hopes that he would give him his benediction, and signified so much unto him not only by the *Sieur de la Cluelle*, but also by words that might receive a double interpretation, intimated as much to *Paulo Paruta*, the Venetian Ambassadour, a prudent man who was well able to apprehend the Popes intentions; he was pleased to heare businesses went on in such a way, that he might not prevent but be prevented by the motion of the people; and that he might come to his last determination, in such manner as he might seem, to be drawne unto it by necessity, and that the Spaniards might not condemn him of too inconsiderate forwardnes, nor accuse him of want of inclination to the interests of their greatnesse; For this cause he had from the beginning of the yeare, permitted Cardinall *Gondi* to come to Rome, and though he did it with a manifest injunction, that he should not open his mouth about the affairs of France, yet secretly in their private meetings he gave him leave to alleadge and repeat all the Kings reasons to him, to represent the disorders, and wants of the Clergy, to put him in minde of the causes, why religion would be in danger, if he should not satisfie the King, and finally to informe him

him of every small particular, that he might make use thereof to the advantage of his designe; For this same cause (though he knew it) he was not offended at the Decree of the Divines at *Paris*, in favour of the King, but rather was well pleased, those very men, who had made the preamble and way to make him be excommunicated, should now be as active in smoothing the passage to his reconciliation; and though upon all occasions he shewed anger and disdain in his words, in his private actions he did not so, but rejoyced as often as he heard that his perseverance was interpreted obduracy, telling the Spaniards as well Cardinalls, as Ambassadors, who were at his eare every day, that he suffered much, and exposed his own reputation to a generall blame, because he would not dissent from their desires; In the meane time he also satisfied his own conscience by making himself certain of the Kings constancy, and of the truth of his conversion, and by meanes of *Sannesio*, and *d'Ossat* had let him know, that many conditions were necessary to his rebenediction, and particularly, that he not having any lawfull heire male, the young Prince of *Condé*, who was nearest to the Crown, should be taken out of the hands of the Hugonots, and bred up in the Catholicke Religion, to the end that what ever should happen, they might not fall again into the former dangers and inconveniencies; which having been also intimated by way of discourse, both to Cardinall *Gondi*, and the Venetian Ambassador, the King was not only advertised of it, but counsel'd to take away that scruple, because it might hinder the progresse of what was in Treaty; wherefore he began to thinke by what means he might get him out of the Hugonots hands, who after the Kings conversion, esteemed him much more deerly, that they might breed themselves up a Head, and support unto their faction.

Cardinall *Gondi* being returned to *Paris* commands as superiour of the Clergy of that City, that they should use againe the prayers that were wont to be made for the K. of France, and that they should acknowledge *Henry the 4th.* their lawfull King.

But Cardinall *Gondi* thinking himself informed of all those things that might take away the Popes doubts, and facilitate the Kings reconciliation, resolved to returne into France, and to endeavour the execution of them, by speaking with the King himself in person; so being come to the Campe before *Laon*, he was two dayes in close conference with the King, and going from thence to *Paris*, feared not to command the Clergy to use those prayers againe, which were wont to be made for the most Christian Kings, and absolutely to acknowledge *Henry the fourth* for their true and



lawfull Lord, sharply also reprehending, and driving from his presence, certain men of religious orders, who dared to oppose that determination; which though (as other things) it was written to Rome, and amplified; the Pope made no other shew of resenting it, then to tax *Gondi* for no good Cardinall and to threaten, that with time and opportunity he would punish him for his fault, adding that the affaires of France were in such a condition, as it was not fit to put more fuell to that fire, which was already kindled; since the busineses of the Catholick union went on so ill, that it would be no small matter to be able to uphold it; But the news of the taking of *Laon*, and the retreat of the Spanish Campe being come, the Pope made shew to be very angry, and desiring to finde means to make it appeare, that the fault was the Spaniards, he told the Duke of *Sessa*, that the Catholicke King desired to have him resist onely with spirituall Armes, but that he in the meane time was not carefull to make use of temporall ones; that he should remember, though excommunications are pernicious to the soules of the obstinate, yet are they not destructive of their corporall affaires, and that whosoever would have busineses effected, must unite the two Swords, and proceed equally with both hands; that he saw, or thought he saw, the Catholicke King was already weary of expence, and of the warre, and that if it were so, he desired to be made privy to it, that he might in time finde the best remedy that might be for the danger of Religion, since the French union was already in a manner dissolved, and the Spanish Armies either could not, or did not care to sustain that weight; These stinging words of the Pope, deeply pierced the minds of the Spaniards, who suspecting the end, to which he tended, and not being willing to give him that occasion, which they were of opinion he sought, they wrote with the same heat not only into Spain, shewing the King the necessity, either of yeelding, or of doing something in good earnest, but also to *Bruxelles*, to the end the Arch-Duke might sustaine the manifestly falling affaires of the League.

Words of  
Pope Clement  
the eighth to  
the Duke of  
*Sessa* the Span-  
ish Ambassa-  
dour.

Wherefore the Duke of Mayene, after the losse of *Laon*, being gone back to that Court, to find meanes to settle their common affaires, yeelding now something on both sides to the qualitie of the time, they treated a little more pleasingly to each other; for the Duke knowing himself in a weak estate,  
had

The Duke of Mayene goes to Bruxelles where he is treated with compliance.

had abated much of his first demands, and the Arch-Duke, knowing it was no time to exasperate him, for fear he should be driven into utter desperation; and seeing that he could neither accommodate his minde, nor his eares to hearken to a treaty of putting himself under the Catholick Kings obedience, as *Rosne* and the Duke of *Anmale* had done, he resolved to hold him in hand with a shew of fitting conditions, and of a treaty in a manner equall, still keeping alive the proposition of the *Infanta's* election, being certaine afterwards to bring matters to his own end, and intention, and to behave himself in his secret designe, in such manner as time and opportunity should advise; Wherefore there having been a long treaty between President *Riccardotto*, and President *Jeannin*, and the Princes themselves, having often conferred together, they at last agreed to establish a Capitulation, which seemed just and honorable to both parties.

The Substance of the agreement concluded between the Duke of Mayene and the Spaniards at Bruxelles.

The agreement containd in substance, that the Catholick King should continue to use the Duke of *Mayene* as before, in the qualitie of Lieutenant Generall of the State, and Crown of France, and that so he should be acknowledged in all places and Armies, where he should chance to be: That the ten thousand crowns by the month, should continue to goe on, which had been assigned to him by the Catholick King from the beginning: That he on the other side, should continue to make war in those places, where he should think best, and particularly in the Province of *Bourgongne*; for the upholding whereof, certain supplies of Horse and Foot should be given him; That whatsoever should be acquired, should be held by him in the name of the King, who in due time should be chosen, by the common consent of the French Confederates of the Apostolick See, and of the King of Spain; That the said King should be obliged, to reinforce his Armies to make war in *Dauphiné*, *Picardy* and *Bretagne*, those conquests likewise which should be made, being to be held in the name of the future King, under French Governors: and that the Dukes of *Lorraine*, and *Guise*, and the other Lords, and heads of the *Vnion* should be exhorted to continue the war.

The Duke of Mayene, thinking that by these conditions (though ambiguous) he had in some measure stopt the precipice of his affaires, departed from *Bruxelles* and with a Gentleman



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The Duke of  
Lorraine makes  
a truce with  
the King.

Aleman sent from the Arch-Duke, went straight to *Nancy* to speak with the Duke of *Lorraine*; His intention was to try to keep him united to the League, and to perswade him to continue the war; but he by the means of Monsieur de *Bassompier*, had not only concluded a truce with the King of France, but also being desirous to disburthen himself of the expence, permitted his souldiers to take pay under him; wherefore the Baron d' *Ossonville*, and the Sieur de *Tremblecourt* with three thousand Foot and four hundred Horse had put on white skarfes, and were gon to serve the King having obliged themselves to molest the County of *Bourgogne*, which till then had been neutrall, and had not been troubled on any side; The Duke of Mayene having found things in this Condition, and not having been able to remove the Duke of Lorain from his inclinations to Peace, resolved to goe into the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, (the Dutchy and the County are Provinces divided one from another, that appertaining to the King of France, and this by ancient division to the King of Spain) and there indeavour to establish himself absolutely, holding already the most part of the Townes, as Governour of the Province; for he had plotted, whatsoever event his affairs should have, to retain either the free dominion, or at least the Government of that Dutchy. But the King, who was very well aware of his designe, after he saw the treaties of peace broken off, which had been held by the means of *Villeroy* and President *Jeannin*, resolved to oppose what he intended concerning the Dutchy of *Bourgogne* and that he might make use of the boldest of all his Commanders, he chose the Marechal de *Biron* Governour of that Province, and made him be set in order with convenient forces, to goe recover those places.

\* Or County of  
*Bourgogne*,

The King  
sends the Lo-  
raïne forces  
that were  
come to him  
to make incur-  
sions into the  
County of  
*Bourgogne*.

In the mean time *Tremblecourt* and *Ossonville* were gone in to the \* *Franche-Comté*, and having suddainly made many incursions into the Country, took *Vesnes Jaunneville*, putting the whole Province in wondrous terror, and confusion, for by reason of the neutralitie which had made the people secure, there were no forces in the Province, able to oppose their invasion; wherefore having hastily demanded succours both from *Savoy* and *Flanders*, though some few were sent to keep garrisons in the Principall places, yet the winter beginning, would not suffer greater preparations to be made by the Spaniards,

Spaniards, and so much the rather, because the very season hindred the King of France his Souldiers from being able, in respect of the smallnesse of their number, and the qualitie of the weather to make any greater progresse.

That which compleated the disordering of the League, was the composition of the Duke of *Guise*, who either incensed, that the Duke of Mayene had hindred his greatnesse, or else vext that the Spaniard had shewed him a flash of exaltation, and then had presently drawn in those beams, shutting up the passage to all other favours, and knowing that his Fathers antient greatnesse, was all turned upon the Duke of Mayene, whereby he both in regard of his youth, and because he had no dependants, was faine not only to yeld the first place, but also to content himself with one of the inferiour ones, resolved about this time to establisth his own fortune with the King, and by the means of his mother, and of the Mareschal *de la Chastre*, agreed for himself; his brother the Prince of *Fainville*, and Monsieur *Louis* destined to an Ecclesiasticall life; to restore *Reims*, *Vitry*, *Rocroy*, *S. Disier*, *Guise*, *Moncornet*, and the other places in *Champagne* and the quarters thereabout unto the Kings obedience, receiving in recompence thereof the Government of *Provence*, 400000 Crowns to pay the debts their Father had ran into, and many Ecclesiasticall preferments for the third brother which formerly were the Cardinall of Bourbon's, who after a long sickness, held by the Phisitians to be an hecick feaver, departed this life about this time, not without suspicion of poyson. The treaty of this agreement had been very long; for the Duke of *Guise* stood to retaine the Government of *Champagne*, and the King would not deprive the Duke of *Nevers* of it, and there were likewise exceeding great contentions, about giving him the Government of *Provence*, for the the Duke of *Espemon*, who had gotten it after the death of his brother, and had by many succesfull enterprizes against the Duke of *Savoy* and against the League, setled himself in the command, was not willing to leave it; nor was it this alone that hindred it; but the High Chancellor, and many of the Councell perswaded the King, not to put that Province into the Duke of *Guise* his hands, to which he pretended right, as heir of the House of *Anjou*; but the King desired on the one side to have the Duke of *Espemon* leave that Government, into which he had

The Duk of Guise leaves the League and makes his composition with the King.

The Duke of Guise as heir of the House of Anjou pretends rights unto Provence.

skrewd



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screwed himself in the greatest distraction of affairs without his Commission : and on the other, he knew that it was necessary to remedy the present, without having so unreasonable a fear of the future : besides that the Duke of *Guise's* ingenuity and moderate nature, of which he had given cleer testimony in the businesses lately treated by the Spaniards, perswaded the King to a confidence in him. Therefore the Agreement was established, whereby as the King's party increased in strength and reputation, so the League was not onely weakened and languishing, but little lesse then utterly dissolved.

The Duke of Mercœur is disgusted at the Spaniards in Bretagne, because they would not meddle in matters out of that Province.

Now having told the principall matters of the War appertaining to the main body and substance of affairs, the things that happened in the remoter Provinces of the Kingdom, ought likewise briefly to be related. The party of the League was most firmly settled in *Bretagne*, and more powerfull there then in any other place ; for besides the forces of the Province which (much more united then any other) followed the Duke of *Mercœur*, who by the prosperity of many successes, had raised himself to a very high estimation, there were also five thousand Spanish Foot under *Don Juan del Aquila*, who possessing *Blauet*, and the neighbouring places about it, were ready to help wheresoever need should require in that Province. But their mindes here were neither more agreeing, nor more satisfied then in other places ; for the Duke of *Mercœur* was discontented that the Spaniards should proceed with ends and designs apart ; nor could he frame his ears to hear talk of the pretensions which the *Infanta* of Spain had unto that Province, as contrary to those rights which his Wife *Margaret Countess of Pontievre* pretended also to it : nor did other things trouble him more, then the Commission they had not to meddle in matters out of that Province ; insomuch, that when the course of victory carryed him upon some important designe into the neighbouring Provinces, they clipt his wings, because they would not passe beyond the limits of *Bretagne* ; They on the other side were ill satisfied, that he limiting them within the circuit of *\*Bulaet*, would not suffer them to take footing in the Province ; and because going forth of that Fortresse, seated in the extremity of a *Peninsula*, they had begun to raise a Fort in the neck of another *Peninsula*, which blocked up on the land side, and hindered the entrance of ships into the

\**Blauet*.

the Port of Brest, a place frequented by the Northern Nations, the Duke seemed not to consent unto it, and to use many arts that the Fortification might not go forward.

On the other side, the Marechal d'Aumont Governour for the King had more courage then strength; for the wants of the neer adjacent Provinces, did not suffer him to draw together above one thousand English Foot, two thousand French, and four or five hundred Horse of the voluntary Nobility of the Country: but after that the Kings conversion began to give him favour, and to move the humours of the Province, he advanced, and received *Laval*, a Town that voluntarily submitted to him, and then having layed Siege to *Morlans*, he took it notwithstanding the Duke of *Mercœur* laboured to relieve it, and being recruited with new English Foot led by Colonel *Norris*, which had been in Normandy, he resolved to assault the Spaniards new Fort before it was brought to perfection, and before they could settle themselves in the possession of that fertile and populous Sea-coast: Wherefore having drawn the Army together, in which there were two thousand English Foot commanded by Colonel \* *Norris*, three thousand French commanded by the Baron *de Molac*, three hundred Harquebusiers on horse-back, and four hundred Gentlemen, and being abundantly furnished with Artillery, Ammunition and other necessaries, by Monsieur *de Sourdiac* Governour of *Brest*, who being hard by to ease himself of the trouble of the Spaniards, supplied all wants, he brought his Army before it upon the eleventh of October.

The Marechal d'Aumont Governour for the King in Breagne, besieges the Fort of *Croisil* begun by the Spaniards.

\* Sir John Norris.

The Fort was seated upon a naturall rock, and encompassed by the Sea quite round, except onely where the *Peninsula* joyns to the firm land; on which side they had raised two Bulwarks in form of a *Tenaille*, and between them was the Gate, with its Draw-bridge, Moat, and Counterscarp, all designed with excellent skill, though not yet perfected to a defensible condition. The Governour of the Fort was *Don Tomaso Prassedes*, an old experienced Commander, and he had with him four hundred Spanish Foot, with plentiful provisions of all things necessary for the defence of it. The difficulty of that siege appeared at the very first; for as soon as they began to break ground, and make their approaches by the help of trenches unto the edge of the Counterscarp, they found there was not above two foot of earth, after which they met with

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the



1594 the impediment of the hard rock; wherefore it was necessary to make use of Gabions, in the bringing, planting, and filling whereof they disputed for the space of nine dayes, with great execution upon the besiegers; they within with singular art making use of small pieces of Artillery, wherewith they were abundantly stored, and sallying out at the *Skyt-gates* sometimes of one Bulwark, sometimes of the other, molested them continually, no lesse by day then they did by night; but at last the constant resolution of the Besiegers overcame the difficulty of the enterprise, and having planted twelve pieces of Canon, they began to play upon the Bulwarks; and though at first their Bullets, striking upon the earth, did little harm, yet their continuall battering having broke the fence of bavins wherewith the Rampart was fastened together, and made it slip down, the Moat began to fill by little and little, affording better conveniencie of advancing to make the assault. Wherefore the Baron *de Molac* with the French assaulted the Bulwark on the right hand; and Colonel *Norris* with the English assaulted the other on the left: But though the assault was bold and violent, the Spaniards received it with so much constancie, that after a wondrous hot fight of three hours, the assailants were precipitately beaten off, above an hundred being slain, with three French Captains, and four English; and that losse was much increased by their own Canoniers; for they, as the assailants were retiring, going to fire their Artillery against the defendants that were upon the Rampart, did it with so little discretion, that they blew up their powder, and killed many of their souldiers. This accident gave the Spaniards great opportunity to make up their Works again; for while they stayed for new Supplies from *Brest*, of powder, and new instruments to use their Canon withall, they had time to mend up their Bulwarks again with the same earth, fortifying them with two strong Pallisadoes (the French call them \* *Fraises*) which compassed them round about: but the battery being furnished again, they began to batter again upon the fourth of November, with more fury then they had done before; and the Pallisadoes yeelding easily to the force of the Canon, they began to plain the way once more, and make it fit for an assault; which whilest it was just ready to be given, there came such a sudden storm of thunder and lightening, and such abundance of rain,

The French as  
saule Croisil,  
but are bravely  
repulsed by the  
Spaniard.

\* Storm-piles.

aine, that it was necessary to deferre it till the next day, in which time the besieged cut of the points off the Bulwarks, and made a retrenchment, to cover themselves in such manner that the next morning they sustained the assault very valiantly with small losse to themselves, and a very great one to the enemies, who were scarce gone down from the assault, and setled to their rest, when the Spaniards sallying out to the number of seventy, suddenly made themselves Masters of the Battery of the French, kill'd a Colonel, and above two hundred other Souldiers, whom they found unprovided, and layd to sleep, and nayl'd three peeces of Canon; yet the Baron de Molac being come up, they were beaten back into the moat, not having lost above eleven of their men.

The French renew the assault but are beaten off with great losse.

The Siege went on but slowly; for the Mareschall d'Anmont being burthened with yeares, but more with toyle and labour, was fallen dangerously sick; and yet the continuall molestation they of the Fort received, consumed them from day to day, in such manner that they began earnestly to solite releife; But the Duke of Mercœur took small care of them, for he was not displeased that the Fort should be taken, knowing the Spaniards aim'd to possesse themselves of all that coast which full of Islands, secure harbours, and great well peopled townes, by reason of the supplies it might receive from the Spanish Fleet, was marvellous opportune to nourish a long warre, and dangerous combustion in all *Bretagne*; wherefore though he had been constrained to grant them *Blanet*, yet he took it extreame ill, they should endeavour to enlarge themselves further; For this cause alledging divers excuses, and causing many obstacles and impediments to arise, he still deferred the releif; *Don Juan del Aquila*, who had not any number of horse with him, could very hardly move to raise the siege of Fort *Croisil* (for so they called the place) yet the siege still pressing, and it seeming to him a very great fault to let his own countrey men be destroyed without assistance, he advanced with foure thousand foot, and two peeces of Canon towards *Quimpercorantin*, to see whether the jealousy of that place could move the French to draw off; but having met the Sieut de *Mombarant*, who lay upon that way with two hundred Curassiers, and fifty Harquebusiers on horse-back, though he retyring by little and little, drew at last within the walls, yet the Towne was so secured thereby, that the fear of losing it

The Duke of Mercœur takes no care to relieve *Croisil*.



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Don Juan del  
Aquila marches  
to releive his  
Countrymen ;  
but having nei-  
ther horse nor  
other prepara-  
tions sufficient  
he findes the  
enterprize ve-  
ry difficult.

made no necessity of raising the siege of *Croisil*, besides he had no such Artillery, nor preparations, as were sufficient for that enterprize; wherefore turning another way, and passing under the walls of the Towne, he came upon the roade that leads straight from *Quimpercorantin* to the French Camp, intending to encamp in advantageous places, where the horse might not hurt them, and try in some sort by drawing neer, to hinder the taking of the Fort; But *Mombrant* following them in the Reere with his Caralry and the *Sieur du Tremblay* advancing from the Camp with an hundred and fifty horse more, *Don Juan del Aquila* was forced to march not onely very warily, but very slowly, least he should be molested in open places by the Cavalry, to which the *Chevalier de Postonville*, and the *Sieur de Basternay* being joyned with the rest of the horse that belonged to the Camp, he was constrained to go a great circuit of ground, to get to the *peninsula* by land, which if he had had shipping, he might have done in a short space by water.

In the meane time the Mareschall *d'Aumont* recovered of his sicknesse, having call'd the *Monsieur de Sourdiac* unto the Campe, pres'd the besieged with his utmost power, and having upon the *eighteenth* day of *November*, battred from break of day, till the Sun began to decline, he caused the *Baron de Molac* to give the assault, who being beaten off, *Colonel du Bordet* fell on, and he being likewise repulsed, with a greater slaughter then the other, the English without delay stormed it on the one side, and a valiant Squadron of Gentlemen renewed the assault on the other; and though *Martin Frobisber* one of the English Colonells, and *Colonell Trescane* one of the French Commanders, were killed in the first fury of the assault, yet the defendants being overcome more by their own wearinesse, then the valour of their enemies, were at last after two hours resistance all cut in peices, without stirring one foot from the defence of the Rampart, upon which they fought desperately to the last man, and that with so much losse to the assailants, of whom that day there were slain above six hundred, and all the best and stoutest souldiers of the Campe, that if *Don Juan del Aquila*, who was come very neer, had marched straight on, perchance the Mareschall *d'Aumont* could not have escaped a very great defeat, and the Fort would the same day have been lost and recovered; but the staying for feare of the Cavalry

After many as-  
saults the de-  
fendants of  
*Croisil* are all  
cut in peices,  
but with some  
of most re-  
markable va-  
lour, and very  
great losse to  
the assailants.



valry, and quartering so neer that he heard the ratling of the shot while the fight lasted, when he at the same time was told of the singular courage, and totall destruction of his Countrymen, he resolved to retyre the next morning, and not being followed by any body, marched away to *Blanet* without any other attempt.

After this the Kings forces increased in that Province; for the *Sieurs de S. Luc*, and *Mommartin* departing from the siege of *Laon*, were come thither with five companies of Switzers, three Regiments of French, and three companies of Harquebusiers on horse-back, who in their march having either by force, or composition taken many weak towns, brought the Duke of *Mercœur* to a necessity of uniting himielse with the Spaniards, to hinder these new forces from joyning with the Marefchall d' *Aumont*, and thinking of some enterprize of great importance; so that the disgust ceasing which had been about fort *Croisil* (which after it was taken, was by Monsieur *Sourdiac* utterly slighted with great forwardnesse in the Countrey people) the Duke of *Mercœur* resolved to unite all the forces in one body, and labour to resist the Kings, as he had very prosperously done untill that present.

Fort *Croisil*  
slighted by  
the French.

In the beginning of this year there brake forth a little fire in *Provence*; the sparkles whereof would have caused a wonderfull great combustion in those parts, if there had not been seasonable provisions made against the beginning of it. The *Provençalls* and *Gascons* are by long and ancient emulation naturally enemies, which respect not having withheld King *Henry the third* from giving the Government of *Provence* to the D. of *Espernon*, though he was a *Gascon* by birth, the Gentry and people of that Province were so incensed at it, that it was necessary to force them with an army to yeeld their wonted obedience, which as it was an occasion very much to increase the followers and adherents of the League, so would it have produced other mischiefes, if his Brother Monsieur *de la Valette*, who was left to governe as his Lieutenant, had not with singular dexterity, and milde gentle usage appeased their minds, and brought them to make more account of the merit of vertue, then difference of birth. But after his death the Duke of *Espernon* being come thither with greater forces then his brother had, began also to execute his government, and follow the warre with more vivacity, exacting a punctuall obedience



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The City and Parliament of Aix, not being able to resist the Kings forces under the D. of Espernon, surrender upon condition, that the Duke shall have no superiority in that City.

The Marechall d'Anville is deputed by the King to compose the differences of the Provençalls by removing the Duke of Espernon.

bedience from those of the Kings party, and fighting vigorously against the rest, who held part with the League, among which the Count of *Carisy*, and the City and Parliament of *Aix* which he had besieged, when they saw they could not resist so powerfull an Enemy, were content to yeeld to the King, and for him unto Monsieur de *Les Diguieres* or Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, but with expresse condition, that the Duke should have no power nor superiority in that Towne, which though it was promised them, the Duke nevertheless made himself the stronger and (being the more exasperated by the ill wil they had shewed against him) began to build a Fort, which commanding the City might keep it in subjection; this the Citizens impatiently brooking, and the same humours reigning through the whole Province, they dispatched Agents to the Court, to beseech the King to take the Government from the D. of *Espernon*, and provide another Governour. The King who by reason of the uncertainty of his affaires, had till then dissembled, nor at that present was willing to alienate the Dukes affections from him, and who on the other side saw the discontents of that Province, and the troubles that were like to come, thought it a moderate way to referre the buisnesse to the Marechall d'*Anville* Governour of *Languedoc*, who was newly by him made high Constable of the Kingdom; For on the one side the *Provençalls* being well affected to his person; and on the other, the Duke of *Espernon* having married a Neece of his, he thought that by his prudence and dexterity, he might finde a middle way, whereby both the people might remaine satisfied, and the Duke handsomly removed from that government; but after that he saw the Duke resolved to maintain himself in that Office, and the Constable slack in finding out a remedy, he gave order to *Les Diguieres* to go as he was wont from *Dauphiné* into *Provence*, and with as much speed as was possible, oppose the Duke of *Espernon*, into whose designs, he thought he could not see very cleerly. *Les Diguieres* ready to make use of Arms, and enclined to satisfy the *Provençalls*, having drawn together seven thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, marched without delay, to passe the river *Durance* and to enter hostilely into the Province against the Duke of *Espernon*; but being come to the River side, he met Monsieur de *la Fin* a discreet man, versed in the affaires of the Court, who coming from the Duke of *Espernon*, perswaded

ded him to stay his voyage ; for without the tryall of war the Duke was ready to obey the Constables orders, according to the Kings intention and command ; which *Les Dignièrès* believing, resolved to stay in the same quarters, not being willing to precipitate matters for the delay of a few days, which were afterwards prolonged by his falling sick of a fever, which necessitated him to stay much longer in that place. But though *la Fin* passed often between them, and went also to know the Constable's pleasure, yet could no invention be found to accommodate so different interests ; for the Duke pretended, that by his Sword he had acquired the merit of that Government, having maintained it in the most difficult times against the Duke of Savoy, and against the League, at his own charge, with his own Forces, and with the blood of his own Brother ; and therefore declared that he would defend it in what kind soever : On the other side, *Les Dignièrès* argued, that there was no reason to put the whole Province in desperation, and make it incline to cast it self into the protection of the Duke of Savoy, or of the Spaniard ; and that the Duke of *Espèrnon* had so many Governments, that he might be contented without usurping this, to the damage and prejudice of the Kings affairs : and because the diversitie of Religions stirred up their mindes one against another, *Les Dignièrès* being a Hugonot, and the Duke sincerely a Catholick, they were very sharp upon one another ; besides, the one having been so much favoured by *Henry* the Third, and the other an enemy who had alwayes lived in rebellion during his reign, there grew a private enmity between them, very prejudicial to the publick busineses they had in hand ; whereupon the treaty of Agreement being broken, *Les Dignièrès* past the River with his whole Army in the beginning of the month of May, and the same day there was a hot encounter between the Forces of the two Armies, which lasted many hours : but though the difference was not great in the event, yet *Les Dignièrès* remained Master of the field, and the Duke made his retreat without receiving any losse, carrying away many of the Enemies prisoners with him.

The Duke of Espèrnon declares, that hee will defend the Government of Provence ; and the Sieur de *Les Dignièrès* goes with good forces into the Province to put him out.

But at last the Duke seeing the Forces of *Dauphiné* joyned with those of *Provence* against him, and (as he was very prudent) not seeing any seasonable opportunity of forming  
a third



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The Du. of Espernon refers himself to the Constables arbitrement, who declares that he should go out of the Government.

a third party, nor no support ready to which he could have recourse for the present, having about the same time received the news of the revolt of *Paris*, and of the other Cities of the League, he thought it no wise resolution to swerve from the Kings obedience, when others returned so fast unto it; and therefore taking hold again of the Treaty of accord, which had never been totally intermitted, he submitted himself to the Constable's arbitrement; who declared that he should put the Fort of *Aix* into the hands of Monsieur *de la Fin*, and draw out his Garisons from *Toulon*, *S. Paul*, *Treques* and *Mirebeau*, till such time as the King should determine the manner of proceeding for the future: in execution of which order, the Duke delivered the Fort into the hand of *la Fin* upon the tenth of May, and the the same day *Les Dignieres* entered into *Aix*, and was received with great solemnity by the Citizens; but whiles their Arms are suspended in expectation of orders from the Court, *Les Dignieres* taking for an excuse that some of the Duke's souldiers had taken some of his, and pillaged the Country, and that therefore the truce was broken, entered suddenly into the Fort without staying for the King's orders, and delivered it up into the hands of the Citizens, who with a wondrous concourse of people slighted it so in two dayes, that there remained not any kind of Foot-steps of it; which being performed according to the common desire, he having left the other places in the hands of the Count *de Carsy*, returned with the rest of the Army into *Dauphiné*. Afterwards followed the Accommodation with the Duke of Guise, to whom the King granted the Government of that Province; which though it afflicted the Duke of *Espernon*, yet he thought it best to dissemble the matter, reserving himself to take a resolution with the benefit of time; and being desirous to have it believed that the busineses that had passed were but private enmities and contentions between him and *Les Dignieres*, though he was not faulty to himself in neglecting any means possible to keep the possession of that Government.

The Duke of Savoy besieges Briqueras, and the French not being able to passe to relieve it, he takes it.

But in *Dauphiné* whiles Monsieur *de Les Dignieres* in the beginning of September prepares himself to go into *Piedmont*, having received intelligence that the Duke of *Savoy* had laid strait siege to *Briqueras*, he was constrained to do that by necessity which he would have done by choice before. The Duke of *Savoy* had got together four thousand Germans commanded

manded by the Count of *Lodrone*, five thousand Italian Foot commanded by Colonel *Barnabo Barbo* a Millainese, and fifteen hundred Horse under the conduct of *Don Alonso Idiagues*, with which Body of men he resolved to try to drive the French from beyond the Alps : and because *Briqueras* was the principall place they held, he laid siege before it, and afterwards having battered it with many Canon, he caused it to be assaulted by *Don Filippo* of Savoy, his bastard Brother ; and at the same time a scalado to be given on the other side by *Don Sancho Salina* ; wherefore the defendants invironed on all sides, left the Town, and retired into the Castle. It was closely besieged without delay ; in which interim *Les Diguieres* having passed the Mountains, came to relieve that place : but the Duke had provided against that ; for in the narrowness and difficulty of those wayes, of themselves steep and full of precipices, he had caused all passes to be so shut up, and had set so strong guards upon them, that after the French had made many attempts without any fruit at all, they were constrained to retire, and the besieged straitned on all sides, and having no longer any hope of relief, resolved to surrender ; so upon the second of October they delivered up the Castle into the Duke's hands, who having freed himself from that impediment, within a few dayes recovered Fort *San Benedetto*, which had been taken by *Les Diguieres* in his retreat ; and within a while the Snows fell, which put an end to the troubles of this yeer in those parts.

The Duke of *Nemours* escaped not long before from his imprisonment in the Castle of *Pierre-Ancise* ; being much more cunning in saving himself, then he had been wary in avoyding the dangers of imprisonment : for having a certain servant that had an extreme long and thick head of hair, which sometimes hanging down covered all his face, he found means to have a perruque made like it very secretly, and knew how to mannage his businesse so subtilly, that one morning having put his servant into his bed, and covered him in his place, he went forth of the Chamber carrying a close-stool-pan, as if he went to empty it, and going hastily, escaped out of the Castle-gate, hiding himself first among certain houses, and afterwards getting down opportunely into the field, where being received by some few that waited for him, he came safe to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, and there being joyned with the Mar-

The Duke of  
Nemours es-  
capes out of  
the Castle of  
*Pierre Ancise*



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queste his Brother, continued to make War in favour of the League, and above all, to infest the Country, and trouble the Inhabitants of the City of *Lions*, with which (besides publick busineses) he had a private enmitie: but his, and his Brothers weaknesse, and their want of mony and adherents, would not suffer them to do any great matter.

The year was shut up with a hainous fact, dangerous beyond all belief, and which was like in an instant to have subverted all that had with so long paines been victoriously achieved; for the King being returned to Paris from the war of *Picardy*, upon the seven and twentieth of December, whilest having alighted from his Horse, he in one of the Chambers of the *Louvre*, saluted the Knights, who being elected to receive the order of the *S. Esprit* upon Newyears day, were come to doe their wonted obeisance to him, a young Merchant named *Jehan Chastel*, borne in Paris, being got into the same room with the train of the *Sieur de Ragny*, and *Montigny*, in the action the King used, stooping to imbrace one of those Knights, struck him with a knife in the face, thinking to strike him in the throate, but the blow being diverted, as it were by a divine hand, hit him in the lips, and having met with the hindrance of his teeth, made but a slight inconsiderable wound. At the commotion of the bystanders, the young Merchant having dextrously let the knife fall, mingled himself in the crowd, hoping to get out of the roome undiscovered; but being known by many, he was instantly seized on, and whilest every one transported with a just indignation would furiously have fallen upon him, the King commanded that the Malefactor should not be hurt, and having caused him to be delivered into the Custody of the *Grand-Prevost de l'Hostell*, he was by him carried to prison, from whence being put into the Power of the Parliament, and examined with the wonted formes, he freely confessed, and afterwards ratified his confession when he was tortured, that he was bred up in the schooles of the Jesuits, and had often heard it discoursed, and disputed that it was not onely lawfull but also meritorious to kill *Henry* of Bourbon, a relapsed Heretick, and persecutor of the Holy Church, who falsly appropriated to himself the title of King of France; wherefore having afterwards fallen into hainous and abominable sins, even to the attempting to lye with one of his own Sisters, he

*Jehan Chastel*  
Merchant of  
Paris wounds  
the King in  
the mouth  
with a knife,  
whilest he was  
Saluting the  
Knights of the  
Holy Ghost  
in his lodg-  
ings at the  
*Louvre*

*Jehan Chastel*  
being impriso-  
ned and tortu-  
red, confesseth  
that hee was  
moved to at-  
tempt the kil-  
ling of the  
King by the  
doctrine he had  
learn'd of the  
Jesuits; where-  
upon some of  
them are put in  
prison.

he fell into so great dispaire of having Gods forgivenesse, that he chose to execute that fact, which he beleevved to be of inestimable merit, to free him from the horror and punishment of his offences; that he had imparted his designe unto his Father who had effectually dissuaded him from it, but that being more effectually moved by an inward spirit, he had at last resolved it, and attempted to perform his resolution; that having in his private confession conferred about it with the Curate of S. *André* in the City of Paris, he was by him (though ambiguously) confirmed in his intention, so that after long contriving, he had chosen that place, and time to put it in execution.

As soon as he had made this confession, they presently sent to lay hold on his Father, Mother, and Sisters with the writings that were in the house, among which there was nothing found considerable, save a confession written with his own hand, wherein he had set down his sins, to confesse them to the Priest, which for the most part consisted in wicked and beastly dissolutenesse. But the ill will the Parliament bore unto the Jesuites, (the first Authors and continuall fomenters of the League,) added to the conjectures drawn from the confession of the Traitor, who said more then once that he learned that Doctrine from them, was the cause that their Colledge was suddenly beset and that some of them were led to prison, & the writings which every one had in his Chamber diligently search'd, among which in the closet of Father *Jehan Guigard* born at *Chartres*, there were many writings found which taught the Doctrine, praysed the murther of the late King, perswaded the killing of the present, and contained many other such like things, with odious Epithetes and attributes given to those Princes, and many others. They likewise proved many things of that like nature, spoken in the fury of the war by Father *Alexander Hays* a Scotch man; and others not very unlike, spoken in the same times, by Father *Jehan Gueret* Master in Philosophie, and the ordinary Confessor of this *Jehan Chastel*; wherefore after many debates in the Parliament, the Counsellors at last agreed in this sentence, That *Jehan Chastel* being bare-head, and bare-foot, before the gate of the Cathedrall Church, should abjure the Doctrine which till then he had beleevved, and confesse the enormitie of that parricide which he had attempted, and then be put into a cart,

*Jehan Chastel*  
is condemned  
to be dragged  
in peeces by  
four horses.



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The Jesuites  
are banished  
out of the  
whole King-  
dome of  
France.

and his flesh pulled off with pincers in the four principall places of the Citie, and being brought to the place of execution, his right hand should be cut off, holding the same knife where-with he had hurt the King, and finally that he should be dragd in peeces by four horses; that the Jesuites, aswell those that were professed, as the others not professed should as enemies of the Crown, and of publick tranquillitie be banished out of the whole Kingdom, their goods and revenues distributed to pious uses, and all French men prohibited to studie or converse in their scholes; that Father *Jehan Guigard* should be condemned to the gallowes and Father *Jehan Gueret*; and Father *Alexander Hays* perpetually banished from all places under the dominion of the Crown; that *Pierre Chastel* the Delinquents Father should be banished for ever from Paris, and nine years out of the whole Kingdom; that his House standing right over against the great gate of the Palace of the Parliament, should be razed to the very foundation, and a Piramide erected in the place, wherein the present decrees should be registred, aswell against *Chastel*, as against the Company of Jesuits; the Mother and Sisters of the Criminal were let at Libertie.

The Divines  
of Paris make  
a Decree  
wherein they  
declare the  
Doctrin that  
teaches to kill  
Princes, to be  
Hereticall.

To this decree of the Parliament, the Divines of the City being met together in Cardinall *Gondi's* House, added a declaration whereby they determined, that the Doctrine which taught to kill Princes was Hereticall, prodigious, and diabolicall, and gave expressly in charge to all men of Religious Orders, to acknowledge and obey King *Henry* the fourth as their lawfull Prince, and Lord; and that in their Masses, and Canonical hours they should insert those prayers, which were wont to be said for the safety of the most Christian Kings of France. In the end of the decree, they intreated the Cardinal, as Bishop of that City, to beseech the King in the name of them all, that he would send a new Embassy to the Pope, to hinder by his reconciliation, the imminent and manifest danger of Schisme. This was procured by the Cardinal himself, who beleeving he had apprehended the Pope's minde, desired to give the King a faire colour and occasion to try again to get his benediction.

1595

In this condition of affaires began the yeare 1595, the first businesse whereof after the King was cured, was the promulgation of the Edict in favour of the Hugonots. They at  
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the Kings conversion, had not only been much moved to see their hopes lost of having a King of their own Religion, and of obtaining by that meanes, that it might be the cheif in the Kingdom, & that the Catholicks should be reduced to be but by permission; but they had also begun to waken new thoughts and practise new designs, to unite themselves more closely to one another, and to provide themselves a new Head. For which having turned their eyes upon the Duke of *Bouillon*, they perceived that he as a most prudent man, was very backward to separate himself from the Kings prosperous fortune, to follow the uncertainty of new, and not well grounded hopes; and therefore he protracted businesses that he might take some counsel from the maturity of time. The Mareſchall *d'Anville* likewise who in former times would have readily embraced that occasion, at that present was little inclined to side with them; for being already old without sons (for those he had were unfortunately lost) newly married to a young wife, out of a desire of issue, & as concerning the rest of his fortunes, firmly established in his government of *Languedoc* was not like to adventure himself upon new designs and put that into the arbitrement of fortune which with so much paines, and so long patience, he had attained among the difficulties of a thousand dangers; wherefore they had necessarily set their thoughts upon the Prince of *Condé* yet a childe, who living at *S<sup>t</sup> Jehan d'Angely* with his mother, was bred up in the rites of their religion, but the tendernes of his age, and the many accidents that might happen before he could come to mans estate, held the whole faction in suspence and trouble; wherefore ever and anon, making meetings & assemblies, sometimes at *Rochel*, and sometimes at *Saumur*, sometimes at *S<sup>e</sup> Foy*, and sometimes at *Montauban*, & not abstaining to speak high injurious words against the King, calling him an ingrateful man, and one that did not acknowledg what they had done for him, & threatening not only to forsake him, but also to take that Crown away from him, which they professed (though without reason) that they had gotten him, they put jealousie and trouble into the minde of the King himself, who by long experience knowing their humours, and what they might contrive, and put in execution, doubted not onely that they would alienate themselves from him, but that before he could absolutely conquer the forces of the League, they would stirre up warre against him otherwise

The Mareſchall *d'Anville* embraces the Kings Conversion

The Hugonots threaten to forsake the King, and take the Crown from him which they said they had gotten him.



1595

therwhere; And though he had gained one *Morlas* an Hugonot Minister, born in *Bearne*, and one *Rottan*, another born in *Piedmont*, subtile men, of great authority and eloquence, who discoursing severally, among those of their Religion, concerning his conversion, exhorted the party not utterly to lose their confidence, but expect the benefit of time, making profession that they were privy to some secret designs of his; yet he feared these arts would not be sufficient to bridle the violence of some new dangerous insurrection.

This Doubt which had retarded his conversion much longer then the necessity of his affairs required, had also made him yeeld to many things which were contrary to his own *Ce-  
nins*, and inclination; for he had declared the *Mareschall d' Anville* High Constable of the Kingdom; though there were many to whom he had much greater obligations, that he might confirm him to his devotion, and deprive the Hugonots of the hopes of having him. He had likewise preferred the Viscount *de Turenne* before the Duke of *Nevers*, in the marriage of the heiress to the State of *Bonillon*, whereby he had attained that Dukedom, and now he employed him in the war upon the confines of the Low-Countries, to divert his thoughts, and ingage him in long businesses, far from the Countries possessed by the Hugonots; And finally desiring to get the young Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, and in some part to sweeten the bitterness which they generally had received, at his conversion, he thought of causing that *Edict* to be proclaimed and ratified, in the Parliament, which *Henry* the third had made in favour of them, in the year 1577 which was much better regulated then all the rest.

It was a very hard matter to get it to be received in the Parliament, where the debates were very long and diverse; for by how much the more dexterously the King laboured to proceed in the business, least he should discontent the Pope, and put him into an ill opinion of his inclination; so much the more ardently did many of the Counsellors oppose it, and the King not being willing that either the Chancellor, or any other should goe in his name to desire it, the first President *Harlay* and President *de Thou*, who knew his intention, had much ado to perswade the rest (who thought they did as they ought) to consent unto the promulgation of it. But in  
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the end, the Counsellors whom the King had confirmed through favour, after the reducing of the City, and particularly *Lazare Coqueille* formerly a great stickler, and a Minister for the League, desirous to shew themselves lesse sharp and severe in what concerned the Hugonots, lest they should seem to persevere in their old opinions, laboured so far, that the Decree was received and proclaimed; though neither did this publication much satisfie the Hugonots, with whom the King, both by reason of his past obligations, and present need, proceeded mildly, and kindly, indeavouring to remove suspicions out of their minds, and confirm them by good usage to his devotion, and knowing by his long conversing with them, the poverty of many of the principall Hugonots, and the narrownesse of the condition they were in, and being certaine that the heads and incendiaries being taken away, the poor common people would be abundantly contented with quietnesse, and security, he procured that many Deputies should be sent from severall places, to treat of the affaires of that party, the most part of which he afterwards gained to himself, with gifts, pensions, and promises, so that by milde gentle wayes, he insensibly took away the pulse and strength from the whole party; but if the Kings incredible want of money, and his own nature frugall in expences, together with the hard austerity of Monsieur *de Rosny*, who then manag'd the *Finances*, had given this remedy libertie to dilate it self more amply, those that are well versed in the Kingdom, beleve that a few years of such sweet poison would have extinguisht that faction which so many years of desperate war had not with the effusion of so much blood been able to weaken.

After many difficulties, the Edict in favour of the Hugonots, is accepted by the Parliament, and proclaimed, being the same which King Henry the third had made Anno 1577.

The second action of this year was the Kings resolution to denounce open war against the King of Spaine; for though in the beginning of the year before, the Duke of *Bouillon*, united with Count *Philip* of *Nassaw*, had taken some weak Towns in the County of *Heinault*, and in the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, that was rather an incursion then a formed war, and partly by reason of the sharpnesse of the weather, partly for want of money, they quickly retired, having also received no small losse from Count *Charles* his Army in their retreat; but now the King had determined to proclaim open war and turn all his forces against the States of King *Philip*.

Henry the fourth resolves to proclaim open war against the King of

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This resolution to many seemed strange and unseasonable, considering that the King of France was so troubled, and so unsecure at home, that he had no need of forreign contentions; they saw the Kingdom so exhausted of men and moneys, and so tired and worne out with Civill war, that they knew not which way he would be able to sustaine the weight of a forreign war; & recalling to memory that the King of Spain, without hazarding at all his own affairs, had in times past troubled, and little lesse then conquered the King himself in the heart of his own Provinces, and in the midst of his forces, it seemed to them a ridiculous thing, that now with his forces still divided, and discords still burning in his State, he should dare to think of offending the States of the Catholick King founded upon the *Basis* of so great a Monarchy; wherefore they should have thought it much more to the purpose, for the King to have endeavoured by some tolerable conditions to attaine peace, then to provoke and stir up war, so much the more, by the vanitie of a publick declaration.

Causes that  
moved King  
Henry the  
fourth to pro-  
claim warrs a-  
gainst Spain.

But the causes that moved the King were very powerfull; for he foresaw that the overture of a forraign warre would help to close the wounds of a Civill warre, as skilful Chirurgi-ans are wont with seasonable Cauteries to divert the hurtfull humors that corrupt and infect our bodyes; He knew there was nothing that could move the French more to a reconcilment and reunion, then the apparance of a warre with the Spaniards, the naturall enemies of their Nation; he desired the warre might no longer carry the name of a civill warre for Religion, but of a forraigne one for interest of State, and that in the flame of this controversie between Crown and Crown, the yet remaining sparkes of the League might be extinguished; he knew that howsoever he should still have the Catholick Kings forces against him, which since they could by no means be avoided, it was lesse hurtfull to have them open and publick, then treacherous and dissembled: He thought the Princes confederate with the Crowne of France would have much lesse caution in lending him favour and assistance in the warre, betweene the Spaniards and the French, for matter of Empire; then between Frenchmen and Frenchmen, whether they were reall or fained for matter of Religion; He considered that nothing would more please, nor satisfie the Hugonots then warre against the Spaniards, in which they being employ-  
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ed with their utmost spirits, their minds might be withdrawn and diverted from the thoughts of new designs; Besides all these causes, having made a League offensive, and defensive with the united Provinces of the Low-Countreys, with a mutuall obligation of concurring joyntly in warre, and hoping to draw the Queene of England and some of the Princes of Germany into the same confederacy, it was necessary to imploy his forces in some enterprize of common profit and conveniency in *Flanders*, and the County of *Bourgogne*, and being desirous to do it for his own reputation, and to interesse the other confederates, He judged the declaration of the warre to be very proper to stir up the minds of his subjects, and to necessitate the forces of the confederates; But above all being againe to treat of his reconciliation to the Apostolick See, and knowing he should have all the power of the King of Spain against him, he desired to have him known for his open enemy, and that he and his Ministers might not be admitted to that deliberation, as being excluded, and excepted by the publick and open warre, which should yet be between the Crowns; and if the mindes of great persons, among so many interests of State, are sometimes also moved, and driven by passions, the old persecution he had suffered from the Catholick King, stirr'd up and spurr'd on by the so late danger, in which he was like to have lost his life, by the suggestions of persons whom he esteemed to be dependants upon that Crown, had perchance some part in this resolution; for the execution whereof upon the twentieth day of January, he caused a Declaration to be published, and the same to be proclaimed by Heralds in the Towns upon the confines, wherein after having related all the injuries done by the King of Spain unto himself, and the King his predecessor, imputing also the act lately attempted against his person to the suggestion of his champions; he denounced open war against him by land and sea, took away all commerce between the two nations, and permitted his Subjects to invade, spoyle and possesse the states under the Dominion of that Crowne.

Upon the 26 of January 1595 Hen. the fourth causes War against Spain to be proclaimed by his Heralds in all the Confines.

King *Philip* answered this Proclamation about two months after with another Writing, wherein reckoning up the benefits and supplies lent to the most Christian Kings, his Confederates and Allyes, he declared and protested, that he would not break the peace which he had with the most

King *Philip* answers the King of France his Declaration about two months after.

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Christian



1595

Christian Crowne and the good Catholicks of the Kingdom, but persevere in their assistance, and defence, to the end they might not be oppressed by the Prince of *Bearne*, and the Hugonots his confederates, and commanded all his Subjects not to molest or hurt those French, that should follow the Catholick party in the Kingdome, giving order on the other side to his Governours and Commanders, to defend his Countreys, and likewise to offend the Prince of *Bearne*, and his adherents.

This Declaration was slow, but so were not the preparations; for not onely in Flanders Count *Charles* his Army was recruiting, to enter upon the confines of *Picardie* in the Spring, but also *Hernando de Valesco* Constable of *Castile*, and Governour of the state of *Milan* was preparing a great Army in Italy, to march into Burgogne, and in Spaine new forces were raising, that they might send new supplies to *Don Juan del Aquila* in Bretagne, as soon as the season would permit; the like preparations were made in France, Holland, and England, so that the course of this yeare seemed on all sides likely to prove formidable and bloody.

The Venetian Ambassadors sent to congratulate the Kings assumption to the Crown, are received with great demonstrations of honour.

In the meane time the King cured of his hurt, had celebrated the solemnitie of the Knights of the Holy Ghost; among the Ceremonies whereof, he renewed his oath of living and dying a Catholick, and of defending Religion, and afterwards with great pompe and demonstrations of honour, he had received *Vincenzo Giadenigo*, and *Giovanni Delfino*, Ambassadors of the Venetian Senate, who came to congratulate his assumption to the Crowne, and *Pietro Duodo*, that came to reside in the place of *Giovanni Mocenigo*, who for the space of seven yeares together, had made his residence with him, and the King his Predecessor; having with exceeding great praise, of singular prudence, managed the most weighty businesses in the ambiguous revolutions of past affaires.

The first action in the warre of this yeare, was the taking of *Beaune* a principall towne in the Dutchy of Bourgogne, wherein some of the chief Citizens having begun to mutiny from the yeare before, to put themselves under the Kings obedience, the Duke of *Mayene* who had a speciall jealousie concerning the affaires of that Province, (as being his own particular government) went speedily at his returne from *Lorraine*, into that City, where having found businesses all in a combustion,

bustion, he caused fourteen of the Citizens, which seemed to him more inclined to an alteration then the rest; to be imprisoned in the Castle, and having removed that difficult scruple, he in all things else, sought to appease the generality of the Citizens, without using any kind of severity; He endeavoured to make them understand, that he was about to conclude the generall peace, with the Popes consent; and therefore it would be much more honourable, much more advantageous to them, to be included in the generall agreement, then to compound by themselves, and forsaking him, who had alwayes governed them gently, referre themselves to the uncertaine discretion of a new Governour, with which reasons thinking he had settled their minds, he left a good Garrison in the Castle, and a convenient one in the Town, and went with speed to *Dijon*, where he feared some insurrection, no lesse then in other places; but being advertised that after his departure, there had bin new tumults at *Beaune*, he would needs returne to provide against them, and began to contrive how to fortifie both the Towne and Castle, which being not to be done, according to the designe of *Carlo Bonaventura* an Italian engineer, without pulling down some principall Monasteries and a great many private houses to the very ground, the Citizens opposed it; shewing the Duke that it was no time to come to so precipitate a determination; but he entring by this opposition into a greater jealousy of their inclinations, resolved to prosecute the fortification, and brought in a greater strength of Souldiers, which were distributed into severall parts of the Towne, to bridle the people, and to secure them to his devotion; and having given convenient order for these things, he departed, to oversee the rest of the Province, and secure other places, beleeving he had sufficiently provided against that danger; but the Citizens exasperated by the pulling down of their houses, and by the imprisoning of the cheif of them, resolved to use their utmost force to deliver the City to the Marefchall *de Biron*, who with two thousand Switzers, four thousand French foot, and twelve hundred horse was come into those quarters in the month of January; wherefore having secretly invited him, and settled the agreement, that he should present himself at the gates of the City upon the fifth of February, they upon the same day as soon as it was light, took Armes, and running up and down

The Citizens of *Beaune* in the Dutchy of *Bourgogne* calling the Marefchall *de Biron*, submit themselves to the Kings obedience.



1595 the streets with white scarfs, began to cry out, *For the King*; to which the greater part of the common people answering, *Jaques Richard* one of the plot ran to that gate which alone was wont to be kept open, and letting down the Portcullises that were on the in-side, shut out the guard of Souldiers who negligently and carelessly guarded the *Raveline*; then many others running thither arm'd, they made themselves Masters of the Gate, driving out the souldiers that were upon the guard, who having forsaken the *Raveline* to save themselves in the fields, were by the Country-people (no lesse exasperated then the rest) miserably defeated and dispersed. At the same time *Guilliaume Alesan* and *Michel Richard*, two other contrivers of the businesse, ran to the house of the *Sieur de Montmoyon* Governour of the Town, and suddenly made him prisoner, having killed *Guillermin* a Colonel of Foot, and some other Captains that were with him; and *Carlo Bonaventura* the designer of the Fortifications (who in his own defence had wounded *Alesan*, and many others) being almost stoned by the fury of the people, could scarce by the diligent care of some, be carried alive into the common Gaole. The Gate and the Governour being taken, the next work was to master the Quarters of the Souldiers, who though divided in different places, had fortified themselves there from the beginning of the tumult; in which combustion the City being all in an hurly burly, and even the very women and children betaking themselves to arms, they began to fight in many severall parts of the Town with various and bloody events: In the mean time came the *Mareschal de Biron*, who had delayed longer then the Citizens had appointed, and being entered into the Town with his whole Army, the Souldiers who were no longer able to make resistance, yeelded, saving their goods and persons; and he with very great and unusuall severity restraining his souldiers from pillage, appeased the whole tumult that night. The next day siege was laid to the Castle, which being battered with twelve pieces of Canon, after three thousand shot, and having held out two and forty days, surrendred it self into his hands.

The Baron de  
Senecey goes o-  
ver to the  
Kings party  
with the City  
of Ossonne.

The Baron *de Senecey* with the City of *Ossonne* followed the example of *Beaune*; for he having been Ambassadour to the Pope, and having found there was no hopes either from Rome or Spain of such Supplies as were necessary to uphold the

the enterprife, and having diligently informed the Duke of Mayene of it, and exhorted him (in vain) to imbrace peace, he took a resolution, and submitted himself to the Mareſchal de Biron, upon condition to keep the Government of that place.

The Citizens of *Autun* reſolved to do the ſame; but be-  
cauſe that Town was guarded with a good garifon, nor could  
the inclinations of all be ſounded without evident danger of  
diſcovery, the Heads of the deſigne determined to call the  
Mareſchal, and not to make any ſtir at all till he was at the  
Gates; one of which being kept by them, they had reſolved  
to open to him: wherefore he being come ſecretly into the  
ſuburbs upon the eighth of May at night, the Mayor of the  
Town, who had undertaken to bring him in, with great ſi-  
lence cauſed the Gate to be opened, into which a Captain  
entering firſt of all with five and twenty Cuiraffiers and fifty  
Fire-locks, quickly made himſelf Maſter of that Poſt; and  
having ſent word that the paſſe was ſecure, the *Sieur de Sipiere*  
and the Marqueſſe of *Mirebeau* entered, after whom follow-  
ed the whole Army, which being drawn up in the open ſpace  
between the walls and the houſes of the Town, was divided  
into four parts, which took poſſeſſion of the ſtreets of the Ci-  
ty four ſeverall wayes: One of theſe having fallen upon a  
good number of ſouldiers, which according to the military  
cuſtome were going *Patrouilles*, there began a furious conflict  
in the dark, at the tumult whereof all the guards being waken-  
ed and in arms, as likewiſe all thoſe Citizens that were not  
privie to the buſineſſe, they continued with various uncertain-  
ty fighting all the night, till day being broke, every one per-  
ceived that the City was poſſeſſed by the whole Army; where-  
upon all laying down their arms, and hiding themſelves in  
houſes, *Biron* cauſed a pardon to be publiſhed thorow all the  
ſtreets, and having plundered the ſouldiers of the garifon, and  
ſent them forth of the Town, it remained without further harm  
under the Kings obedience.

The Citizens  
of *Autun* put  
themſelves un-  
der the Kings  
obedience;

The affairs of *Bourgogne* being in this condition, the  
Conſtable of *Caſtile* having paſt the mountains with eight  
thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe, had croſſed tho-  
row *Savoy*, and was come into the *Franche Comté*, where be-  
ing united with the Duke of *Mayene*, who with four hundred  
Horſe and a thouſand French Foot was gone to meet him,

The Conſtable  
of *Caſtile* with  
8000 Foot and  
2000 Horſe  
goes into the  
*Franche Comté*,  
and being uni-  
ted with the  
Du. of *Mayene*,  
recovers ſome  
places, & takes  
others.

recover-



1595 recovered *Janneville* (with they of the Kings party had quitted) and resolved without delay to besiege *Vezu*; in which Town the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* was with four hundred Foot, and 60 Horse; nor was it very hard to take it, because his weakness would not suffer him to make any great resistance: whereupon the Duke of Mayene, who as a Souldier of greater experience commanded in military matters, having caused a Battery to be planted, made an open breach within few hours; and the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* not being obstinate to make a vain defence, resolved to retire into the Castle, and expect relief from the *Mareschal de Biron*. But he could not receive the assistance that was needfull in due time; for the *Mareschal* being at the same time called by the Citizens of *Dijon*, resolved to attend that as the more important occasion; so that the *Sieur de Tremblecourt* not being able in a weak place to resist the forces of a whole Army, was constrained to surrender the Castle.

The *Sieur de Tremblecourt* not being relieved by the *Mareschal de Biron*, surrenders the Castle of *Vezu* to the Constable of Castile.

But the Citizens of *Dijon* having declared themselves unseasonably, ran a very great hazard of being suppressed; for the Viscount *de Tavanes* who governed that Province as the Duke of Mayene's Lieutenant, being advertised of their intention, drew all the neighbouring Garrisons together with infinite celerity; and while the chief Citizens stood perplexed, and irresolute whether or no they should call the *Mareschal de Biron*, for fear of being sacked, *Tavanes* appeared with a considerable force to enter into the City; but that being denied him by the people already up in arms, he turning towards the Castle, was willingly received by the Governour of it: There after having refreshed and ordered his men, he caused an hundred of his stoutest Horsemen to alight, and placed them in the front of the Squadron, and then encouraging his men to fight gallantly, marched down in order the common way, to enter the passage towards the Marker-place, where being encountred by the Townsmen in arms, there began between them a sharp and an obstinate fight, which lasting stiffly from the morning till it was far of the day, some of the Heads of the people taking a resolution in necessity, determined to send for the *Mareschal de Biron*, who having already many days expected that opportunity, hovered up and down about those quarters. But not being able to bring the Army with that celerity which so sudden an exigent required,

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the Mareſchal having left order that the Cavalry ſhould follow him with all ſpeed, entered into *Dijon* with onely ſixty Gentlemen towards the evening; at whoſe arrivall the Citizens recovering courage, who not being able to reſiſt, were already reduced into a corner of the Town, and then the whole Army coming up ſucceſſively one part after another, *Tavanes* not willing to loſe the Caſtle while he contended obſtinately to get the Town, reſolved to retire thither, and leave the poſſeſſion of the Town unto the Army; wherefore making the Rereguard of his Squadron face about, he drew off ſoftly, and ſtill fighting got laſe into the Fortreſſe, the day being quite ſhut in; but leaving it to the care of the wonted Governour, he retired himſelf into the Caſtle of *Talan*, a little diſtant from the Town. The Mareſchall was reduced into a great ſtraight, his Army not being ſufficient to divide it ſelf and beſiege both Caſtles; and becauſe he feared the Duke of Mayene and the Conſtable of Caſtile, having diſpatched at *Vezun*, would come ſtraight to *Dijon*, he ſolicited the King by redoubled Meſſengers, to advance into Bourgongne, whither the greateſt weight of arms was already inclined.

The King had ſtayd at Paris longer then he had at firſt intended; for Preſident *Jeannin* being come unto him, they had great hope to conclude the lately renewed treaty of Agreement, which afterwards was prolonged many dayes; for not onely the King was backward in granting conditions, by reaſon of the proſperity of his affairs in Bourgongne; but alſo the Duke of Mayene, according to the variation of hopes varied alſo his determinations, and without proceeding further, would have had a Truce eſta bliſhed, to expect (as he ſaid) the Pope's reſolution, and (as the King ſaid) the reſolution of King *Philip*; and finally, the revolt of thoſe Towns having happened on the one ſide, and on the other the Conſtable being come, the Treaty diſſolved without concluſion; and the King having left the Prince of *Conty* to govern Paris, and with him the Count of *Schombergh* to counſell him, was come to *Troyes* upon the thirtieth of May to draw his Army together in that place, and to march thence whither need ſhould require. Thither the earneſt deſires of the Mareſchal de *Bi-ron* came unto him, who ſolicited him to march ſpeedily to *Dijon*; wherefore without interpoſing any delay, he with the Troops that were with him, having left order that the reſt ſhould



1595

should follow, took his way with all haste toward *Bourgogne*, having with him the Count of *Auvergne*, the Duke de la *Tremouille*, the Marquess de *Pisany*, the Count de *Torigny*, the Chevalier d'*Oyse*, the Marquesses of *Tresnel*, and *Mirepoix*, and the Sieurs de *Chiverny*, *Liancourt*, *Vitry*, *Montigny*, d'*Inteville*, and de la *Curée*.

The King comes to *Dijon*, and gives order that both the Castles be besieged.

Being come to *Dijon* upon the fourth of June, he presently gave order that both the Castles should be beleaguered, setting the Count de *Torigni* to besiege that of the City, and the Baron of *S. Blancard*, Brother to the Mareschal de *Biron*, to take in the Castle of *Talan*; But because to shut up the Castle round about was a work of many dayes, all the Infantry not being yet come up (which could not march so fast as he had done) the King resolved to advance with the major part of Cavalry towards the Spanish Campe; for having intelligence that the Conestable had cast two bridges over the river *Saone* at *Gray* to passe all his Army at once, and come to raise the siege of the Castles, he hoped to foreflow him till such time that all his men were come up, and the trenches brought to perfection; The Duke of *Mayene* had likewise partly with reason, partly with authority, partly by entreaty perswaded the Conestable to advance to recover the City of *Dijon*, telling him that the Mareschal de *Biron*'s forces were much inferior to his, and that the Castles, in which the some of affaires consisted, afforded them a very easie way to drive out the enemies; and though the Conestable (a Lord of high birth, and great riches, but small experience in the affaires of warre) was very unwilling to do it, yet his confidence in the Dukes prudence and valour, and his not knowing that the King was so neer, had induced him to yeeld unto it; wherefore having passed the river the day before with his whole Army, he had quartered himself in the villages on this side of the river, eight leagues from *Dijon*. Things being in this condition, and neither the Conestable, nor the Duke of *Mayene* knowing of the Kings being come, he without losing time, upon the seventh of June in the morning departed from the City with twelve hundred Gentlemen, and Curassiers, and six hundred Harquebusiers on horseback, and gave order that all should march toward *Luz*, he being to break his fast that morning at the house of the Baron of that Town, and to stay there for some intelligence of the enemies moving: *Luz* stands upon the confines

The Conestable of Castile perswaded by the Duke of *Mayene*, advances with his Army to attempt the recovery of *Dijon*.

confines of *Bourgongne*; and of the *Franche Comté*, four leagues from *Gray*, and as much from *Dijon*; so that he was in the way between the City and the Spanish Campe, between which and *Gray* there was nothing but the current of the river; As soon as the King was come to the place appointed, and not meeting that intelligence he expected, to know what the enemy did, he sent forth the Baron *d'Offonville* with sixty light horse to discover and to bring him back the certainty of all things; and he resting his men, & refreshing his horses at leasure, gave order that at three of the clock in the afternoon all should meet at *Fontain-Françoise*, a village upon the edge of his confines, there to dispose of themselves according to the information he should receive. It was not yet noon, when he and the Marefchall *de Biron*, with three hundred horse went that way to be upon the *Rendevouz* first of all, to order and dispose the forces as they came one after the other, but when he was two miles from *Fontain-Françoise*, he saw three horsemen come full gallop towards him, who brought word that the Baron *d'Offonville* being charg'd with three hundred horse of the League was forced to retire, not having been able to discover any thing, and that he desired relief, that he might be able to withstand the greater forces of the enemy; The King not knowing what to beleieve, whether the three hundred horse were the enemies vanguard, or else but some party that was scouring the Campagne, sent forth the Marefchall *de Biron*, and the Baron *de Luz*, and the Marquesse *de Mirabeau* followed by sixty horse, to succour *Offonville*, and to know matters more certainly; who advancing at a large trot, out of haste to recover *Offonville*, as soon as he was out of *Fontaine-Françoise*, discovered a Troop of sixty light horse which were upon the steep of the hill, just upon the way that led to *S. Seine*, a village that stood upon the great roade which led straight to the river *Saone*; wherefore he resolved (without doubting) to charge them, and to advance to the top of the hill, from whence he thought he might discover all the Countrey: nor was it hard for him to obtaine his intent; for the light horse received the charge without opposition, and left them the hill free, which as soon as he was gotten upon, he discovered the whole Spanish Army at a distance, which marching in its ranks, was coming to quarter at *S. Seine*, standing in a plaine, which on the right side is bounded with a hill, and on the other is covered with a wood; wherefore

The Baron *d'Offonville* sent forth to discover the Army of the League, is charged, and constrained to retire.

The Marefchal *de Biron* going to relieve the Baron *d'Offonville*, purs a Troop of the Enemies Cavalry to flight.



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being desirous to carry back certain newes of the qualitie and order of the enemy, he resolved to advance, that he might have meanes distinctly to observe the march and order of that Campe; but he was no sooner descended into the plaine, when he saw the enemies three hundred horse, who having routed and pursued *Ossonville*, came resolutely towards him; The Mareschall knowing himself inferiour in strength, thought to retire without doing any more, giving the Baron *de Luz* order to make a stand in the reer with twenty of his men, and endeavour to detain the enemies, if they should come up to molest him; which the Baron couragiously performing, their fury came upon his back with so much violence, that being overthrown with his horse, and four of his men slaine, who gallantly faced about, the rest were constrained to gallop away; wherefore the Mareschall being likewise forced to face about towards the enemy, fell in furiously to disingage the Baron, who having freed himself from his horse, and much more difficultly from the enemy, had got over a ditch and came towards him with his Sword and Pistol in his hand: The encounter was very sharpe and furious in the beginning; but the Mareschall who fought without a head-peece, being wounded with a slash in the head almost at the very first, and some of his men being slaine and trampled under foot by the fury of the enemy, he began by reason of the inequality of the forces, to be in extreame danger of being defeated; yet was he not at all dismaied, nor did he slacken the ardor wherewith he fought, being accompanied by the Baron *d' Ossonville*, who againe was joyned with him, and the Baron *de Luz*, who was fortunately gotten again on horseback, till at the same time there appeared out of the village, and out of the wood eight Squadrons of the enemies horse, which separating themselves from the Army, came a round pace towards him; wherefore having something repressed the first violence of them, who charged him first, he turned his bridle and rallying his men, began to retire galloping to get to *Fontaine-Françoise*, where he beleevd the King to be already come with all the rest of his forces; But the hour assigned for the Rendezvous was not yet come, wherefore the King though he had with him onely two hundred horse of the Nobility, and sixty Harquebusiers on horseback that were come up before the rest, and though he had no other armes on but his back and brest, yet was he necessitated to advance, and receive the Mareschall *de Biron*,  
who

The Mareschall *de Biron* being without his head-peece is wounded in the head.

The King half disarmed succours the Mareschall *de Biron*.

who was hotly pursued at the heels by a much greater number of the enemies.

The first troopes of the League were led by *Louis d'Hudan* *Sieur de Villers*, and Captain *Giovan Battista Sanfonia* a *Milanesse*; the first one of the Duke of *Mayene's* field Mareschalls, the second Lieutenant of the Constables light horse: the other French troopes were commanded by the *Sieur de Tenissay*, and the Baron *de Tianges*, and the Italian, and Bourguingnon light horse, by *Don Roderigo Bellino*, and the Marquesse *de Varambone*. A hundred Carabines marched first to begin the charge, and after the other squadrons followed the Duke of *Mayene*, with a body of *Gens d'Armes*. The King was put upon a necessity of fighting with all this fury of the enemies, and his forces being not yet come up, he closed upon the right hand with the Dukes *de la Tremouille*, and *d'Elbæuf*, the Baron *de Termes*, and the *Sieur de la Curée*; and upon his left hand the Mareschall *de Biron*, though weary and wounded, with the Barons of *Offonville* and *Lux*; and with the Marquesse *de Mirabeau*. Monsieur *de Villers* with his squadron charged that part where the Mareschal *de Biron* was; and *Gionvan Battista Sanfoni* fell upon the other where the King himself was; but with different fortune, though they fought with equall courage on both sides; For Monsieur *de Villers* at last beat back the troopes of *Offonville* and *Lux*, and forced the Mareschall to retire as far as *Fontaine-Françoise*; but on the other side where the King was, new Troopes of Gentry and Cavalry coming up straglingly every minute, who having heard the danger he was in, advanced withall possible speed to assist him; *Sanfoni* was killed with five wounds, and his Horse being routed and dispersed, were driven back, even to the last Squadron of the enemy; Nor could the *Sieur de Villers* prosecute the victory on his side; for having received a shot in his arme, he was likewise constrained to retire; For all this the Kings danger lessened not, for the Baron *de Tianges* and the *Sieur de Tenissay* advanced with fresh and numerous Squadrons to charge, and the same did the Marquesse *de Varambone*, and *Roderico Bellino*, in that place where the Mareschall *de Biron* fought; so that being very much inferiour in number, their men wearied, and their horses haggled out and tired, they were almost in a certain danger of being overcome; yet the King with his voice even hoarse, and with the example of his own valour, encour-



1595 raging every one ; and the Mareschall *de Biron* all bloudy, and covered with sweat and dust, charging desperately among the first, they prevailed so far, that each fighting beyond his own power, and above his own strength, they gave time to the rest who were upon the way to come up ; amongst which, the first were the Count of *Auvergne*, Monsieur *de Vitry*, and after them the Count *de Chiverny*, the *Chevalier d'Oyse*, and the Monsieur *d'Inteville* ; At the arrivall of these (after whom the whole Army was believed to follow) the Duke of Mayene caused the Troops to withdraw from the fight, and the King seeing it was no time to think of any other safety then what courage afforded, followed them with a gallant skirmish to the Plain and Wood of *S. Seine*, where they met the Spanish and German Infantry, which advancing valiantly in two divisions, came to give their charge : when they appeared, the King drew back his bridle, and the Duke of Mayene having rallied all his Horse into one great body, made shew as if he would charge him : but the Kings Troops were already arrived ; whereupon the number of the Cavalry was not much different, and the Constable of *Castile* riding up to the head of the Army, commanded his men to make an halt, being resolved not to hazard all his Forces, and all the *Franche Comté* to the danger of a Battell : wherefore it being already late, the King began to retire with a gentle pace towards *Fontaine-Françoise* ; and the Enemy, though at first, to conserve their reputation, they made shew that they would follow him, retired also without doing any thing else.

The King follows the forces of the League, which retire still skirmishing.

The Constable of Castile, not to hazard the *Franche Comté* by a battle makes a halt, having resolved not to fight.

The Constable retires with his Forces, though the Duke of Mayene labours to the contrary.

The Spaniards lay that night at *S. Seine*, the Kings forces at *Fountaine-Françoise*, and his own person at *Lux*, having that day run one of the greatest dangers that befell him in all the resolutions of the past wars ; in which he ought to acknowledge his safety no lesse to his own valour, then the courage of those that were with him, among which after *Biron* the principall prayes were given to *Marquesse de Mirabeau*, the Count *de Grammont*, and the *Sieur de la Curée* : In this encounter which fame published to be much greater then the truth, there were kill'd about forty on the Spaniards side, and of the Kings above sixty ; the wounded were many more, nor fewer were the number of those that were taken prisoners on both sides : each party laboured to draw the fame of the victory and the honour of that day unto it self ; the Spanish Comman-

Commanders, because the number of the slain and prisoners were greater on the Kings side; the French, because they remained Masters of the Field, and likewise of the dead bodies, and because they made the enemies retire to their very quarters. But that which confirmed the victory on their side was the determination of the Constable, who having heard from the Prisoners that the King himself was there, and had been in the fight, resolved (though the Duke of Mayene laboured much to the contrary) not to passe any further; and the next morning having caused his Army to repasse the River, went to lye in a place of advantage, having Gray behind his camp, and the obstacle of the River before it. The King advanced the next morning with all his Cavalry to see which way the enemies would move, and being come to the hill from whence he discovered the plain and the village of *S. Seine*; he stood there a long time in Battalia, not seeing the retreat of the Spaniards, in respect of the wood, and of the opposite hill; nor would the King being without his Foot, in a various Country, full of advantageous places, and not well known unto his men, put himself into the danger of falling into some great Ambuscado; but it being already past noon, the *Sieur de Tremblecourt*, & *d'Ossonville* with a few Horse went up to the very entry of *S. Seine*, where certain Peasants that were working in the fields told them of the retreat of the Army, whereof having speedily informed the King, he advanced at a round trot to fall upon the enemies here; but he found that already they were all safely past the River, and the boats taken away, upon which they had made two bridges; wherefore having scowred and beaten the wayes along the banks of the River, he returned that night to his quarters at *Lux*, and the next morning went to *Dijon* to hasten the Siege of the two Castles.

The Duke of *Mayene* on the other side, not having been able to persuade the Constable to stay beyond the River, began to intreat him to let him have some number of men, wherewith he might go and defend his own in *Bourgongne*; but neither was it possible for him to obtaine that; for the Constable who was come onely to defend the *Franche Comté*, thought he had done enough in recovering *Vezun*, and all the other Towns the French had gotten possession of, and would no more put himself to the arbitrement of fortune, so much the rather because his want of experience in military matters,

made



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The Duke of Mayene seeing himself forsaken by the Spaniards, and advertised that the Pope inclined to the absolution of the King, makes an agreement with him.

made him very much to fear every small encounter, and though he had a great Army about him, he thought not himself secure from the celerity and courage of the King of France; besides the continuall treaty the Duke of Mayene held of making his peace with the King, rendred him suspected to the Constable, and to all the Spanish Ministers, nor would they trust any thing of moment to his fidelitie: wherefore (seeing himself destitute of all succour; and that the Constable being grounded upon good reasons, was not like to change his resolution,) he determined at last to close up the treaty of agreement, and so much the rather, because he was advertised by his Agents at Rome, that the Pope manifestly inclined to the Kings absolution; and therefore having sent the *Sieur de Lignerac* to *Dijon* he concluded upon these terms; That he leaving the Spanish camp, should retire to *Chalons*, upon the River *Saone* in the same Province of *Bourgongne*, where without using Arms he should expect the event of the deliberation at Rome; and that on the other side, the King should not any way molest him, nor any of his followers, nor should attempt any thing upon *Chalons*, and that in the mean time, while the advertisements came from Italy concerning the absolution of the King, the difficulties should be smoothed, and the conditions agreed upon, wherewith the Duke should turn unto the Kings obedience. This truce or suspension of Arms being established, the Duke (making as if he had a minde to relieve the Castles of *Dijon*) departed from the Constables Camp with the French troops, and went straight to *Chalons*, where presently the Kings Deputies arrived to conclude the agreement, and he gave order to the Viscount *de Tavannes* and the Governor of the Castle of *Dijon*, to surrender both the Castles without delay.

The King goes into the *Franche Comté* to molest the Spaniards.

But the King having dispatched that enterprise, resolved to goe into the *Franche Comté*, to attempt something against the Constables Army, and with seaven thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse marched towards the River *Saone*. The Constable lay still at *Gray*, thinking it a very convenient place to hinder the passing of the River, and to turn which way soever the French Army should move; which being quartered at *S. Seine*, fought all the bancks for many dayes, without finding an opportunity to passe; but it being already the month of July, and the waters of the *Saone* very much fallen, by reason of

of the time of the year, the Sieurs *de Tremblecourt*, and *d' Os-sonville* who attempted all manner of means to passe, found that the River was fordable in a certain place about three miles from Gray, which was guarded only by 100 Spanish firelocks; wherefore upon the eleventh of July in the morning they appeared upon that passe, with two hundred Curassiers, and five hundred Harquebusiers on Horse-back, and began to try the Ford where the River was shallowest. The Spanish firelocks opposed them, and bravely resisting, hindered the enemies passage with their utmost power; but having no more ammunition then what they carried in their flasks, after they had fought for the space of half an hour; they were necessitated to retire; at which the French taking courage passed resolutely to the other bank of the River, and after them the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the Mareschall *de Biron* with five hundred Horse more: The news of the enemies passing was already come to the Spanish Camp, and the foot that had fought there, murmuring at the unskilfulness of their Commanders, who had left them without ammunition, retired towards their quarters, when *Hercole Gonsaga* advanced with the first Squadrons of Horse to beat back the French and make them repasse the River, being not beleaved to be many in number; but having found the truth to be different from what they thought, after the first volley he could not withhold his men from yeelding to the greater number, though he fighting valiantly, and sharply rebuking those that turned their backs, did the Office of a very gallant Commander. *Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi* followed with another troop of Horse, and having avoided the incounter of the first, who precipitately ran away, fell in couragiously to oppose the enemy; but the French were so much stronger, there coming up new troopes of Horse every minute to reinforce them, that it was not possible for him to stop their fury; but being routed and dispersed fell foul upon the last squadron of Horse, wherewith *Don Alonso Jdiaques* came to second him, in such manner that the Squadrons mingling confusedly with one another, being justled and disordered by the violence of those that fled, they that came up to charge began likewise to run away without stop; in which flight it being necessary to passe a great ditch full of water and dirt, to come to the quarters of the Army, the disorder proved so great, that many precipitated themselves

The French passe the River Saone at a Ford, and the Spaniards that lay to defend the passe for want of ammunition were forced to leave it and retire.

The Spaniards are routed and dispersed.



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Don Alonso I-  
diaques taken  
prisoner.

selves into the ditch; and many not to incur the danger of being thrown down and trampled under foot, fell into the power of the French; among which *Don Alonso Idiaques*, his horse having fallen under him, was unfortunately taken prisoner by the *Sieur de Chauvot*, and was fain afterwards to compound for a ranfome of twenty thousand duckets. The French seeing the Constable's Infantry drawn up on the other side of the ditch, stopped their pursuit, and stayed for the King; who having past with all his Army, lodged in the neereſt Villages two miles from the enemies Camp.

By these two great disorders the Spaniards gave the King of France liberty to passe; for there was no doubt, but if the Foot that guarded the passe had been more in number, and better provided with Ammunition, they would have hindered the first that came over, in respect of the difficultie of the passage, and the height of the banks of the River; and after they were past, if all the Cavalry had advanced in order to beat them back, it is most certain they would either have totally defeated them, or made them repasse to the other side of the River: but coming up disorderly, and in a manner scatteringly, they gave the French opportunity to conquer, and put themselves in danger of being utterly cut off; and therefore knowing Souldiers cannot endure those rash runnings out of the trenches of Camps, without order or consideration, at every little call of a Trumpet; and that which the inexpert count boldnesse and resolution, they with very good reason call rashnesse and ignorance.

But the King of France his passage made with so much fortune or valour, produced little effect; for the Constable keeping himself in his wonted quarter excellently fortified, & placed between *Gray* and the current of the *Saone*, the King not having power to force it, and not being in a condition to assault it, went on the other side to make incursions, and spoil the Country, and spent the time without receiving any fruit, save that *Besançon*, a Town no way strong nor tenable against his Army, to free it self from danger, compounded for many thousands of duckets. In the mean time the Kings Camp was full of many dangerous diseases, whereof being in an enemies Country, and in the exercise of arms, there died very many, among which was the Count *de Torigny*, who had the Office of Field-Mareschal: For which reason, and because there

there came every day ill news from *Picardie*, the Cantons of the Switzers interposing as common friends, and particular protectors of the *Franche Comté*, the wonted neutrality was established in that Province, which the King going out of, went to *Dijon*, and the Constable *Velasco* having left part of his Army returned with the rest to his Government of *Milan*.

At *Dijon*, the businesse of the Hugonots still troubling the King, and he desiring for his own security, and for the Pope's satisfaction, to get the Prince of *Condé* out of their hands, caused a Petition to be presented by the kinsmen of the Princess his Mother, wherein relating in her name the imputation that had been laid upon her, of having been privie to the death of the Prince her Husband, and the sentence that had been given against her by Judges that were not competent, nor capable to sentence her, they demanded that she having till then been kept in prison, at *S. Jehan d'Angely*, the King disanulling the first sentence, would be pleased to grant that the Parliament of *Paris*, a naturall and competent Judge, might hear her cause, and having discussed the proofs, give sentence upon it: to which petition the King answered, That if the Princesses Kinsmen would oblige themselves to put her into the power of the Parliament of *Paris*, he would disanull and make void the sentence that had been given, and would refer the case to the aforesaid Parliament, into whose power the Princess was to be delivered within the space of four months. This served for a colour and excuse to take away suspicion from the Hugonots, to deprive them of power to detain the person of the Princess and of her Son. And the King sent the Marquesse *de Pisani* to *S. Jehan*, who though the Hugonots murmured at it, brought them both away to *Paris*, where the Princess having declared, that she would live for the time to come in the Catholick Religion, was absolved by the Parliament of that imputation that had been layed against her; the Prince of *Condé* remaining not only in the Kings power, but instructed and bred up in the Catholick Religion.

The Princess of *Condé* being dexterously referred by the King unto the Parliament of *Paris*, concerning an imputation laid upon her of being privie to her Husbands death, is cleared thereof by the Parliament, having promised first to turn Catholick, & that her Son should be instructed in the same Religion.

The Duke of *Montmorancy* came likewise to the City of *Dijon*, and there took possession of his Office of Constable, the Hugonots being thus deprived of those props, where-with they had designed to uphold themselves. The Pope was by these lively effects very much confirmed of the Kings sincer-



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The Pope almost assured of the Kings sinceritie inclines towards him, and shews himself averse from others.

ritie, who already was wholly averse from them, and wholly intent to secure the State of Religion within his obedience; He shewed the same inclination by the strict orders, and particular Commissions which he had given to restore the use of the Masse in all those places from whence it had been taken; & he laboured continually in seeking means to restore the estates of the Clergy possessed by others, which by reason of the difficulty of the matter proved very hard and troublesome; for the Lords and Gentlemen, who in reward of their services had obtained them, and had already possessed them a great while, could hardly be brought to leave them without equivalent recompences; which by reason of the number of the pretenders, and the narrowness of affaires, in a time of so great distraction, it was not possible to satisfie; yet the King with infinite patience and dexterity studied how to compose things, so that if he could not altogether, he did at least in part satisfie the Clergy, though of necessity many of the principall of them could not be absolutely contented; but discreet persons commended both the Kings inclinations, and dexterous manner of finding a way to compose interests that were so oppositely diverse and repugnant.

These things brought by fame unto the Court of Rome, did opportunely promote the Kings interests; but much more were they helped on by the contrary circumstances, which troubled the minde of the Pope, and of that Court; for Schisme was in a manner totally settled; the Parliament continued diligently to hinder that none should goe sue for benefices at Rome, and whosoever procured any by such sutes, did not certainly obtaine the possession of them; the King by some one of the great Councell did still dispatch Spirituall *Oeconomes* to the Bishopricks, and other cures of Soules that were vacant; the name of the Apostolick See seemed to be utterly forgotten; and the Kings forces prospering, it was doubted he would demand absolution no more; the Duke of *Nevers* having said publicly at his departure, that they should not look to have any more Ambassadors sent to Rome: wherefore though the treaty was set on foot againe by means of Cardinal *Gondi*, and that *d' Ossat* continued to treat with *Sannesio*, and with Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, yet the Pope fearing the mischief that was eminent, and considering the example of other States that had withdrawn themselvcs from the obedience

ence of the Apostolick See was wonderfull anxious, by reason of the danger of this division. To this was added the Kings confederacy contracted with the States of Holland; and the Leauge which was still in treaty with England; whereupon it was doubted that so neer a confederacy being made with Hereticks, Religion would in some part be injured by it. That which the more incited the Pope, was the sharp war made by the *Turke* in *Hungary*; for being constrained to think of the progresse of the common enemy on that side he desired to appease the tumults of *France*, that he might turn all his forces for the maintenance and benefit of the Common-weal of Christians; For all these reasons being resolved within himself to condescend to the Kings benediction, to which he thought himself obliged in conscience, he began to think of softning the Catholick King; and therefore besides satisfying him in all his demands, he resolved to send his Nephew *Giovan Francesco Aldobrandino* into Spain under colour of treating of the affairs of *Hungary*, but withall to negotiate the absolution of *France*, to which he laboured to bring the King of *Spain* gently, by shewing that he depended much upon his content: In the mean time by the means of Monsieur *d'Offat*, he secretly let the King know that things were already ripe, and that if he sent new Ministers to treat, the absolution perchance might be concluded.

The Pope sends his Nephew *Giovan Francesco Aldobrandino* into Spain, to treat of the affairs of *Hungary*, and also of the Kings absolution.

The King desirous to reconcile himself fully to the Church, thought at first to send a gallant Embassy; but being informed of the Popes intention, who desired that the businesse should passe privately, and with terms of very great submission, he determined to send only *Jaques Davy Sieur du Perron*, who should treat of matters together with *d'Offat*, being also desirous in case the businesse should not take effect, that the manner of treating might not make it the more eminent and remarkable. These men reasonably making use of the conjuncture of present affaires, managed the Kings intentions modestly and dexterously, shewing no lesse the prosperoussesse of his enterprizes, which at last had gained him the whole Kingdom; then his pietie and most ardent affection towards Religion, from whence proceeded his infinite patience, hardned to bear so many repulses as had been given him by the Pope. But those that were well versed in the affairs of the world, gave loose raines to their discourse concerning



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those very things which much troubled the Pope, and sayed freely through the Court, that in the end the Kings patience would turn into fury, and that having subdued his enemies, and made himself a peaceable Master of his estate, it was to be doubted he would care but little to reconcile himself to the Pope or rather it was to be feared, that with a dangerous Schisme in the Church of God, he would attempt to revenge so many past injuries, and persecutions; and upon these points they repeated and alledged those reasons, for which it was just and convenient to receive and satisfie him: The Pope being between two contrary respects, one not to alienate nor offend the Catholick King; the other not to lose the obedience of the Kingdom of France, went very warily, and indeavoured, that time, the course of things, patience and dexterity might unloose that so difficult and so dangerous knot: He knew that those that took part with the King of France had reason on their side; that at length there was enough said, and enough done to assure the sincerity of his conversion, and that by standing firme against so many repulses, he had merited the pardon and reconciliation of the Church: but on the other side he doubted the Spaniards might upbraid him, that they had been more constant, and more jealous defenders of the Majestie of Religion then he, and he thought it very hard to alienate King *Philip* an ancient and confirmed defender of the Church, for a Prince which till then, had ever been an enemy, & a persecutor of it; To this was added that the merits of the King of Spain towards the Apostolick See, and the many enterprizes he had done for the service of Christendom and of Religion, had gotten him so great authoritie in the Roman Church, that it seemed not fit for the Pope to determine a matter of so great consequence, without his liking and consent.

Monignor *Serafino* tells the Pope that *Clement* the vii lost England, and *Clement* the eighth would lose France.

But whilst the Pope dexterously protracts this determination, the King's Forces gaining every day great r power, and greater fame, constrained him to come to a conclusion; and the words of Monignor *Serafino* wrought much upon him; who discoursing often with him, and according to his wonted liberty, mingling jests with serious matters, being asked by the Pope what the Court said about that businesse; answered, that it was now a common saying, *That Clement the Seventh had lost England, and Clement the Eighth would lose France:*



*France*: which conceit having pierced deeply into the Pope's mind, spurr'd on by the evidence of reason, and the effectual solicitations of the Venetian and Florentine Ambassadors, he determined to take his resolution upon his Nephew's relation; who assured him that in Spain mens minds were no longer so ardent as they were wont to be in the affairs of France, and that being exceedingly exhausted of money; and weary of the War, they would make no great stir at the determination of Rome, though they yet shewed perseverance, desiring that the resolutions of his Holiness might be protracted for some few days, more out of a desire to better their own conditions, then out of any hope they had that the King of France at last should not obtain Absolution: Wherefore the Pope taking courage, after he had oftentimes felt the pulse of the Duke of *Sessa* the Spanish Ambassador upon that point, he at last could not but tell him, that the taking a course about the affairs of France could no longer be deferred, and that therefore he was resolved to hear the opinions of the Cardinals about it, to the end that with their advice he might determine what should be thought most convenient. The Duke of *Sessa* believed that the Pope would heare and gather the Votes of the Cardinals in the wonted Consistory, and in the wonted manner, and knowing that many of them depended upon the will of the Catholick King, and that many others of themselves dissented from the King of France his Absolution, did not argue much upon that particular, because upon a diligent scrutiny of the Votes, hee was of opinion that the Absolution would not passe in the Consistory; and he was certain the Pope would not do contrary to what the plurality of Votes should determine: But *Clement*, who would not refer a thing of so great weight, managed till then with infinite dexterity, to multiplicity of opinions, which if they should be laid open, would appear to be guided with particular interests and respects, after he had brought the Catholick King's Ambassadors not to refuse that the businesse should be put in consultation, went not the ordinary way, but having called the Consistory, after he had read the Kings Letters and Supplications, declared that he would hear the Counsell of the Cardinals about them; yet not briefly and confusedly at one onely time; but that they should one by one come into his Chamber, where no other body being present, he would

hear

The Pope that he might have the more free and secure opinion of the Colledge of Cardinals, resolves to hear them privately one by one.



1595 hear them privately ; and gave them charge that they should come four every day severally to private audience, and to discourse with him concerning the present businesse. The Pope (showing by this prudent manner, that he would exclude all private respects, and give the Cardinals confidence to tell their opinions freely, without fear that they should be discovered) reserved unto himself the arbitrement of the determination, being able when all had spoken, to declare what pleased him best, and to say in which opinion the major part of Votes concurred, so that none might be able to oppose or contradict : and just so it came to passe ; for having first caused solemn prayers to be made in every Church of the City, and having in himself shewed signes of profound and singular devotion, he for the space of many dayes heard the Cardinals one by one ; and finally, being all met in the Consistory, he said he had heard the opinions of all the Cardinals, and that two thirds of them voted that the King of France should be absolved from Censures, and received into the bosom of the Church ; and that therefore he would treat with the King's *Procurators*, and in his name impose upon them those penances and those conditions which he should think most profitable and advantageous for the service of God, and the exaltation of the Church. Cardinal *Marc' Antonio Colonna* would have contradicted, and standing up, began already to speak ; but the Pope imposed him silence, saying, It had been sufficiently consulted of already, and determined with the plurality of Votes ; and therefore he did not mean that should be any more put into disputation, which had once been ordered and decided.

The Pope in the Consistory declares, that two thirds of the Cardinals had voted the absolution of Henry IV, and that therefore he was resolved to treat with his *Procurators* about it.

In this manner having dismissed the Consistory, the Pope betook himself to treat with the Kings *Procurators* concerning the Conditions, which already had been debated many days by the means of Cardinall *Toledo*, who though a Spaniard by birth, and a Jesuit by profession, yet either because his Conscience did so perswade him, or for some other reason, was favourably inclined to the Kings affairs ; and though he laboured much, because the Pope would needs declare that absolution *nul* that had been given him by the French Prelats at *S. Denis*, and the King stood to have it approved and confirmed by his accomplishment, and because many things opposed the publication of the Councell of Trent,

Trent, which the Pope by all means urged to have; and most of all because the Pope pressed to have the Decree made in favour of the *Hugonots* to be broken and disannulled, which could not be done without stirring up new wars; yet such was the dexterity and prudence of the Kings *Procurators*, and such the moderation of the Pope, that with convenient words and clauses all things were set right in such manner, that the reputation of the Catholick See was kept whole, and the King was not put into a necessity of new perturbations.

1593

Things being settled and concluded, the Pope upon the 16<sup>th</sup> day of September went with all the Cardinals in their Pontificall habits into the Porch of *S. Peters*, where he sitting in the Throne prepared for that purpose, and encompassed with all the Cardinals, except *Alesandrino* and *Aragon*, who were not present at that solemnity; *Jaques Davy* and *Arnaud d'Offat* appeared in the habit of private Priests, and holding the Kings Proxie in their hands, upon their knees presented the petition to the Secretary of the Holy Office, which being publickly read, the Secretary standing at the foot of the Throne, pronounced the Pope's Decree, which containing the narrative of the whole businesse, did appoint and ordain that *Henry* of *Bourbon* King of *France* and *Navar* should be absolved from Censures, and received into the bosome of the Church, being at that present obliged to abjure all Heresies held formerly by him, to undergo the publick penance that should be enjoined him, and observe the conditions established by his Holinesse, which were these following: That the *Catholick Religion* should be introduced into the Principality of *Bearne*, and four Monasteries of Friers and Nuns founded there: That the Counsell of *Trent* should be received in the whole Kingdom of *France*, except in those things that might disturb it, which the Pope was willing to dispense withall: That within the term of one yeer the Prince of *Condé* should be given to be bred up in the hands of Catholicks: That in the disposing of Benefices and other matters, he should observe the course agreed upon with the Kings his Predecessors, taking away all abuses: That Catholick persons, and such as were of exemplary life, should be nominated unto Prelacies: That all lands and goods taken from Churches and Religious places should be restored with-

Upon the 16<sup>th</sup> of Septemb. 1593 the Pope in the Porch of *S. Peters* doth with solemn Ceremony absolve *Henry* the IV from censures, and he is received into the bosome of the Church.

The conditions established at Rome, to be observed by the King of France:

out



1595

out a judicial way, and without contradiction : That those that were elected into Magistracy should be persons no way suspected of Heresie, nor such as favoured Hereticks, either directly or indirectly, but such as should not tolerate them, save in what could not be done without tumult and war : And that he should give account of his conversion and abjuration to all Christian Princes. The spirituall penances enjoined him were, That every Sunday and Holy-day he should hear a Conventuall Masse, either in his own Chappel, or some other Church : That, according to the custome of the Kings of France, he should hear Masse every day, and that upon some set days of the week he should say certain prayers : That he should fast Fridays and Saturdays, and receive the Communion publickly four times in the year.

The Kings  
Procurators  
kneeling at the  
gate of S. Peters  
Church, do  
with a loud  
voice abjure  
the Heresie of  
the Kings false  
belief.

The *Procurators* accepted the Conditions, and the publick ingrossments were demanded by them ; and then kneeling down at the gate of *S. Peter's Church*, they with a loud voice abjured the Heresies that were contained in a certain Writing ; after which abjuration, being touched upon the head by *Cardinall Santa Severina* the *chief Penitentiary* with his rod of Office, they received absolution : at which action the gates of *S. Peter's Church* were opened, the whole Church resounded with joyfull musicall voices, and the Castle of *S. Angelo* with all its Artillery gave signes of extraordinary joy and gladnesse : The *Procurators* clothed in their Prelaticall habits were present at the Masse in the wonted place of the French Ambassadors ; after which they went to *S. Louis* the French Church, where the joys and rejoycings were redoubled ; the Court and the people of Rome expressing infinite contentment, the one being much inclined to favour the French, and the other rejoycing at the reunion of so noble and so principall a Kingdom.

Cardinal *Alessandro Medici*, who after was Pope Leo the XI is appointed Legate into France.

The Pope deputed *Cardinall Toledo* Legate to the Kingdom of France ; but afterward, whatsoever the occasion was, having changed his mind, he appointed *Cardinall Alessandro de Medici*, he who succeeded him in the Papacie. The *Procurators* who had happily brought so hard a matter, and of so great consequence unto a conclusion, were at severall times by the same Pope created Cardinals, having often publickly said, that the modesty and prudent managery of them both had overcome those infinite difficulties that arose in  
his

his minde about the determination of that businesse.

The news of the Absolution was brought unto the King by *Alessandro del Bene*, dispatched Post from Rome ; who thinking to finde him at *Lyons*, arrived there when he was already departed to return to *Paris* : For, having concluded a generall Truce with the Duke of *Mayene* for three months, to the end that the conditions of Agreement might be conveniently treated of, and the event expected of matters at Rome, which went more slowly then was believed, the King (having settled the affairs of that Province, and given way to treat an Agreement also with the Duke of *Nemours*, and his Brother the Marquesse of *S. Sorlin*) was returned speedily to *Paris*, to attend the businesse of *Picardie*, where the arms of the Spaniards made themselves be sharply felt : in which time the Marechal *de Bois Dauphin*, one of the Duke of *Mayene*'s nearest dependents, submitted himself to his obedience : and on the other side the Duke of *Elbæuf* formerly reconciled unto him, had established a truce with the Duke of *Mercœur* for *Bretagne* ; so that all things in all places inclined to favour the Pacification of the Kingdom, save onely that on the side towards *Flanders*, by reason of the new War kindled particularly with the Spaniards, there arose by little and little new occasions of perturbation and trouble.

*The end of the Fourteenth Book.*







THE  
HISTORIE  
OF THE  
CIVILL WARRES  
OF FRANCE,

By HENRICO CATERINO DAVILA.

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*The Fifteenth BOOK.*

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THE ARGUMENT.

**T**His Book relates the progresse of the Spanish Forces in Picardie; the taking and recovery of Han; the siege of Castellet; the designe of the Condé de Fuentes Generall of the Forces in Flanders, to besiege Cambray, the preparations for that purpose: To facilitate that enterprise, he resolves to besiege Dourlans first, and sits down before it: The French Commanders on the other side prepare themselves to relieve it; they attempt to put in men, and come to a Battell; the Spaniards get the Victory, and the Admirall Villars is slain, with many of the Nobility: The Conquerours storm Dourlans with a very great slaughter: The Spanish Army beleaguers Cambray; the Duke of Nevers, who was arriv'd a while before for the defence of that Province, sends his Son the young Duke of Rhetelois to relieve the besieged, who fortunately passes thorow the enemies Camp, and enters the Town. After him the Sieur de Vic gets in, and they defend themselves constantly. The people all satisfied with the Government of Balagny, who had gotten

ten that Principality, mutiny, make themselves Masters of a gate, and open it to the Spaniards; the French retire into the Cittadel, where finding neither ammunition nor victuall, they are constrained to surrender; the Condé de Fuentes grants them honourable conditions. The King departing from Bourgogne marches to relieve them, but comes not time enough: He consults what is best to be done, and resolves to besiege la Feré; there follows an Accommodation with the Duke of Nemours and the Duke of Joyeuse, and finally also with the Duke of Mayene, who comes to wait upon the King before la Feré. Albert Cardinal and Arch-Duke of Austria comes out of Spain to govern the Low-Countreys; he puts relief into la Feré by means of Nicolo Basti; but the King slackens not the siege for all that. The Arch-Duke resolves to try if he could raise him by diversion, and suddenly assaults Calais, and takes it: he obtains Guines, lays siege to Ardres, which yeelds for want of men to defend it: la Feré yeelds to the King at the same time, who finding his Army in an ill condition, resolves to disband it. Cardinall de Medici the Pope's Legate arrives in France, and is received there with great honour. An Accommodation is treated with the Duke of Mercœur, who artificially prolongs it. The King assembles the States in the City of Rouen to provide moneys, and settle the affairs of his Kingdom; being indisposed, he retires into the quarters about Paris. The Spaniards surprize Amiens the chief City of Picardy. The King exceedingly stricken with that losse, resolves to besiege it without delay; the varieties of the siege and defence are related. The Arch-Duke marches with a very potent Army to relieve that place; the Armies face one another many days, and have divers encounters: The Arch-Duke retires, and the besieged City surrenders. The King makes an incursion into the County of Artois; but because of the Winter and of the Plague, he retires. A treaty of agreement between the two Crowns is introduced by the Cardinal-Legate; the Deputies of both parties meet at Vervins: The Duke of Mercœur submits himself unto the Kings obedience: After some difficulties in respect of the Duke of Savoy, the generall Peace is at last concluded and published.



1595



Atters of war went not on so prosperously for the King of France in the confines of *Picardie*, as in *Bourgogne*, and the *Franche Comté*; for the Spanish forces ordered by Commanders of experience and resolution, having found in the French either little unanimity, or much weaknes; besides the slaughter of men which had happened in divers encounters, had likewise made themselves Masters of many Townes and places of importance.

The Duke of *Boüillon*, And Count *Philip* of *Nassaw*, had from the year before prosecuted the warre unsuccessfully in the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and made divers incursions into it; where having possessed themselves of some places of small consequence, they were so strengthened by Count *Mansfelts* Army, but much more by the inundation of the rivers, and the excessive abundance of waters, that they were necessitated to retire, one into the City of *Sedan*, the other by sea into *Holland*; and though the Duke of *Boüillon* had afterwards in the beginning of the year rais'd the siege of *la Ferté* which the Spaniards had layd; yet that was done rather by art, then force, and except some excursions, things were quietly settled on that side.

By the death of the Arch-Duke *Ernest* the Government of the Low-Countries is given to the Count de *Fuentes*.

Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* goes to serve the Emperour in the war of *Hungary*.

But the Arch-Duke *Ernest* dying unexpectedly in the beginning of March, the *Condé de Fuentes* took the Government of the Low-Countries, who full of warlike Spirits, and desirous to restore the reputation of the Spanish forces, apply'd his minde with all diligence to reforme the discipline of the *Militia*, which he had seen flourish gloriously in the time of the Duke of *Parma*; wherefore Count *Charles* of *Mansfelt* being gone to serve the Emperour in the warre of *Hungary*, he was left alone to the administration of both Civil and Military affaires, and making use of the assistance of the *Sieur de la Motte*, the Prince of *Avellino*, Monsieur de *Rosne*, and Count *Giovan Giacompo Belgiojoso*, and Colonell de *la Berlotte*, old experienced Commanders, that were observant of military discipline, he had not only quieted a great part of those that mutiny'd for want of pay, but also reforming and reordering the companies of every Nation, and filling them up with old Souldiers, he had brought himself into such a condition, that with an Army more valiant then numerous, he might put himselfe

self upon the attempt of some gallant enterprize; which whilest he was contriving in his minde, they of the Province of *Haynault* and of the County of *Artois* propounded unto him the taking of *Cambray*, offering a good number of men, and great contributions in mony as soon as they should see the Army encamped before that City, from whence those Provinces received great and continuall damage with the interruption of commerce and the hinderance of tillage. The Arch-Bishop of *Cambray* made the same request, who having been driven out from the power of that Towne, profered likewise mony and souldiers, provided the Spaniards would attempt to recover it. This enterprize seemed great and magnificent to the *Condé de Fuentes*, aswell by reason of the greatnesse and splendor of the City and its territory, as for the glory he should attain thereby; for since the time it was gotten by the Duke of *Alancçon*, the Spanish forces had never had the heart to venture the recovery; and the Duke of *Parma* himself, either withdrawn by more necessary occasions, or diswaded by the difficulty of effecting it, had given it over. But if the enterprize carryed with it so great reputation, it carryed also no lesse difficulty by reason of the strength of the City and Castle, of the number of the people the riches of the inhabitants, the Garrison which Monsieur *de Balagny* kept in it, and many other circumstances which represented themselves to the consideration of the Count, who though in minde he was resolved to attempt it, did yet dissemble it prudently, making those preparations maturely which he thought convenient, that he might not strike in vaine.

But while, being intent upon this action, he was preparing matters, a new emergent that sprung up in *Picardie* did with very great and reciprocall danger hasten the motion of the warre. *Han*, a considerable Town in that Province, was governed by the *Sieur de Gomeron*, who having in the declining of the League taken a resolution to joyn with the Spaniards, agreed to receive what Garrison they should thinke fit, not only into the Towne, but also into the Castle; to which effect *Ceccho de Sangro* being come with eight hundred Italian foot, and Signor *Olmeda* with two hundred Spaniards, two hundred Walloons, and four hundred Germans, *Gomeron* though he admitted them into the Town, would not yet admit them into the Castle, fearing least being become the stronger, they should

The *Sieur de Gomeron* Governour of *Han* agrees with the Spaniards, and receives their Garrison into the Towne, but not into the Castle.



1595

Gmeron having left the Sieur d'Orvilliers in the Castle of Han, goes into Flanders where he is kept prisoner by the Condé de Fuentes.

The Duke of Longueville, governor of Picardie killed by a musket shot.

The Condé de Fuentes goes into Picardie and besieges Castelet, with a designe afterward to besiege Cambray.

should attempt to drive him out of the place; upon which doubt, there having past many letters and messages, at last *Gmeron* was perswaded by *Don Alvaro Osorio* Governor of *la Feré* to go into Flanders, where he should receive not only the full summe of mony that had been promised him, but also fitting security to continue in the Government of the place; wherefore he having left his brother in law the Sieur d'Orvilliers and his own mother in the Government of the Castle, went himself with his two younger brothers to *Antwerpe*, where the *Condé de Fuentes* incensed by the ambiguity of his faith, made him and his brothers be kept prisoners, and wrote to *Orvilliers*, that if he did not put the Castle into the hands of his Commanders, he would make himself satisfaction with *Gmeron's* head. But *Orvilliers* no lesse doubtfull then his brother in law, (though the mother anxious for the safety of her sonnes, press'd him very much) could not tell what resolution to take, but sometimes intimating to the Spaniards that he would give them the Castle, sometimes treating with the Duke of *Longueville*, and Monsieur d'*Humieres* the Kings Lieutenant in that Province to bring them in secretly to suppress the Spanish Garrison that lay in the Towne, kept both parties long in hope, till Monsieur d'*Humieres* profering him larger conditions, and that all the Spanish Commanders that should be taken, should be given him to exchange *Gmeron*, he resolved at last to adhere unto the French; wherefore (the Duke of *Longueville* having been slaine a while before, with a musket shot, received by chance in a volley which his souldiers gave him in honour) his brother the Count de *S. Paul*, to whom the King had granted the same Government, having sent to the Duke of *Bouillon* to meet him at *S. Quintin*, resolved to attempt that enterprize, though by reason of the doubt of *Orvilliers* his fidelity, and because of the strength of the Garrison it was thought very difficult. Monsieur d'*Humieres* undertooke the charge of ordering the businesse, and that he might effect it prosperously, took very great care to gather together all the Gentry of the Province, and all the souldiery that was in the neighbouring Garrisons.

In the mean time the *Condé de Fuentes* having settled the affaires of Flanders in good order, was advanced with eight thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse unto the confines to take in *Castelet*, a place built by King *Henry* the second, in  
time

time of the warrs with the Emperor *Charles* the fifth upon the Confines of the territory of *Cambray*; and because the taking of this Place was necessary to the besieging of that City, he had encamped himself before it, and battered it with twelve pieces of Canon, which not interrupting the designs of the French, who thought it much more considerable to take *Han*, then to relieve *Castelet*, had taken the field with four thousand Foot, and above one thousand Horse, encamping sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, in the quarters about that Town. But though they dissembled it and made shew to have some other designe, yet their drawing so neer and some provisions that *Orwilliers* made in the Castle, had put *Ceccho de Sangro*, and the other Spanish Commanders in a jealousy, who doubting of that which indeed was true, determined to shut up the passage of those ways that went from the City to the \* *Esplanade* of the Castle, and there being three that led thither, they drew a traverse crosse every one; raising them with barrells and earth, & made holes through the houses on all sides, that with their small shot they might gall the place that extended it self from the Citie to the moate and raveline before the Castle Gate; and for more security, they sent with speed to the *Condé de Fuentes* letting him know the suspicion they had, and desiring reliefe.

\* The open space without the Castle, from the edge of the Counterescarp.

The French on the other side, being assured of *Orwilliers* his fidelity, by many of his kinsmen that were in the Army, drew neer betimes in the evening between the gate of the Castle & that of the Town which led to the way of *Noyon*; but the *Perdues* that lay without the works, having given the Spaniards notice of the enemies arrivall, *Ceccho de Sangro* caused many Canon-shot to be made that way, whereby the French knowing that the Garrison was advertised, and in order to receive the assault, resolved to enter into the Castle, and go down to fall upon the town on that side; The Count *de S. Paul* with all the Cavalrie, and a body of a thousand Foot stood firm in the field; Monsieur *d'Humieres* and the Duke of *Bouillon* went into the Castle, where the difficultie of assaulting the enemy appeared exceeding great; for the gate of the Raveline was so narrow that it forced them to go out but few at once stragling, and as they went forth they came upon the *Esplanade* which lay open to the shot of the Town; wherefore they would not put themselves in so manifest danger in the

*Orwilliers* having agreed with the French brings a strong party into the Castle.

The French go out of the Castle of *Han*, & attaque the Spaniards that hold the Town.



the darknesse of the night, but staying for the morning, resolved to open the gate of releif, which was walled up, and through it go down without opposition into the moat, from whence cutting away part of the *Counterfcarp*, they might come forth upon the Flank of the Castle, in a place that was not subject to their shot. This they effected at Sun-rise; & being divided into three Squadrons, each of which had one hundred Gentlemen completely armed in the front of it, they marched on to fall upon those of the Town, who standing ready at their works, received the assault very valiantly. The conflict was sharpe and obstinate, fighting on both sides with old Souldiers, full of experience and valour, but the event had different successe in the three severall places where they fought; for Monsieur d' *Humieres* being fallen on to assault the Traverse that was guarded by *Baldassare Carracciolo* and *Marcello del Gindice*, was not only opposed, but after two hours fight repulsed with much blood; on the other side, upon the left hand where the *Sieur de Sessavalle*, and Colonel *la Croix* assaulted the Traverse guarded by Signor *Olineda*, they fought with equall fortune without advantage; but in the middle way, where the *Visdame* of *Amiens*, and the Governour of *Noyon* assaulted *Ceccho de Sangro*, after they had fought a great while (*Ceccho* having received two wounds with a Pike,) the French broke through the Traverse, and though they found a firm resistance every where, yet they got neer to the *Porte de Noyon*, which they had designed to open, and bring in the Count de *S. Paul* at it; But *Ceccho* taking a resolution in the extremitie of the danger, caused the houses of that quarter to be set on fire, which carried by a prosperous winde for him, followed the French so close at the heels, that it constrained them to retire, the flame making such havock, that they were faine to cease the assault; It was already noon, and the Souldiers being weary every where, slackened the fight; and yet Monsieur d' *Humieres* seeing the wind turn, and the flames of the fire fly towards the Spaniards, set his squadron again in order, and placing himself in the front, went to renew the assault, in the beginning whereof he received a Musket shot in the head, and fell down dead upon the ground; which accident abated not the courage of his men, but being relieved by the Duke of *Bonillon* with fresh forces, they at last possessed themselves of the *Porte de Noyon*, by which the Count de *S.*

*Paul* entering with the rest of the Army, the Spaniards straitened on all sides, never turning their backs, but still courageously fighting, retired into the *Fauxbourg de S. Sulpice*, where having fought till night, and the reliefe not appearing which they expected from the *Conde de Fuentes*, ordering their Pikes, they made shew that they would yeeld themselves; but the French either incensed for the death of *Monfieur d' Humieres*, or by reason of their most ardent hatred against the Spaniards, prosecuted the Victory without regard, and would have put them all to the sword, if the desire of recovering *Gomeron*, had not perswaded them to take many Prisoners. Of the Spaniards side there were killed about 800 men: *Ceccho de Sangro*, *Bassadassare Carracciolo*, Signior *Olmeda*, *Ferrante Nimfa*, *Marcello del Giudice*, and *Allessandro Brancaccio* were all taken Prisoners with many other officers and Souldiers; Of the French were killed about one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and forty Gentlemen, among which Colonel *la Croix*, the Sieurs de \* *Bayan-Court*, des *Masieres* Lieutenant to *Monfieur de Surville* and many Captains of Foot; Among the wounded were Colonel *Lierville*, and the Sieurs d' *Arpajon*, and de *Chalande*.

\* The French  
saves *Haraisf*  
court.

The *Condé de Fuentes*, having received intelligence of the assault which his Souldiers expected, left the Duke of *Pastrana* at the siege of *Castelet*, and went with a part of the Army to relieve them; but being come the day after the fight within three miles of *Han*, he heard the news of their misfortune, and not thinking it fit to attempt any thing for that time, returned to prosecute the siege he had begun; whereby the French remaining free Possessors of the Town, and Castle, left the Sieurs de *Sessavalle* and *Plainville* with a convenient Garison in the Town, and consigned *Ceccho de Sangro* and many Prisoners to *Orvilliers*, with the exchange of which he might redeem the *Sieur de Gomeron*: but the event of the businessse proved very different, for the Prisoners having secretly dealt with a Neapolitane, (who as the *Sieur de Gomeron's* rider lived in the Castle,) they came to an agreement, that he, and two other souldiers of the Garrison, should free them out of the room where they were shut up, and furnish them with armes, so that they might unexpectedly not only recover their liberty, but by killing *Orvilliers* make themselves Masters of the Fortresse. The businessse succeeded prosperously at first;

Many Prisoners are left with the *Sieur d' Orvilliers*; that he might exchange his brother in law the *Sieur de Gomeron*.

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for



1595 for *Ceccho de Sangro* with his companions, suddenly assaulting the guards at noon day, possessed and locked up the Castle gate; but running to the Governours Chamber to kill him, they found that he with thole about him were already in a posture of defence, whereupon there began a very sharpe fight among them, at the noise whereof the Commanders that lay in the Town suspecting the matter, ran violently to the Castle, and tryed to get in with ladders, and so the conflict was reduced to a third party; but the Italians not having strength to resist in two severall places, made composition with *Orvilliers*, by the meanes of *Madame de Gomeron*, that opening the Gate towards the field they should suffer them to go out freely, and he as before should remaine absolutely Master of the Castle. Thus the Prisoners being at liberty, *Gomeron* remained without hope of help in the power of the Spaniards, and yet his Mother ceasing not to try all meanes to free her sonne, had with teares, prayers, and promises brought *Orvilliers* into such a wavering doubtfulness of mind, that he seemed inclined to make a new agreement with the Spaniards; wherefore she judging that if their Campe should draw neer, he would easily resolve to receive it, writt to the *Condé de Fuentes*; that if he came with the Army, *Orvilliers* would deliver up the Castle to him.

The Count  
de Fuentes  
upon hopes  
given him by  
Madame de  
Gomeron, comes  
before Hanz but  
his designe of  
taking it not  
succeeding, he  
causes *Gomeron*  
to be beheaded  
in sight of the  
French.

In the meane time the Count had battered the walls of *Castelet* & given it a violent assault, which though it was stoutly sustained by those within, yet as they fought, the fire taking and blowing up all their powder, the *Sieur de Liramont* Governour of the place was necessitated to surrender, and their goods and persons being safe, he came forth in a Souldierly manner; whereupon the Count having dispatched that enterprize, moved with the whole Army to draw neer to *Hanz*; but at his arrivall *Orvilliers* more uncertaine in his mind then ever, and not knowing what to determine, opened the gate that was towards the Towne; and fled out of the Castle, rettyring to *Royes* and the *Sieur de Sessavalle* being entred with two hundred Souldiers, began to fire his artillery against the Spanish Campe, at which the *Condé de Fuentes* much incensed, caused *Gomeron* to be brought within sight of the Castle, where in the presence of all, he made him to be beheaded, and sent back his brothers Prisoners to the Castle of *Antwerpe*. The Count perswaded by the heat of passion, was minded to be-

siege

siege the Towne, but the next day when that first motion was quieted, not being willing to interrupt the already intended enterprize of *Cambray*, he raised his Campe and marched away to spoyle, and pillage the places of that Country: At the first arrivall of his Army, *Clery* and *Bray* weake Towns of that Territory standing upon the River *Somme*, yeelded without resistance, and to the infinite terrour of the Country people, they began to plunder Cartel, and to spoyle the Corne in many places; but the forces were not yet in readinesse which the Provinces of *Artois* and *Heynault* had obliged themselves to contribute, and without them by reason of the great circuit of the Town, and the number of the defendants, the Commanders thought not fit to attempt the siege: Wherefore the Count, that his Army might not be idle, and to facilitate the enterprize of *Cambray* by shutting up the passages in many severall places, resolved to fall upon *Dourlaus* a Towne not very great, but reasonable strong, & situate neer the confines that separate *Picardie* from the Territory of *Cambray*; but on the higher side above *Peronne* and *Corbie*, the *Sieur d'Aran-court* was in the Town, and the *Sieur de Ronsoy* was Governour of the Castle, for all the places of that Province, as neer the confines, are secured by Castles; the most part of them stronger by situation then by art, with walles of the old fashion, flanked onely with great Towers; but this either by reason of the neernesse of the danger, or of the Governours diligence, was much bettered by ramparts and ravelines according to the manner of Fortification of our times. The weaknes of the Garison that was in the Town, being very much inferiour to what need required, encouraged the Count to set himself upon that enterprize; but though he resolved it upon the suddaine, and turn'd that way without losing a minutes time, yet could not the siege be layed, and the passages blocked up so speedily, but that the Duke of *Bouillon* was advertised of it, who being taken at unawares, put in four hundred Gentlemen, and eight hundred Foot; but it was a very pernicious Counsell; for if he had put into the Towne all the foot that he had with him, which was above two thousand, he would not afterwards have been necessitated to attempt with so great a losse to releive it; and if he had not ingaged the Gentry within the circuit of those walls, he would have been so strong in horse, that by obstructing the wayes, he

The Count de Fuentes besieges Dourlaus.



1595 might have forced them to rise; but in suddaine occasions, the wisest persons do not remember all things. As soon as these forces were entred into the Garrison, which in all amounted to the number of eleven hundred Foot, & five hundred Horse, the fault began to appeare; for there being no Commander of authority, to manage the weight of the defence, the Lords and Gentlemen of the Countrey who were there, by desiring all to command, put all things in disorder and confusion, so that their presence which would have been very proper, very helpfull in the field, proved rather destructive then serviceable in the Town; And yet every one knowing it was needfull to keep the Enemy at a distance from the walls, they betook themselves to bring some of those ravelines that were without the circuit of the ramparts into so good forwardnesse as to retard the approach of the enemy for some dayes; but the defect of the Garrison appeared likewise in this; for the Gentlemen did not care to lay hand to the work, and the Foot being few in respect of the necessity, all preparations went on but slowly.

There being no Commander of authority in *Dourlans*, and all desiring to command, there growes a confusion among the defendants.

Monseigneur de la Motte Campe Master Generall of the Spanish Army is slain, Monseigneur du Rosne is chosen in his place.

The Spanish Army encamped before *Dourlans*, upon the fifteenth day of July, and the same evening *Valentine Sieur de la Motte*, who executed the office of Camp Master Generall, going to view the place neerer at hand, to resolve on which side it would be fittest to assault it, was killed with a musket shot in the right eye; a souldier who from small and low beginnings, passing through all military degrees, was risen with a most renowned fame of valour and experience, unto the eminency of the most remarkeable offices, and most important commands. The man whom the *Conde de Fuentes* design'd to supply his place, was *Christian Sieur du Rosne*, who by his sagacity, (which was exceeding great, (added to the valour and experience of many yeares,) had gotten himself an infinite reputation among the Spaniards, and by his counsel before all other things, began to fortifie the quarters of the Army, and with Forts and half-moons to shut up the Enemies, as well to hinder the relief that might endeavour to get into the Town, as to secure his Camp, which was not very great, from the sudden assaults and attempts of the French. These works being ended, there remained to be resolved, on which side the Place should be assaulted; for many were of opinion to begin with the Castle first; and many others finding it very difficult

difficult to take the Castle, advised to possesse themselves of the Town first, to facilitate the way to the taking of the Castle. But after long consultation, a third opinion carried it, propounded by *du Rosne*; which was, that the Town should be assaulted on that side where it joyned with the Castle, because at the same time a breach might be made in the wall, and part of the defence of the Castle taken away: The quality of the situation advised the same, which (in respect of the River *Oyse* that passes there) was more easie to be made defensible; whereby the Batteries would be the stronger and better sheltered from any attempt the Duke of *Bouillon* or the Count *de S. Paul* should make; who it was already known, were with very great diligence drawing their forces together to relieve the Gentry which they had unadvisedly shut up in the Town. The first violence of the siege met with an half-moon without the Ramparts, that separated the Castle from the Town; which though of nothing but earth, yet being by length of time firmly knit together, did little fear the battering of the Canon: Wherefore Monsieur *du Rosne* having found the small fruit of playing upon it, began two trenches, to approach covered from the shot both of the Town and Castle, and brought them within a stones cast of the half-moon; but while the defendants believed he would continue them to the moat, he suddenly caused two Squadrons that were prepared ready, one Italians, the other Walloons, to sally out of them; who, some scrambling up upon the earth, others clapping scaling ladders against it, got so quickly upon the Parapet, that they fell in pell-mell with the Defendants, before the Artillery of the Castle could hurt them. The fight was short, but valiant; for the defendants were all souldiers of experience; and yet their being taken so at unawares, was the cause that after they had fought a quarter of an hour, being overpowred by the greater number, they were forced to retire, saving themselves within the covered way that was without the moat of the Town. Monsieur *du Rosne* entering the Half-moon, commanded *la Berlotte's Tertia* to cover and fortifie themselves in that place, having designed to make use of that same Post to plant his Battery in it: The Walloons were diligent and carefull in fortifying themselves; but they of the Town were no lesse ready to hinder their work; for which three Sacres that were upon a platform of the

Town,



1595

Town, and on the other side, with the Artillery from the Castle they did so play upon the place where the besiegers wrought, that the slaughter of them was very great; and yet the Italians, Spaniards, and Wallons working by turns, the Half-moon was at last made defensible, and in it they planted seven Culverins, which battered the Works of the Castle, and six Canon that played against the wall of the Town; in-somuch, that having shot continually for two days together, matters were brought to such a passe, that they were ready to open two trenches into the Counterscarp, wherewith approaching, they might advance to the assault.

But in the mean time the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Count *de S. Paul* being joyned with the Admirall *Villars* and the forces of Normandie, were intent upon relieving that place; but not so much for the importance of the Town, as in respect of the great number of Gentlemen that were shut up in it; and though the Army they had was not very numerous, yet they were confident the Gentry which they had with them would inable them to put in men and ammunition, by forcing the guards on some side or other, though they were diligent, and well strengthened by the enemy. The *Sieur de Sessavalle*'s designe was to enter into the Town with a thousand Foot and four and twenty Carriages of Ammunition, and at the same time to make the 400 Gentlemen that were in *Dourlens*, retire into the Army, wherein besides the Infantry, there were twelve hundred Curassiers and six hundred Harquebussiers on horse-back; and because the circuit and the trenches into the Town were unequall, and some on this side, some on that side of the River, which neverthelesse by reason of its shallownesse might be forded in many places without difficulty; they determined to divide themselves into three Squadrons, and appear three severall wayes, to keep the Enemy divided and imployed in divers places; they consulted among themselves the evening of the twenty third of July what was best to be done; the Count *de S. Paul* was of opinion (to which the *Marquesse of Belin* and the *Sieur de Sessavalle* assented) that they should stay for the Duke of *Nevers*, who being appointed by the King to the superintendence of the affairs of that Province, was already neer at hand: it seeming to them a very great rashnesse, to attempt that then with exceeding great danger, which they might undertake within

within two dayes with more force, and more hope of good successe: but the Duke of *Bouillon* (an old emulator of the Duke of *Nevers*, not onely by reason of their difference in Religion, but also of the same of wisdom, to the first place where of they mutually aspired) could not endure to hear of staying for his coming, and that the glory should be reserved for him, which he pretended should result unto himself by raising the siege, or relieving the Town; and having drawn the Admirall to his opinion, he caused it to be determined in a manner by force, that the next morning they should try their fortune.

The Duke of *Bouillon* intending to relieve *Dourlans* causes the Commanders to resolve that his opinion should be executed.

On the other side, the Count *de Fuentes* knowing that all the hope of the French could consist in nothing but keeping him distracted in severall places, resolved to advance three miles to meet them, that he might oppose their attempt with all his forces united, & having left *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* to guard the Battery, with twelve hundred Foot, and *Gasparo Zappogna* with a thousand more to defend their quarters and works, he with all the rest of the Army advanced upon the same way the Enemy was coming; The Prince of *Avellino* led the Van, wherein were two squadrons of Horse, one Walloons, and Flemings, and the other Italians; and on the flanks of them two wings of Spanish Musquetiers, the Duke of *Aumale* and Monsieur *du Rosne* followed with two squadrons of Infantry, which had each of them four field pieces in the Front; and in the last was placed the rest of the Cavalry, with the Count himself, and by his side a Battalion of Germanes.

The Count *de Fuentes* having left *Hernando Telles* at the siege, draws off to meet and hinder the relief.

On the other side the Admirall and the Duke of *Bouillon* led the Van; the Count *S. Paul* was in the battell, and had by him Monsieur *de Sessavalle* with the Foot that were to go into *Dourlans*, and the Marquess of *Belin* Commanded ~~the~~ the Reer. It was the four and twentieth of July the Eve of *S. James* the Apostle, and it was neer noon when the Armies marching mutually to meet, came within sight of one another; without delay the French Vanguard with very great violence charged the two squadrons of the Enemies Cavalry, wherof that of Walloons, which was upon the left hand, being broken and disordered by the Admirall, manifestly ran away; but that of Italians where the Prince of *Avellino* was, did long sustain the fury of the Duke of *Bouillon*, till the Admirall who



who had routed and driven away the Enemy, drawing neer upon the Flank, it likewise was constrained to retire, though without falling into disorder; but the wings of Spanish Muskietiers coming up, the service was hot and furious, and so much the more, because the Walloon horse rallying again, had likewise faced about, and fought with no lesse courage then the rest. In the mean time, *Sessavalle* advancing out of hand, to march to *Dourlans*, fell into one of the Squadrons of foot that followed, being led by the Duke of *Anmale*, and there began between them a no lesse fierce incounter then there was among the Horse. But as soon as *du Rosne* saw those Squadrons charge one another so courageously, he with that which he led, turning a good pace upon the right hand, possessed himself of a higher ground, which was upon the Flank of *Sessavalle*, and first raking thorow them with his field-Pieces from thence, and then falling in with two Wings of Muskietiers that were in the Front of his men, did so great execution upon them, that the *Sieur de Sessavalle* and Colonel *S. Denis* being slain, and all their Colours lost, the French Foot were so dispersed, that they could no more be rallied, and the Carriages of Ammunition remained in the power of the Enemy. In the mean time, the *Condé de Fuentes* getting up to an high place, from whence he discovered the various fortune of his men, sent out two Squadrons of Horse to assist the Prince of *Avellino*; and Monsieur *du Rosne* with the Duke of *Anmale* having put their Squadrons again in order, advanced on each side to the place of fight. Wherefore the Duke of *Bouillon* knowing how to yeeld to fortune, without being willing to adventure any farther, retired with small losse towards the Battel, with which the Count *de S. Paul*, reserving himself untouch'd, had not at all engaged in the Incounter; but the Admiral, who much more fiercely had from the beginning rushed upon the greater number of the Enemy, having seen the *Sieur d'Arginwilliers* Governor of *Abbeville*, and the *Sieur de Hacqueville* Governor of *Pontean de Mer*, Captain *Perdriel*, and above two hundred Gentlemen of Normandie fall dead before him, though later, and with more difficulty, would likewise have taken a resolution to retire, if pity and gallantry had not called him afresh into the midst of the Battell; for seeing his Nephew the young *Sieur de Montigny* with fifteen or twenty of his followers totally ingaged, and sharply prosecuted

The Admiral  
*Villars* fighting  
gallantly, is  
slain.

secuted by the Spanish Infantry of *Antonio Mendoza*, he called back his men that were retiring, and furiously turned about his horse to fetch him off; but being surrounded by the Spanish Musketeers, and his passage cut off by the Italian and Walloon Cavalry, fighting valiantly, and wounded in many places, he fell at last from his horse, and though telling his name, he offered fifty thousand Crowns in ransom, he was killed in cold blood by a Spanish souldier; and another, to get a very rich diamond Ring he wore, without any regard cut off his finger; for which crimes they were, by the severity of the Count *de Fuentes*, both put to death. All those that followed him were killed upon the place close by him, though fighting desperately, they made the Victory very bloody to the Enemy. The Duke of *Bouillon* (either judging it a greater service to the King to save the rest of the Army, or else moved by his ill will towards the Admirall, who was a very zealous Catholick) perswaded the Count *de S. Paul* (who being a young man, referred himself to the opinion of those that were elder) that without making further tryall to recover the day, they should get the Battell into security. But the Marquesse *de Belin* detesting that advice, fell on with the Rere, to relieve the danger of the Admiral; and yet being encountered by four Squadrons of Lanciers, whom the Count *de Fuentes* sent out against him, he had not strength to resist their fury, and being routed and dispersed in a moment, the rest saved themselves by flight; but he and the *Sieur de Longchamp* remained the Enemies Prisoners: And this was one of those encounters which gave cleer proof, that Cuirassiers in the field are very much inferiour to the violence of Lances. The losse the French received in this Battell was greater in regard of the quality, then number of the slain; for they were not in all above 600; but most part of them Gentlemen, and persons of note, wherof the whole Army was composed; which made the Duke of *Bouillons* excuse the better, in that he had saved the remainder, though it was a most constant opinion that if all the Squadrons had charged at once, or if he obstinately fighting, had called up the Count *de S. Paul* with the fresh forces to his assistance, he might either have put relief into *Dourlans*, or at least might have retired without receiving so great a losse. On the side of the Spaniards there were kill'd but few, and all obscure persons, & among the wounded none was reckoned on but *Sancho de Luna*.

The Marquess  
*de Belin* & the  
*Monsieur de*  
*Longchamp* are  
taken prisoners  
by the Spani-  
ards.

N n n n n n n

While



While the Armies fight in the field, the besieged sally into the trench; but are repulsed.

While the Armies fought thus, the besieged in *Dourlans* were not idle; for having heard the noise of the fight hard by, they made a gallant sally to assault the trenches, in which finding the posts well fortified, and all the guards in armes, they were no lesse valiantly repulsed; though in that action they received not much losse. The *Condé de Fuentes* returning victorious to the Leaguer, and freed from the feare of being any more infested by the French, applyed himself with all his study to hasten the end of the siege, which though the defendants answered with very remarkeable courage and valour, yet was not their Conduct and experience correspondent, so that it manifestly appeared the Town (though with much slaughter) would fall into the power of the Spaniards. Upon the 28<sup>th</sup> day the besieged made a great sally in the heat of the noon-day, and because they found the Foot ready and prepared for their defence, after a long fight they were at last constrained to retire; and while they did so very softly, and without any signe of flight, being assaulted by the Cavalry, and charged very furiously on the Flank, they lost many of their men, and were faine to run back full speed to the very Counterescarp. The next day the Artillery having battered not onely the wals of the Town, but made a breach also in a corner of the Castle, the Count caused the assault to be given; and to divide the strength and courage of the defendants, he sent Foot to fall on in both places. The Spaniards stormed the Castle, the Walloons the Town, and a while after the Italians entering into both trenches, reinforced the assault: In this occasion the valour of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* appeared most remarkable, who being the first that got up into the breach of the Castle, fought there with so much courage, that the Count *de Dinan* being slain, who on that side had the charge of the defence, and the Squadron of those within being beaten back and broken, the Castle was taken with a wonderfull great slaughter; from whence the Assailants going down, without having found any obstacle or impediment of Trenches or *Casamats* (for the unskillfulnesse or discord of the defendants had been such, that there was no Works cast up) they impetuously also possessed themselves of the Town; where in revenge of the slaughter of *Han*, (the name of which sounded aloud in the mouth of every one) all that were in it were without any regard put to the sword in the violence of the

The Spaniards assault *Dourlans*, and take it, & to revenge the slaughter of *Han*, put all to the sword without regard: a great number of the French Gentry are slain there, and the Town sacked.

the fight : so that of so great a number of Gentlemen and souldiers, scarce the *Sieur de Harancourt* and the *Sieur de Griboval* with forty souldiers remained prisoners, there being slain upon the place *Monsieur de Ronsoy* Governour of the Castle, the *Sieurs de Francourt* and *Prouilles* who had principall commands, above three hundred Gentlemen, and above six hundred Souldiers. The Town was sacked in the heat of the action, and continued at the discretion of the Souldier till the evening, and then those had quarter given them who were retired to the security of the Churches. The *Condé de Fuen-tes* having obtained so full a Victory, betook himself to repair the ruines of the wall, and to throw down the Works without, and having given the Government of the place to *Portocarrero*, who had behaved himself so gallantly in the taking of it, applyed himself with very great diligence to make preparations to besiege *Cambry*, not being willing unprofitably to lose that prosperity which the countenance of Fortune shewed him.

The *Condé de Fuen-tes* gives the Government of *Dourlans* to *Portocarrero*, and applies himself to the enterprise of *Cambry*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Nevers* was arrived at the half defeated and quite affrighted Army, and though he strove to dissemble those errors that had been committed, yet talking with the Count *de S. Paul*, and the Duke of *Bouillon* at *Pequigny*, he could not forbear telling them, that in their consultations they had been too couragious, and in their retreat too prudent; By which words, and by their old emulation, the Duke of *Bouillon* being disgusted, departed from the Army; and likewise the Count *de S. Paul* not very well satisfied, retired to *Bologne*, the whole weight and care of the defence remaining upon one man alone. The Duke of *Nevers* having taken the charge of the Army, though brought to a very weak estate, drew into *Amiens* upon the second day of August to secure that Citie, which by the neer slaughter of *Dourlans* was struck with very great terror; and because the Citizens running popularly to him, shewed him in how great feare they were, least *Corbie* a Town not far from the place where the Enemy was, should fall into their hands, he promised to go into it the next day himself in person, and so having left his son the young Duke of *Rhetelois* at *Amiens*, he went without delay to *Corbie*; in which Town, though weak, he began to set himself in order to receive the Spanish Army, in case it should march that way; but the next day, the *Condé*



1595 *de Fuentes*, who was not above seven Leagues from thence, having raised his Camp from Dourlans, advanced in one dayes march neer to *Peronne*; wherefore the Duke with all his forces leaving Corbie, went to quarter at Arboniers that he might goe the same night into *Peronne*. The Spaniards upon the fifth day passed neer the walles of the Town, marching towards *S. Quintin*; wherefore the Duke being sent to by the Viscount *d' Anchy*, who was in it, went thither upon the sixth in the morning, which day the Spanish Army made a halt in the same quarters, and stayed there four dayes, to make provision of victuall from all parts, and upon the eleventh of August, drawing within four miles of *Cambray*, discovered their designe of besieging that place, freeing all the rest from the suspicion they had been in.

The Duke of Nevers having ruled a Councell of war, resolves not to engage himself in Cambray but sends his Son the Duke of Rhetelois, who afterwards was Duke of Mantua, with a good reliefe.

The Mareschal *de Balagny* who was in *Cambray*, knowing himself weak in the number of his souldiers, and much more hated of the inhabitants, who could not indure his dominion; and besides that, not having any means to pay and maintaine the Souldiers, solicited the Duke of Nevers, by four Messengers dispatched post one after another, to assist him with some men, and pleasure him also with a sum of money, letting him know the little confidence he had in the people, and the great terror that was in the Garrison, by reason of the noise of the slaughter at Dourlans. The Duke of Nevers having called a Councell of war, was doubtfull a great while whether he should goe into *Cambray* himself in person or not; for on the one side, the jealousie of keeping that City, and the Glory of defending it, spurred him on; and on the other, the necessity of endeavouring to recruit the Army and set it again in order, dissuaded him from it; but all the Commanders agreeing that he ought not to engage himself, since they hoped that *Balagny* would supply what was needfull in the command within the Town, and that his presence would be most necessary to prepare relief; he resolved to send his Son *Charles Duke of Rhetelois*, with four hundred Horse, and four Companies of firelocks, which he mounted all on Horseback that they might march the faster; He sent in company with his Son the Sieurs *de Buffy* and *Trumelet*, the first a Colonel of great experience, the other Governour of *Ville-Franche*; He gave the command of the Fire-locks to the Sieur *de Vautricourt*, a souldier of long experience, and intended that with-

in a while after his Son Monsieur *de Vic* should attempt to get into the Town, with an hundred horse and four hundred other foot, to the end that he might supply the charge of the defence in those things which the Mareschall *de Balagny* could not attend, or had not experience in, under whose obedience all those forces were to be.

In the meane time the *Condé de Fuentes* having received fivethousand Foot, sent from the confining Provinces, under the Prince of *Chimay*, and a Regiment of Walloons, rays'd and payed by *Louis de Bartemont* Arch-Bishop of Cambray, was drawne before the Town upon the fourteenth day, and presently began to shut up those passes by which the releife might enter, which he thought would come; which diligence not at all retarding the Duke of *Rhetelois*, he put himself upon the adventure of getting into the City, and having marched all night, appeared by break of day upon the plaine, which largely incompasses the Town on every side; His appearing by day contrary to what he had designed, was caus'd not onely by an excessive raine that fell that night, but much more because being to passe a certaine water in the village of *Aune* over a wooden bridge, part of it was fallen, so that he was faine to make a halt, till with planks and beames, the bridge were hastily made up again: wherefore the Spaniards who had had time both to be advertised of it, and to get to horse, at the Dukes arrivall were drawn up into the plain, expecting him in very good order upon the straight way; He made a stop when he perceived the enemy, being not well assured what he should doe, but the Guide that led him, well versed in the Countrey, shewed him that between the Enemies horse, and a lower gate of the City, there was a hollow craggy way which could not so easily be past, so that turning on that side, they might get under the walles of the Town, before they could be overtaken by the enemy, who of necessitie were to take a great compasse, not to disorder themselves in the hollow of that way; wherefore the Duke placing himself couragiously at the head of his men, went out of the great Road, and declining upon the left hand, marched a round trot whither his guide led him, hoping to get to the gate without any obstacle of the Enemy: but when he was drawn very neer the Town, he found a *Corps de Garde* of fifty Horse, who at the Alarm which sounded aloud thorow the whole field,



1595 field, had set themselves in order to stop the way ; wherefore being necessitated to fight, he shut down his beaver, and having encouraged his souldiers, charg'd up with so much fury, that in the first encounter, he routed and beat back the Enemies troop without the losse of any one man, and having quickly wheeled about, he closed up, and in his first order continued to march on his way at a good rate ; but he was not advanced two hundred spaces further, when he fell upon another body of an hundred and twenty horse, which being charged with the same fiercenesse, were faine to retyre without making any great resistance. In the meane time the main body of the Spanish horse; which from the beginning had discovered him, moved on with no lesse celerity towards him, but the hindrance of the hollow way, and the dirt of the field, which by reason of the rain the night before was all wet and slippery, retarded their march so much, that when the first troopes came up to charge the Duke, he was already defended by the Artillery of the Town, which thundering with exceeding great violence, and scouring all the field, hindred him from receiving any harme, so that entring into the City, and being received with marvellous joy by every one, he found he had lost onely one Page, and an inconsiderable part of the Carriages, which having not been able to come so fast as the rest, fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

The Duke of  
*Rhetelois* ha-  
ving overcome  
many impedi-  
ments, and  
fought with  
two squadrons  
of the Enemy,  
enters with re-  
lief into *Cam-*  
*bray*.

The Duke of *Rhetelois* his getting in, necessitated the Count de *Fuentes* to streighten the siege more closely, that he might hinder any new relief from entring ; to which likewise he was perswaded by his want of money to pay, and maintain the Army, since though the Bishop of *Cambray*, and the confining Provinces had obliged themselves to contribute five hundred thousand Florines, yet they denyed to pay them down, before he had begun the siege, and was got upon the Counterscarpe. To this was added his ardent courage, carryed on by the felicity of former successe, which excited him to undertake, even beyond the number and strength of his Army, as it were presaging a prosperous event, notwithstanding many difficulties ; wherefore the City being great in circuit, and not having men enough, he resolved with Forts and Redoubts, to shutt up all that part which on this side the River *Scheld* ( that divides the City in the middle, ) lyes to-  
wards

The manner  
of Count de  
*Fuentes* be-  
gging *Cam-*  
*bray*.



wards France; judging that with the impediment of Fortifications he might supply that defect, all the Souldiers in his Army not being sufficient to possesse so large and ample a plaine, which containes the space of many miles; but it appeared in this occasion, as it hath done in many others, that forts and redoubts, (if they be not joyned with a convenient number of resolute men) do not hinder the entry of those, who take a resolution to passe, with the hazard of some Canon-shot; and yet the Count *de Fuentes* having caused four thousand Pioniers to come out of the adjacent Provinces, and having seventy two peices of Artillery of several sizes, and wonderfull preparations of all instruments of warre and ammunition, full of hope and courage, began to incompass the City on all sides, but on that especially, where it might be relieved by the French. Betweene *Porte-neufue*, and the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, over against that part of the City that stood towards the south, he caused a Fort to be rais'd after the manner of a platforme, which being able to contain one thousand foot, was (by the name of the Bourg close by it) called the Fort of *Gniargni*, and caused another not very much lesse to be cast up over against the place where the river enters into the City on the west side, which they call'd the Fort *de Premy*, from the name likewise of the adjacent Bourg; and between these two there were seventeen Redoubts, like so many sentinells, in each of which there were twenty five men, and the two Forts, with all the space between them were guarded by the Prince of *Chimay*, with the forces that were newly come out of the neighbouring provinces; Besides these Posts between the *Porte de Quentimpré*, and the *Porte des Selles* winding towards the North, there was rais'd another great Fort, which they call'd *S. Oloy*, where the Count *de Bie* commanded with a Regiment of Germanes; from the *Porte des Selles* as farre as the Cittadell, over against the *Bastion de Robert*, a place that extends from the North unto the East, they resolved to plant the battery; therefore in that space they intended to cast up trenches, and the command thereof was given to *Agostino Messia*. The *Condé de Fuentes* with the Cavalry of the Army, and two *Tertia's* of Walloons was quartered in two little villages behind the Fortifications, and *Ambrosio Landriano* Lieutenant Generall of the Light Horse, with four hundred Horse, and six hundred Foot placed himself upon that way  
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that leads to *Peronne*, keeping continually many Ambuscado's in divers woody places, to assault and hinder the passage of those, that should hazard the attempt of entering the Town.

Things being disposed in this order, they began to break ground, the Engineer *Pacciotto*, and Colonell *la Berlotte* overseeing the works, the one for his skill in Fortification, the other for experience in war, men of exceeding high estimation; But the work proved difficult beyond all belief; for in the lower places where the river *Sckeld* passes, and overflows, they could not digg above a span for water, and the higher places were so gravelly and stony, that they could not approach without great toyle and much time; and yet the soldiers accustomed to labour, full of courage by reason of their past victories, and aspiring to sack so rich a City, wrought with incredible patience: either Monsieur *du Rosne*, or the Count himself, continually overseeing the works, and with words, promises and gifts, hastening the perfecting of them; so that upon the first of *September* two very large trenches were brought to the edge of the moat, between the *Bastion de Robert*, and a Raveline in the midst of the Courtine. It is evident that if the besieged, had with Sallyes, and counterbatteries molested their works, they must needs have approached with extream difficulty, and perchance without fruit at last; but it was well known that Monsieur *de Balagny* either had lost his courage, or had not much experience; for during the space of ten dayes, that the works of the Spaniards lasted, the defendants continually lay idle, without molesting them in any kind; and the young D. of *Rhetelois*, who by reason of the tendernesse of his yeares referred himself to the discipline of others, though he sayd, and laboured very much, could not, or had not credit, to move the rest to do any thing; insomuch, that even the very day the trenches were opened, there would have been nothing done, if he himself levelling a Culverin had not given fire luckily against the Enemy; for it shot into the very mouth of their trench; by which example his Gentlemen excited more then many others, shot many pieces of Canon, and did some harme to the besiegers.

The Sieur de  
Vic with great  
difficulty enters  
with men  
into *Cambray*.

But the day following Monsieur *de Vic* came in opportunely, a man of great credit and long experience, who having happily avoided all the ambushes, layed by *Landriano*, got neer the City, upon the second of *September* in the morn-

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ing, with all his men on horse-back, and because the guards of Infantry were but thin, and few, he passed between fort and fort, without receiving any harme by the artillery that played on all sides, and got without any losse neer the walls of the City, not far distant from the edge of the moate; but when he believed he had escaped all dangers, he saw himself unexpectedly charged in the rere by a body of Italian Horse, which led by *Carlo Visconte*, was advanced full gallop towards him, so that to avoid that imminent danger, since already all the rest of the Cavalry were at his back, he presently caused all his men to alight, and leave their horses a prey unto the enemy, who while they were greedily busied in catching them, afforded them so much time that he with most part of his men got into the moate, whither though the Spaniards advanced couragiously yet could they neither hurt him, nor hinder him, (after a long skirmish, and an infinite number of Canon shot) from coming safe into the Town; his presence seemed to put heart and spirit into the defendants; for the same night, the Souldiers striving who should work fastest; two platformes were raised, behinde the Curtine that was played upon by the Enemy, and a *Cavalier* at the Gorge of the *Bastion de Robert*, in which places many pieces of artillery were planted, and they made a furious counterbattery with so much violence, and so much harme to the besiegers, that having lamed their artillery and dismounted them, broken the carriages, and beaten the *Gabions* all in pieces, the Spaniards were three dayes without being able to doe any thing of importance against the Town; At the same time he caused two mines to be made, which being prosperously brought under the principall battery, blew it up into the aire, and buried five pieces, overturning and disordering all the rest. Nor did he cease in the mean time opportunely to make some sallies, though the great number of places which were necessarily to be kept guarded, would not allow them to be frequent or numerous.

Against so gallant a defence Colonel *la Berlotte* who had the principall charge of the siege, approached, more under favour of Gabions then trenches, though with the losse of many souldiers, till he came to pierce the Counterscarp; but it proved so high, that it was necessary to make use of ladders to go down into the moat, which appeared wonderfull danger-

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ous, for the flank of the *Bastion de Robert*, and a *Casamat* (made about that time in the moat) played openly on both sides upon whosoever dared to come unto the ladders, wherefore it was necessary to raise a batterie of five Culverins, which thundred against the Flank of the *Bastion de Robert*; and at the *Casamat* they fought desperately four dayes together, with an innumerable company of Fire-works, to make themselves Masters of it. But to take the *Casamat* by reason of the valour of the defendants, proved exceeding difficult; and in the Flank by the *Bastion* Monsieur *de Vic* had caused five pieces of Canon to be planted so low, that no violence was sufficient to hinder them from doing mischief, wherefore the Commanders resolved to remove the battery to a lower place, close to the *Porte des Selles*, where the whole Camp working with infinite eagernesse, in two dayes time they planted two and twenty pieces of Canon which played upon the curtain, and upon the Flank six great Culverins, which discor-tining the Flank of the *Bastion de Robert* made it very dangerous, for the defendants to stay and make good that place. Almost at the same time Colonel *de la Berlotte* with two other trenches made his approaches, so far that having under covert passed through to the *Casamat*, he forced the besieged to quit it; so the moat remaining free, the Artillery began to play, and the Army to set it self in order, to give the assault.

It troubled the *Condé de Fuentes* to hear that the Duke of *Newers* staying at *Peronne* had gotten together above four thousand Foot, and between seven and eight hundred Horse, wherewith he thought he would without all question hazard himself to relieve the Citie, in which he had so great a pledge as his owne son; wherefore having with marvelous diligence, made all the *Avenues* to be cut off, and blocked up, he caused another great Fort to be raised at the mouth of the high way, in which he put *Gastone Spinola* with one thousand Foot, and all the Army was with admirable order disposed in such manner that standing all to their armes, at every little stir the whole plain was on all sides filled with forts and Squadrons each between the other, which Flankt with the troops of Horse, and with field pieces in their Front, made it most difficult to get through to the Town, without very great danger, or without coming presently to a Battaile. But want  
of

of mony troubled the Count no lesse then this, for the neighbouring Provinces much forwarder to promise; then able to perform, had been able to raise but half the mony they had promised, whereof he had been fain to spend a great part in satisfying the souldiers that had mutinied at *Lirumont*, to the end that being quieted they might come to reinforce the Army; wherefore the provisions of Spain proceeding with the wonted delays, the Count was reduced into very great perplexity how to maintain his Army, which being all imployed either in the approches, or guard of the Forts, could not enlarge it self to live upon the Countrey, though the season of the year, and the fields full of fruits, were very favourable for the sustenance both of men and horses: To these respects was added, the difficulty of the siege, which (by reason of the strength of the City, the number & valour of the defendants, & the prudence and diligence of Monsieur *de Vic*) proved so hard & dangerous, that many counselled to raise the Camp without losing themselves upon an impossible enterprize, and not stay for the King of France his coming, who being victorious in *Bourgogne*, was already known to be moving towards *Picardy*.

But in the midst of these difficulties there arose new unthought of accidents: The people of *Cambray* accustomed to live under the pleasing Government of the Arch-Bishops, had impatiently brook'd the rule of the Marechal *de Balagny*, and their disdain and heart-burning had increased so much the more, after the King of France, depriving the Crown of the dominion it had over it, had granted it in Fee to *Balagny*, whose haughty covetous minde did very much augment the discontent of the Citizens. To this evill was added the insupportable nature of Madame *de Balagny* the Marechals Wife, who being partaker in the Investment, did not onely turn and govern her Husband as she pleased, but with extortions, rapines, womanish taunts, and extreme ill usage had brought the City into a generall desperation: wherefore when the Spanish Camp began to hover in those quarters, the people under colour of sending to demand relief from the King, had dispatched unto him two of their most noted Citizens, who propounded, that if the King would take away the Dominion of the City from *Balagny*, and incorporate it into the Crown of France, they at their own charge would pay the Garison, and defend and maintain it against the siege of the



1595 Spaniards, so that the King should be put to no manner of trouble nor expence at all; which request having been rejected by means of Madame *Gabriele*, infinitely beloved and favoured by the King, they were returned, and by putting the businesse in despair, had absolutely stirred up and enraged the people. When men were thus ill-affected, the necessity of the Siege came upon them, in which Monsieur *de Balagny* being utterly without money, found a way to coin certain pieces of Copper, commanding by a publick Proclamation, that every one should receive them without dispute, they being afterward to be changed, when the City was freed from the present siege; but many being very backward to take that money (as well because they knew not what the event of the siege would be, as because they trusted little to the faith of *Balagny*) were the cause that he and his Wife used many violent wayes to make their Decree be obeyed; by which, the people exasperated, took their opportunity when (the breach being made) all the souldiers were disposed in severall places upon the wall, and rising tumultuously in arms, made themselves Masters first of the Market-place, kept by a Main-guard of two hundred Switzers, and then of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, which as furthest from danger, was least guarded, and then dispatched two of the principall Citizens to treat of surrendering upon certain Conditions: These happening into the Squadron of the Prince of *Avellino* were sent by him to the *Condé de Fuentes*, who being assured by the Prince that the Citizens had indeed made themselves Masters of the *Porte de S. Sepulchre*, commanded the Battery cease, and applied himself to treat with the Deputies.

The Sieur *de Balagny* in necessity, coins copper money.

The Citizens rising in an uproar, make themselves Masters of a gate, and send their Deputies to capitulate with the Count de *Fuentes*.

In the mean time Monsieur *de Vic* having heard the noise, was come into the Market-place, striving to appease the tumult, and quiet the Citizens with effectually perswasions, since that by force they could not be compelled, being very many in number, fierce in courage, well armed, and, which imported more, not onely Masters already of all the streets, but also of a gate, whereby they might let in the Spanish Army at their pleasure: but his words did no good at all, so that accommodating himself to the necessitie of time, he exhorted them to treat warily with the Spaniards, and to secure their businesse well, lest they should run into the precipice of being sacked, as it often uses to happen to those who slacken their defence,

defence, while they treat of composition. This he said, and perswaded the people, because he desired to prolong the time, that in the interim he might withdraw his souldiers into the Cittadel. After him came Madame *de Balagny*, who with a manly spirit made a long discourse unto the people; but her presence did rather stir up then appease the tumult; infomuch, that scarce were the souldiers gotten into the Cittadel, when the people began to open the gate they had got into their power. The Deputies at the same time came in with the Capitulations subscribed by the *Condé de Fuentes*, which in substance contained, That the City should be freed from plunder, and should have a generall pardon for all things past, That the Citizens should enjoy their antient priviledges, and remain under the obedience of the Arch-Bishop, as they were wont to be before; which Articles being accepted by the people, *Gastone Spinola* and Count *Giovan-Giacopo Belgiojoso* entered without delay into the City with three hundred Horse, and after them *Agostino Messia* with the Spanish Foot, and without any tumult or losse to the Inhabitants, possessed themselves of the place. The same night entred the Arch-Bishop with the *Condé de Fuentes*, and were received with marvellous joy by the Citizens, who were glad after the space of so many yeers to see themselves free from the vexation of an insolent power, and to return to their old manner of Government.

The Citizens open the gates, and receive their Deputies with the Capitulations, and the Spaniards are brought into Cambray.

In the mean time the French were retired into the Cittadel, with a resolution to defend it a long time; but they presently perceived the impossibility of their designe; for having opened the Magazines of Corn, and other victuall, they scarce found wherewithall to subsist two dayes: This unthought of defect proceeded from Madame *de Balagny*, who no lesse imprudent then covetous, had (unknown to her Husband) sold all that was in the publick Store; so that the Count *de Fuentes* having sent to summon the defendants to yeeld before the Artillery were planted, they seeing they could not sustain themselves, did to the wonder of every one that knew not the cause, and to the amazement of the Count himself, accept the proposition of surrendring upon certain Articles that were demanded by them; which the Count, shewing to bear respect to the youth of the Duke of *Rhetelois*, and to the valour and reputation of Monsieur *de Vic*; but indeed,



indeed, that he might not make the obtaining of the Castle more difficult to himself, did very largely grant them.

The Conditions were, That the Cittadel should be consigned into the hands of the Count *de Fuentes*, with all the Artillery and Ammunition of War; and that on the other side, he should be obliged to cause the Castle of *Clery*, taken by his men a while before, to be dismantled within six dayes; that the Duke of *Rhetelois*, the Marechal *de Balagny*, Monsieur *de Vic*, and all the other Lords, Commanders, Gentlemen and souldiers of what nation soever, might march out in rank and file, their Cornets and colours flying, match lighted, and bullet in mouth, and that to that end, those colours should be restored unto them, that had been left in the City, and that they might march on their way, with trumpets sounding and drums beating: that the arms, horses, & baggage belonging to souldiers, which had been left in the Town, should be restored; and if any thing were wanting, the value of it should be payed at that price which should be agreed upon by Monsieur *du Rosne*, and Colonel *Messia* on the one part, and the Sieurs *de Vic* and *de Buy* on the other; that likewise Madam *de Balagny*, with all the other women, the sick and wounded men, Courtiers and servants of any person whatsoever might go forth freely; That the prisoners should be freed without ransome; that Monsieur *de Balagny's* debts, whether about the mony, or any other occasion, should be remitted, neither should he be molested, or his baggage seized on for them; that all that the said Marechall, his wife, Sonnes, Captains, Officers and servants had done in times past, should be forgiven and forgotten, neither should any of them be therefore questioned, either by the Catholick King, or the Citizens of *Cambray*.

These Conditions were concluded upon the seventh of October, and were executed the 9, which day all went forth in the manner determined, marching towards *Peronne*; onely Madame *de Balagny* (being desperate no lesse because she was to leave the Principalitie, then because of her own improvidence, by reason whereof they were necessitated to yeeld the Cittadel) out of anguish and affliction of mind, fell grievously sick, and not only refusing to take medicines, but also even all kinds of nourishment, dyed miserably before the time of their marching out was come.

The Count *de Fuentes* having so fortunately obtained so many and so signall victories, whereby his name resounded with infinite fame; seeing his men were tyred, and out of order, by their past toyles and sufferings, and finding himself in exceeding great straites for mony to satisfy the arrears of their pay, resolved to dissolve his Army, and draw it into several quarters; so much the rather, because the season was neer to the usuall raines of Autumne, and because the King of France was expected in *Picardie* with a victorious Army; wherefore having put five hundred Spanish foot into the Cittadell of *Cambray*, under the command of *Agostino Messia*, and having left two thousand Germane foot to defend the Town, he gave the Arch-Bishop liberty to govern the City, in the same manner he was wont to do, before it came into the power of the Duke of *Alançon*, and having divided his foot into the Towns of *Artois*, *Heynault* and *Flanders*, he went to the City of *Bruxelles*, at such time when the K. of France was come with the greatest speed he could possibly to *Compeigne*, being exceedingly afflicted at the sufferings of his party, for which not only that whole Province was sad and grieved, but even the very City of *Paris* was full of fear and terrour, seeing the Spaniards run on victorious in a Country so neer it.

The Count *de Fuentes* having put the Government of *Cambray* into the Arch-Bishops hands, leaves *Picardie* and goes to *Bruxelles*.

These were the Progresses of Warre between the French and the Spaniards upon the confines of *Flanders*; but they were no lesse prosperous this year; for the same party in the Province of *Bretaigne*, though they were still managed under the name of the League; for the Duke *de Mercœur* (though there was no very good correspondence between him and the Spaniards, yet making use of their shelter, in things which were of common interest, and holding the principall places of the province, and the major part of the Nobility of the Country at his devotion) hindred all the proceedings of the Mareschall *d'Aumont*, and *Monsieur de S. Luc*, who commanded on the Kings side; and though for the most part, they spent their time in incursions, and actions of small moment, wherein fortune often varied, yet the sum of affaires inclined still in favour of the Duke, insomuch that he had in a manner reduced all the Province into his power; which was the more easily effected by him, because the Mareschall *d'Aumont*, while he fruitlessly busied himself about the siege of the Castle of *Comper*, a wondrous strong place, was wounded under the

The Mareschall *d'Aumont* is killed with a musket shot.

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left elbow with a musket shot, which broke both the bones, whereof he dyed whithin a while after. Wherefore Monsieur *de S. Luc*, who succeeded him in that command, though a Cavalier of exceeding great valour, yet neither by the authority of his person, nor by the dignity of his charge, could he equal the reputation wherewith the Mareschal upheld the precipitate declining of affaires; to which was added that the King having conferred the dignity of Mareschal upon Monsieur *de Lavardin*, which *S. Luc* expected should have been conferred upon him, he was afterward by discontent of mind, much cooled, and taken off from action, so that it was necessary for the King to call him to him, and give him hopes of rising to those honors which seemed due unto his merit, by which changes the affaires of warre, on that side went on but with small successe.

But if the affaires of the League seemed something prosperous in *Bretagne*, the adversenesse of them in *Dauphiné*, reduced the state of it to utter ruine. The Duke of Nemours held in that Province the City of *Vienne*, whither he had retyred after the losse of Lyons, and having well fortified the Town with the Castle of *Pipet* neer unto it, and furnished them with French horse, and Italian foot, he did continually infest the Country about Lyons, obstructing the wayes, and interrupting the Commerce, which that Merchant City hath with the neighbouring Provinces; so that by his fiercenesse and diligence, he put all the Country of Lyons into such feare, that from the beginning of the year, they had begg'd of the King to send them such releif as might be sufficient to free them from those streights to which they were reduced. But the King busied in the affaires of *Bourgongne*, gave order to the Duke of Montmorancy (whom he already had declared Constable) that he should go down from Languedoc, and assist the City of Lyons against the Duke of Nemours, which he preparing to doe, Nemours knowing he was unable to resist, and hold out of himself, resolved to make his addressees to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to the Constable of *Castille* for supplies, for the facilitating whereof, he determined to go personally to *Turin* and *Milan*, leaving the *Sieur de Disemieux*, a Colonel of Foot, and a neer Confident of his, to govern his Forces and the Town of *Vienne*. But the High-Constable *Montmorancy*, coming much sooner then the Duke beleaved, united his forces, with those of *Alfonso Corso*, and fiercely made war against his

While the Duke of Nemours who upheld the League in *Dauphiné*, goes to *Turin* and *Milan*, to get supplies, Colonel *Disemieux* his Lieutenant delivers up the fortresses unto the Duke of *Montmorancy*, whereupon he seeing himself deprived of all retreat, in despair falls sick and dies.

his party. Whereupon *Difemioux*, either following the inclination of Fortune (as most men are wont to do) or not thinking his strength sufficient to make resistance, agreed underhand to deliver up *Vienne* unto the Constable; provided the Duke of *Nemours* his Forces might be suffered to march away without molestation, and retire into Savoy; and to the end the designe might be the more easily effected, and not be opposed by the Captains of the Garison, or Officers of the Town, the Secretary gave the Castle of *Pipet* in the hands of *Alfonso Corso*; and then having unexpectedly sent for the Constable to one of the Town-gates, which was guarded by those he trusted, he at the same time let the Captains of the Garison know, that the Enemy was at the Gates, that he had delivered up the Castle, and had made an agreement to admit him into the Town, upon condition that they might march safe away: Wherefore they being confounded and affrighted at a thing never thought on before, but much more at the urgency of the businesse, since the Constable was already received in at the Gate, accepted of the safe conduct, without contradiction, and retired unmolested to the Confines of the Duke of Savoy. All the other Towns followed the example of *Vienne*; insomuch, that the Duke of *Nemours* returning out of Italy, found not any place where he could stay; wherefore going to *Anicy*, a Town of his own Patrimony, he was so oppressed with despair, that he fell into a grievous sicknesse, which brought him to his end in the Autumn of this year.

Thus the whole Province of *Dauphiné* being reduced unto the Kings obedience, there remained onely the War which Monsieur *Les Diguieres* (passing the Alps) had carried into *Piedmont*, which though it varied with diversitie of effects, and with frequent valiant encounters, which by the difficulty of places where they happened, were rendred more sharp and bloody; yet in the main it proved of very great damage to the Duke of Savoy, whose Country was the seat of the War.

Nor were the affairs of the League more prosperous in *Gascogne* and *Languedoc*; for though the Duke of *Joyeuse* (who after his Brothers death had left the cloister of Capuchins, and put on arms to sustain the weight of that Government) laboured to keep the Nobility united, under pretence of expecting

The Duke of Joyeuse who formerly turned Capuchin for his wifes death, now upon occasion of his Brothers death, leaves the Cloister, and takes arms for the League.

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what would be determined at Rome ; yet many of them weary of the War, and dejected by so many adversities of their party, came in daily to acknowledge the King ; and the Parliament of *Tholouse* was so divided, that part of the Counsellours declaring for the King, went forth of the City, and retired to *Chasteau Sarrazin*, where being succoured by the Duke of *Vantadour*, the Constable's Lieutenant in the Government of *Languedoc*, and by the Mareschal de *Matignon* Governour of *Guienne*, the warre was fiercely kindled : but fortune and the will of men inclining already to favour the King's affairs, first the Town of *Rhodesz* came in, with many Castles and Towns depending upon it ; and then *Narbonne* and *Carcassonne*, principall places for the League, making a tumult, yeelded themselves ; so that the Duke of *Foyense* was as it were shut within the walls of *Tholouse*, and kept himself up with nothing else but the meer hope of the Accommodation which was closely treated by President *Jeannin* for the whole League ; for the Duke of *Mayene* who for that purpose was come to *Chalon*, after the King's Absolution was published, (which to the exceeding great prejudice of his own affairs, he had resolved by all means to stay for) that he might shew the end of his designs had been barely respect of Religion ; and that therefore he had never been withdrawn from the Pope's obedience by any adversity whatsoever ; being now freed from that impediment, closed up the treaty of Agreement, in which, as Head of the Party, he reserved an entrance for all those that would follow him.

Difficulties  
that interposed  
themselves in  
the settling of  
the Accommo-  
dation with the  
Du. of *Mayene*.

In the treaty of this Accommodation there arose two wondrous great difficulties, which were very hard to be overcome ; one, the great summe of the debts contracted by the Duke of *Mayene*, not onely in many places, and with many Merchants of the Kingdome of France, but also with the Switzers, Germans, and Lorainers, for the raising of Souldiers ; for the Duke of *Mayene* standing upon it to have them paid by the King, and hee at that present not having money to satisfie them, it was very difficult to finde a mean in that businesse : the Duke being resolved that his estate should not be lyable to the payment ; and on the other side, the Creditors neither consenting to transferre nor deferre what they had trusted, but would have satisfaction in ready money ;

money; The other difficultie was the commemoration of the late King's death; for all the Decrees and Agreements made in favour of those of the League, who were returned unto the King's obedience, having still contained pardon and forgiveness of all past offences, except the death of *Henry* the Third (which had always with expresse words been distinguished and excepted): the Duke of Mayene would have such a kinde of mean found out, whereby on the one side he might not appear to have been the Authour of it; and on the other, he might not be subject to the Inquisition which might be made concerning that businesse for the future, lest under that pretence occasion might be taken some time or other to revenge past injuries. It was extremely difficult to untie this knot; for not onely the King thought it very hard to let passe into oblivion so hainous a fact, and so pernicious an example of attempting against the persons of Kings; but also the Parliament would not suffer it, and it was most certain, the Queen Dowager who often had demanded justice, would oppose it.

These two difficulties hindred the concluding of the Accommodation in *Bourgongne*, and the King being necessitated to go speedily into *Picardie*, had taken President *Jeannin* with him to continue the Treaty; but nothing at all having been concluded in the journey, much lesse could it be done when they were come to Paris; for the affairs of the War with the Spaniards were brought into so great danger, that the King and all his Ministers were taken up and afflicted both in mind and body: wherefore the President was faine to follow the Army into *Picardy*, whither the King marched with an intent to relieve the City of *Cambrai*; but the speedy victory of the Spaniards having taken away the necessity of relief, the King being come to *Fol-ambray* (a house of pleasure built by King *Francis* the First for a hunting-seat) called all his Counsell to him, that the things appertaining to the peace with the Duke of Mayene might with maturity be discussed and determined. After much treating and much debating, obstacles and oppositions arising in all things, it seemed most expedient to send for the proofs and inquisitions that had been made by the Parliament touching the King's death, and also for some of the Presidents and Counsellours of that Court, to see what cleernesse there was in them, and that they might determine

The King being come to *Fol-ambray*, consults long about matters concerning the Agreement with the Duke of Mayene.



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which way was best to mannage the expedition of that busi-  
ness. The Writings being seen, and the matter put into con-  
sultation, though some signes appeared diversly against diverse  
persons, yet did there not appear any such thing as was suffi-  
cient to determine the proceeding against any body; and  
though neither the Queen Dowager as plaintiffe had yet  
brought in the particular of her accusation, nor the Parlia-  
ment had dived very far into the discussion and inquiry into  
that businesse; yet it was thought the not appearing at that  
present, that the Duke of Mayene or any of his were guilty  
of that fact, might serve for a pretence of finding out a mean  
to satisfie his honour, and likewise free him from the dan-  
ger of future inquisition. Wherefore it having been many  
dayes consulted of between the High-Chancellour, the first  
President *Harlay*, the *Sieur de Villeroy*, the Count *de Schom-  
bergh*, and President *Jeannin*, they at last determined, That  
in the Decree which the King was to cause to be published,  
and registred in the Parliament, there should be a clause in-  
serted, which in substance should contain, That the King  
having caused the Proesse made upon the death of the late  
King to be viewed in the presence of himself, the Princes of  
the Blood, and the Officers of the Crown in Councell, there  
had not been any token found against the Duke of Mayene,  
nor against any other Prince or Princess of his blood; and  
that having been desirous for the greater certainty, to hear  
what they alledged about it, they had sworn that they had  
not any knowledge of, nor participation in that crime, and  
that if they had known it, they would have opposed the ex-  
ecution of it: Wherefore he did declare, that the Duke of  
Mayene, and all the other Princes and Princesses his Adhe-  
rents were innocent of that fact; and therefore he prohibited  
his Attorney Generall to urge at any time that they should be  
proceeded against, and likewise forbad the Court of Parlia-  
ment, and all other Officers and Lawyers to make any inquisi-  
tion about it.

The Duke of  
Mayene & the  
Princes and  
Princesses his  
Adherents are  
declared inno-  
cent of the  
death of *Henry*  
the third.

The difficulty concerning the payment of debts was also  
taken away: for the King promised secretly to disburse unto  
the Duke of Mayene 420000 Crowns for the payment of his  
debts contracted to particular persons; and as for the debt  
of the Leavies, the King freed the Duke of Mayene from it,  
constituting himself Pay-master for him, and transferring the  
debt

debt upon the Crown, forbidding the Duke or his estate to be molested for that occasion. It was likewise established, though not without dispute, that peace should be made with the Duke of Mayene as Head of his party; which the King had refused, by reason of the multitude of those that were feverally come in to his obedience; and chiefly in respect of Paris, and the other principal Cities: And the Duke of Mayene for his own honour, and the reputation of his agreement, stood obstinately for it.

The King granted three places to the Duke of Mayene for his security, which were *Soissons*, *Chalon*, and *Seure*, the Dominion of which he was to hold for the space of six years, and after the said term to restore them. He confirmed all the collations of Offices and Benefices that had been vacant by death during his Government, provided the possessours should take new Patents for them under the Kings broad Seal. He made a Decree of oblivion and silence of all things past, intelligences with forraigne Princes, raising of moneys, exactions of taxes, impositions of payments, gathering of Armies, demolishings or buildings of Cities and Fortresses, acts of hostility, killings of men, and particularly of the Marquess *de Menelay*, killed by Lieutenant *Magny* at *la Fere*; and finally, all things done till the end of the War, which he with honourable expressions declared and certified to have been undertaken and continued for the sole respect and defence of Religion. He granted him the Government of the Isle of France, and the Superintendence of the *Finances*; and to his Son the Government of *Chalon*, separated and divided from the superiority of the Governour of *Bourgongne*. He comprehended in the Capirulation all those that together with him should reunite themselves under his obedience, and particularly the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Marquess of *Villars* and the *Sieur de Montpezat* the Du. of *Mayene's* Sons-in-law; Monsieur *de l'Estrange* Governour of *Puyts*, Monsieur *de S. Offange* Governour of *Rocheforte*, the *Sieur du Plessis* Governour of *Craon*, and the *Sieur de la Severie* Governour of *Ganache*. He suspended the Sentences and Judgements past against the Duke of *Mercœur* and against the Duke of *Annale*, till it were known whether they would be comprehended in the Accommodation, granting to every one (besides the oblivion of what was past, and the full enjoying of their estates, Offices,

The substance of the agreement with the Duke of Mayene.



1595 fices, and dignities) leave within six weeks time to come into the Capitulation, and adhere unto the peace.

Difficulties & oppositions in the Parliament of Paris, about receiving the Decree of the Agreement with the Duke of Mayene.

With these principal conditions, and many other lesser ones, the Duke of Mayene concluded the Agreement; but there was enough to do to get this Decree accepted in the Parliament of Paris; for though the King with his own mouth forbade the Queen-Dowagers Ministers to oppose the publication of it; yet was there notwithstanding as great an obstacle and opposition; for *Diana de Valois* Dutchesse of *Angoulesme*, and bastard-Sister to the late King, appearing personally in the Parliament, presented a Petition written and subscribed with her own hand, whereby contradicting the confirmation of the Decree, she urged to have them proceed in the Inquest about the Kings death: whereupon most of the Counsellours being stirred up, because the major part of their Fathers had either been created by that King, or highly offended by the League; the acceptation of the Decree could not be obtained; and yet the King with very vehement Letters reprehended the Parliament, and declared that the publick peace and safety requiring that the Decree should be registred, his will and command was that it should be accepted. Yet neither by this were the Counsellours of the Parliament quieted; but they came to this resolution, That the Decree should be published, but with two conditions; one, That it should be no prejudice to the right of the Duke of Mayene's Creditors; the other, That he should be obliged to come into the Parliament, and with his own mouth swear that he had not been any way accessary to the fact, that he detested the murther committed upon the Kings person, and promised not to save, protect, or favour any one that in time to come should be questioned for it. At which stubbornesse the King more then moderately incensed, with grave resenting words replied, *That they should take heed how they put him to the trouble of leaving the Warre, to come personally into the Parliament; That he was their King, and that he would be obeyed by them.* But neither did this protestation suffice; for they determined to accept the Decree, but with such words as should shew that it was done by force of the Kings expresse command, which neither pleasing him nor the Duke of Mayene, it was necessary for the High-Chancellour to go to Paris, and after a long effectuall demonstration of the interests of the generall

nerall quiet, cause the Decree at last to be approved, without clauses or conditions. 1595

The Duke of *Mayene*'s example was followed, not onely by those that were named in the Capitulation ; but also by the Marquesse of *S. Sorlin*, the City and Parliament of *Thoulonse*, and all the rest which formerly held the party of the League, except the Duke of *Aumale*, who having accorded with the Spaniards, and being exasperated by the Sentence published this yeer by the Parliament (wherein he had been declared Rebel) would not consent to submit himself unto the Kings odedience : The Duke of *Mercoeur*, though by means of his Sister the Queen Dowager, he kept the treaty of Agreement alive ; yet being still full of hopes, by the help of the Spaniards, to retain the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, he deferred it, and put off his determination till another time.

The Duke of *Aumale* incensed by having been declared Rebel, keeps united with the Spaniards.

The Duke of *Mercoeur* Brother to the Q. Dowager persists in his proposition of keeping *Bretagne* to himself.

But in the interim, while the conditions of these accommodations were treated of and discussed in the Councel, the King exceedingly afflicted for his late misfortune, and solicitous by some means to repair the losses he had received, wherein he seemed to bear a great part of the blame, as well by reason of his too long stay at *Lyons*, as of the ill satisfaction he had given the Citizens of *Cambray* in their requests, was still contriving in himself, and continually consulting with his Commanders, to what enterprize he should apply himself. The Duke of *Nevers* had formerly an intention to assault one of the places of the County of *Artois*, belonging to the King of Spain, not only to do the same mischief unto his Country, which he had done to the Jurisdiction of the King of France ; but also because he beleaved that long peace had abased the courage of that people, and made many of their provisions for defence uselesse : whereupon he had exhorted the King, that increasing his Army to the greatest number he could, he should unexpectedly fall upon *Arras*, or some other great City in those quarters ; judging that the *Condé de Fuentes*, troubled with the many mutinies of several Nations, and reduced to extreme want of money, would very hardly be able to reunite his Army time enough to relieve the place that should be assaulted : But after that he being spent with a tedious indisposition, departed this life at *Nesle*, this intention (which was set on foot by the reputation of the Author) came to nothing ; for the other Commanders thought it too dangerous an attempt to invade the bowels of an Enemies Country, where

The death of Lodovico Gonzaga Duke of *Nevers*.



1595 where all the Towns are populous and powerful, while by the losse of so many places, they were so much troubled at home, and while the Spanish Garisons over-running all parts, kept the whole Country in fear and terrour.

True it is, that of all the places that were lost, their opinions concurred not so well in the choice of that which they should assault, as they did in refusing to invade the Enemies Country; for some held it best in the same heat of affairs to besiege *Cambray*, to try to recover it before the Spaniards had settled themselves, by mending the breaches that were lately made; but the smalnesse of the Kings Army excluded this opinion, it not being sufficient to begird a City of so great circuit, exceedingly well fortified, with a very strong Garison. Many others counselled to fall upon *Dourlans*, to take the same way to streighten *Cambray* which the Spaniards had done; but the oppositions against this advice were, the strength of the place, and the diligence wherewith it was guarded by *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, who was the Governour of it: So that at last the opinion that prevailed was that of the Mareschal *de Biron*, and of Monsieur *de S. Luc* (who was come to the Camp to execute the Office of Generall of the Artillery, which was left by Monsieur *de la Guiche*, to whom the King had given the Government of *Lyons*) they counselled to besiege *la Fere*, a place of chief importance, but shut up in such manner by a Fen that invirons it, that there are but onely two wayes to come from the field unto the Town: wherefore they demonstrated that by blocking up those two *Avenues* with a Fort upon each of them, the place might with a small number of men be so besieged and streightned, that there being no means to relieve it with vi-  
tuall, it might without much difficulty be taken, not by force, but famine.

Upon the 8th  
of November  
the King layes  
siege to *la Fere*,  
a place strong  
both by art and  
nature.

The King resolved to follow this advice; and having drawn his Forces together which were scattered thorow the Province, drew neer unto *la Fere* upon the eighth of November with five thousand Foot and 1200 Horse, and having taken the *Avenues*, and caused the people of the Country round about to come in to work, he in a few days raised two Forts, each of which being able to hold 1000 Foot, and conveniently furnished with Artillery, did totally block up the ways unto the Town; the rest of the Foot in respect of the season, lay in  
a great

a great village upon the edge of the Fenne, and the horse took up their quarters in the villages on the North side towards Flanders to hinder releif. *Don Alvaro Oforio*, an old experienced Souldier, was in *la Fere*; For the *Vice-Seneschall de Montelimar*, to whom the Duke of *Mayene* had intrusted that place, had by little and little given it up unto the Spaniards, reserving only the title of Count *de la Fere*, and the revenue of the place, with other recompences, which had been liberally given him, first by the Arch-Duke *Ernest*, and then by the *Conde de Fuentes*. The place abounded in Ammunition of warre; for the reliques of all the Catholick Kings Armies which of late yeares had marched into France, had been left there, and the Garrison of Spaniards, Italians, & Germans was not only sufficient, but more then need required for the defence of it, which increased the want of victuall, whereof (there being but small provision in the Town) the Kings sudden approach had not given them time to get in any; wherefore the Forts being raised, and the passages of both wayes shut up on all sides, the defendants began from the first days of the siege to feel great scarcity of victuall.

About this time *Albert* Cardinall of *Austria* destined by the Catholick King to the Government of the Provinces of Flanders, was come to *Bruxelles*, and having received the Administration, and the Army from the *Condé de Fuentes*, he began to thinke how he might uphold that degree of prosperity and glory in which his predecessor in a few months had settled himself with victorious actions; and because the redoubled letters of *Don Alvaro* from the very beginning of the siege gave notice of the want of victuall in *la Fere*, he determined before all things else, to apply himself to the releif of that place; but it was difficult to resolve upon, for the Army out of order by the toyles and sufferings of the late Summer, was divided into many severall places, to their winter quarters, and there for want of pay had made many insurrections, so that the Italian Cavalry had mutined afresh, and turn'd to seize upon *Liramont*; in another place *Gastone Spinola's* Tertia of Sicilians had done the like, two Terties of Spaniards having cast of their obedience, did likewise quarter themselves at discretion in advantageous places; and the Walloons not openly in Rebellion, did yet deny to stirre out of their quarters, unlesse they were fully payd; insomuch that before the Mar-

The Arch-Duke *Albert* Cardinall of *Austria* goes to be Governour in Flanders.

Q q q q q q q q

chants



1595

chants could satisfie the Bills of exchange brought by the Cardinall, and that the Souldiers could be paid and regulated with that mony, much time of necessity must be spent; and therefore there could not be a body of an Army drawn together sufficient for that or any other enterprife. To this was added the crossness of the season, by reason of raines and other incommodities so contrary, that before better weather it was impossible to think of stirring with men, artillery, and other provisions which warre requires; besides to enter into an Enemies Country, nay and to the very center of one of their Provinces, in a time when not only the fields neither afforded sustenance for men, or horses, but even the crop of the late harvest was consumed by the ruinous war that had been there already, was not a thing to be thought on by reason of the difficulty of feeding the Army, and for feare of being reduced to some sinister accident, by the diligence of the King of France; which considerations seemed greater to the Cardinall, not accustomed to the dangerous experiments of war; wherefore after long consultation, it was determined in the Councell, that *Nicolo Basti* marching with part of the light horse into *Picardie*, should attempt to put some quantity of victualls into *la Fere*, wherewith the besieged might subsist till the favourableness of the season, and the courtesie of affaires in *Flanders* would afford meanes to give them full relief.

1596

With these Counsells ended the year fifteen hundred ninety five, leaving many occasions of war and bloody encounters kindled for the revolution of the year following; in the beginning whereof, the first event was the recovery of *Marseilles*, a City and haven of high consequence, standing in the County of Provence, upon the shoare of the Mediterranean Sea. The people of this City rich by trafique of Merchandize, and numerous in inhabitants, hold many priviledges, and enjoy many important immunities, obtained from the time that they were subject to the Counts of Provence, and amply confirm'd afterward, when they came under the Dominion of the Kindom of France, among which the most principall is this, that the Citizens chuse a Consull of themselves, who together with a Lieutenant named by him without other suffrage, governs the affairs of the Town, keeps the keys of the gates, and hath the care of the defence as well of the City as of the haven; and this Prerogative, which looks rather like a kind of liberty, then

The City of  
*Marseilles* in  
the County of  
Provence is  
governed by  
the election of  
a Consull and  
Lieutenant.

then an intire subjection, the Marsilians have alwayes conserv'd with that vivacity, that is proper to their nature and disposition, not admitting any kind of Garrison, and governing themselves with customes, fit for a Merchant and Seafaring life, of which two sorts of persons the inhabitants for the most part consist.

In the beginning when the first originalls of the League began to spring up, this City by the authority of Monsieur de Vins, and by reason the Consull and Lieutenant had been gained, took part with that side; and though by perswasion of the Countesse de Saux, it first received the Duke of Savoy, and then out of jealousy of their own liberty excluded him again, within a little while, and though the Count de Carsy and the Marquesse de Villars, were often call'd for thither, for more security, yet it had ever preserved its own being, and kept free from all forraign subjection. True it is, that having from the beginning of the war elected Charles Casant their Consul, and he having nominated Louis de Aix, his Lieutenant, men of subtile natures, and of bold fierce dispositions, they agreed so well among themselves, and had so great authority with the people, that continuing in their Magistracy for many years, without permitting any successours to be chosen in their places, they had made themselves as it were Lords of the City, and rul'd it their own way; But after the declining of the affaires of the League put every one upon a necessity of thinking of himself, these men knowing themselves envied, and ill willed by the major part of the principall Citizens, and being in fear by reason of their conscioufnesse of many misdeeds, which they had committed, to keep themselves in their government, thought of applying themselves to the Spanish party, and held treaties in that Court, about putting that City into the hands of the Catholick King, which being of so high importance, and conveniency to his Kingdomes, as its greatnesse, strength, riches, and situation shewed it to be, orders were given to Carlo Doria, that going from Genoua, into that Port with ten gallies well arm'd, and man'd, under pretence of sayling towards Spaine, he should favour their power, and attempts, to the end that being back'd with his forces, they might have the better means dexterously to draw the people to put themselves under the Spanish Signory, which Doria performing with infinite diligence, things went on in

Carlo Doria by order from the Catholick King, goes with ten gallies to Marseilles to foment the Consul and Lieutenant of that City.



1596 such a manner, that the Catholick King was not far from obtaining his intent, and so much the rather because this attempt was coloured over with many reasons, for which they pretended the Dominion of the County of *Provence* belonged to the *Infanta Isabella*, besides those other rights, she had to the Crown of France.

The King of France makes complaint unto the Pope, concerning the attempts of the Spaniards.

The King of France being jealous, that the leavies of Spain and Italie, and the great preparation of a Fleet which the Catholick King made, tended to this end, and that the stay which the *Condé de Fuentes* and the Duke of *Pastrana* (who were gone from Flanders) made at *Geneva* was to oversee that businesse, was exceeding much troubled in minde, because he could not turn that way, and gave Commission to Monsieur *d'Offat* to make complaint about it to the Pope, letting him know, that if he withstood not that designe, he should be constrained by necessitie to call the Turkish Fleet into the Mediterranean Sea for his reliefe; which being effectually performed by *d'Offat*, the Pope stricken, and grown pale, either through fear or anger, made a grave discourse against it, and yet the Kings Agent shewing that if *Marseilles*, and the other Towns of *Provence*, should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, *Avignon* also and other Towns of the Pope's would not be without danger, he promised to use his indeavours to make that attempt be layd aside; But there being added to the Kings complaints, the interposition of the Venetian, and Florentine Ambassadors, jealous that a City, and Haven of so great consequence, and that overlooks Italy so neerly, should fall to the augmentation of the Spanish Monarchy, the Pope having often consulted about this businesse, and not finding any provision against it, which he thought fit, took it to be expedient that the Cardinall of *Joyeuse*, who was returning into France, should passe by *Marseilles*, and in his name use convenient mediation to *Casant*, and remove him from his designe, which though it was diligently executed, produced but small effect; for *Casant* a fierce man, and one more stout then prudent, did not withdraw himself for that, from his already established appointment; so that the Venetian Senate, and the Grand Duke began to think of some more potent remedies to oppose that indeavour; nor was the Pope altogether averse from their intention. But this stone of scandall was removed, either by the Kings wonted

wonted fortune, or by the courage and diligence of his Ministers.

He had newly conferred the Government of that Province upon the Duke of Guise, and to advance matters towards their proper end, had also chosen Monsieur *de les Dignieres* his Lieutenant, who though they agreed not very well together, by reason of the difference of their Religion, and of the ancient diversitie of their factions, were yet both ill affected to the Duke of *Espernon*, who contending that that Government was lawfully his, used all his indeavours and utmost industry, to put himself in the possession of it, and to drive out, no lesse those of the Kings party, then those that yet held for the League; wherefore the King desirous that he should by some means be constrained to quit what he already possessed there, receiving other governments in other parts of the Kingdom, had appointed the Duke of *Guise* as his old Emulator, and *les Dignieres* as an honest man, but his bitter enemy, to secure the affaires of Provence. This determination had also other ends, and more remote considerations; for the Duke being newly come into the freindship, and obedience of the King, with condition to have that government to which the House of *Lorraine* had some pretentions by the ancient hereditary rights of Anjou, the King thought it convenient to assure himself of him, by giving him a Lieutenant of such a condition, as not only was faithfull by ancient experience, but also wary, and resolute to oppose whatsoever attempt the Duke (in so great a discord of mens minds, their old enmities not fully layed aside) might perchance contrive. To these another important respect was added that *les Dignieres*, and Colonel *Alfonso Corso*, residing both in *Dauphiné*, disagreed, and thwarted one another in the service, to the prejudice of common affaires; wherefore the King thought to remove the occasion of that discord, by sending *les Dignieres* into *Provence*, and by electing Colonel *Alfonso* Lieutenant to the Prince of Conty, who was newly declared Governour of *Dauphiné*.

But though the Duke of *Guise* nourished sincere thoughts and no indirect ends, yet being come into the Province, either not being well satisfied to have a Lieutenant of so great credit, and of another Religion, or desiring that the businesses with the Duke of *Espernon* should passe under the  
name



1596 name, and by the means of *les Diguieres*, not to put his own authority and name of Governour in doubt, he had given charge to his Lieutenant to put the garrisons out of many Towns, which the Duke of *Espernon* held in them; and he himself going to *Aix*, applyed his minde wholly to the recovery of *Marseilles*, as a thing of greater glory, and importance, without allowing part in that to any body; and though many treaties held by the means of men banished out of that City, proved vain and fruitlesse, yet at last he gained one Captain *Pietro Libertá* of *Corfica* by extraction, but born and bred in *Marseilles*, who with some certain foot guarded one of the Town gates; wherefore some of the Exiles being got unknown into the City, and having secretly stirred up the minds of many who hated the tyranny of *Casant*, and who feared the Dominion of the Spaniard, they resolved that upon the eighteenth day of February, the Duke of Guise should with a good number of Horse and Foot, be about break of day, at a neighbouring village, where if certain signes were given him by them of the plot, he should draw neer to the *Porte Royale*, (a gate so called) to be received in with all his forces; whereupon having drawn the men together, which he had in that Province, except those of *les Diguieres*, (to whom he would not impart any thing of his designe, that he might not share in the honour of it,) he made shew that he would go and besiege a Town within five Leagues of *Marseilles*; and whilest mens minds were amused on that side, he turning his forces another way, the evening before the day appointed, advanced with very great silence towards the City, in which march, though in a very dark, and extream rainy night, and through dirty uneven wayes, he made so much haste, that he came in the morning, according to appointment, to certain houses neer unto the Church of *S. Julian*, to expect there till the counter signes were given him.

The Duke of Guise plots to get into *Marseilles* by means of Captain *Libertá* of *Corfica*, who guarded a porte there.

They that were of the plot, doubting that the strange ill weather might have stayed the Dukes journey, sent some of their souldiers forth of the gates, to the end that discovering (according to the custom) if the coast were cleer round about, they might come to know whether he were arrived or no; These returning back with exceeding great haste, and saying they had discovered armed men, under *S. Julians*, were the cause that *Louis d' Aix* (who was come to the gate a while before)

before) after he had given the Consull notice of the discovery, went out himself with twenty of his most trusty men, to see whether that were true which the souldiers related. As soon as he was out of the gate, they of the designe shut down all the portcullices; nor was it long before the Consull came, who while he was questioning the souldiers of what they had reported, was suddenly set upon by *Pietro Libertá*, and four of his companions, and being at first knock'd down with a great blow of a *Partesan*, was presently killed by them with their daggers; which being luckily effected, and the whole guard willingly following the wil of their Captain, the Countersignes were given by fire to the Duke of *Guise*, who being advanced to draw neer unto the Gate, met with *Aix* the Lieutenant-Governour, and without much dispute routed him so, that being wounded, and in a very ill taking, he ran back, where having found the gate shut, and possessed, he was constrained to save himself in the moat, and from thence scaling the wall neer unto the haven, got into the utmost parts of the City, where calling all his adherents into Arms, together with *Fabian Casant* Son to the Consull who was already slain, he marched up tumultuously with above five hundred armed men to recover the gate; but in the mean time, it had been opened, and the Duke of *Guise* was entred with his forces, and on the other side, the exiles calling the Citizens and common people to liberty, had rais'd the whole Town; wherefore after that *Aix* and *Casant* had fought for the space of half an hour at the entry of the street that led to the Port Royall, the tumult still increasing every where of those that being in armes cryed out *Vive le Roy, et Les Fleurs-delis*, they fearing to be catch'd in the midst, retyred into the Town-house, where being fiercely press'd by the Duke of *Guise*, who among the bullets, stones, pieces of wood and fire works, which flew on every side, fought undauntedly at the head of his men, they being unable to resist, fled secretly from thence, and crossing the haven in a boat, got one of them into *S. Maryes* Church, and the other into the Convent of *S. Victoir*, and their men being left without help, were in a very little time all cut in pieces.

The whole City was already run to the Duke of *Guise*, with white scarfes; whereupon he not loosing a minutes time, at the same instant assaulted, and with small resistance possessed himself



1596

After a short  
fight the Duke  
of Guise makes  
himself Master  
of the City &  
Forts of Mar-  
seilles, and  
drives Carlo  
Doria's Gal-  
lies out of the  
Haven.

himself of the Forts of *S. Jehan*, and of *Cape de More*, which are upon the Sea, and from thence began without delay to play his Artillery upon *Doria's* Gallies, which were gotten neer the mouth of the Haven: great was the fight and tumult in the Gallies; but *Doria*, who had wisely kept himself far from the Forts, and in the beginning of the uproar had made all his Souldiers imbarke, got out happily without receiving any harm, and putting out to Sea made away from the City. The Duke of *Guise* victorious every where, was busied all that day in taking care that the Town might not be indammaged in the tumult, and having lodg'd his men in the most principall posts, made himself absolute Master of the City, with so much the greater facility, because with his courage in fighting, and prudence in appeasing the uproar, he had exceedingly wonne the affections of the *Marsilians*. *Louis d'Aix*, and *Fabian Casant* yeelded the next day after, having articulated, that they might go freely to *Genona* with their goods, and that none of their adherents should be proceeded against with more then banishment; the City in this manner remaying free from their usurped Dominion, and utterly reduced unto the Kings obedience. The gaining of this place was very seasonable, and of great consequence, being a principall Port of the Mediterranean Sea, and a proper landing place for the commerce of many nations; and so much the more seasonable was it at that time, when the Spanish power had already got footing in it; for if with the benefit of time, they had settled themselves there, it would have been wondrous difficult, by reason of the neernesse of the Catholick Kings other States, to drive them out again.

In the mean time while the reunion of the County of *Provence* is thus prosecuted, the besieged in *la Fere* were reduced to exceeding great want of victuall; wherefore *Nicolo Basti*, who was destined to carry them relief, being come to *Donay*, was considering with himself which way he should manage the busines to get some quantity of provisions into the Town; and every resolution seeming difficult, not only because the Kings Cavalry, did with very great diligence obstruct all the ways, but because the narrow passages that led to the Town were so much incumbered by the largeness of the Forts, that there was no hope of getting past them; and yet necessity urging, he gave *Alvaro Osorio* notice, that he should keep some little boats ready

ready to come forth of the Town as soon as the sign was given him, and to draw neer the banks of the fenne, to receive the releif which he would attempt to bring unto that place, which intelligence being happily got into the Town, and the appointment made, he marched from *Doway* with six hundred horse, and came by night to *Castelet*, where he caus'd the Gates to be kept lock'd, to the end that the French might not know any thing of his design: and having that day provided that every one of his men should carry a bag of meal behind him, and a bundle of match about his neck, (for they had also great want of that in *la Fere*) he set forth when it began to grow dark, and having past the river *Somme*, went upon the way of *S. Quentin*, and leaving that Town upon the right hand marched with so much diligence, that upon the sixteenth day of March in the morning, he came neer the quarters of the Kings Cavalry, who being advertised by the sentinells shootings, took the Alarm and got speedily to horse, beleeving that some relief of the Enemy was neer; but a thick mist which by chance rose by break of day, was so favourable to *Basti's* designs that the Kings *Corps de Gardes*, betaking themselves to their arms on all sides, could not discover which way the Enemy came; and while they warily endeavoured to know and make discovery, *Basti* without meeting any body, passing between the quarter of the *Reiters*, and that of the Duke of *Bonillon*, came to the banke of the Fen neer the current of the river, and having found *Oforio* ready with his boats to receive the relief, he made the meal and match be unladed with great celerity, faced about, and with the same speed, seeing the French and Germane Cavalry, who at last having notice of his arrivall, had placed themselves upon the road of *S. Quentin* to hinder his retreat, he took a contrary way, and falling into that which leads to *Guise* came back fortunately to *Cambray*, without meeting any opposition.

*Nicolo Basti*  
under favour  
of a thick mist  
passes through  
the Kings  
quarters, carries  
relief to the be-  
sieged of *la*  
*Fere* and re-  
turns to *Cam-*  
*bray* without  
the least

This releif (in which industry and fortune were equall sharers) gain'd *Basti* a wonderfull reputation; yet gave but little help to the besieged; the meal that was brought lasting them but a little while, by reason of their great number, and the King who from day to day had new forces came up to him, streightened the siege more closely, and stopt up all the wayes, which being cut off and fortified with banks and trenches, and kept with strong guards of horse, left no hope at all of

Rrrrrrrr

thinking



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The King makes the course of the River *Somme* to be stoppt with a design to make the water rise into *la Ferte*, but after many difficulties, the effect answers not the intention.

thinking of new relief. But the siege being prolonged by the constancy of the Defendants, the King was perswaded by the reasons of some of his Engineers, to stop the course of the river which caus'd the fen on the lower side, thinking to make it swell and rise in such manner, that the Defendants should be constrained either to yeeld or drown. This work was begun with an exceeding great number of *Pioneers*, drawn together from all the neighbouring places, but though they wrought at it with great art and no lesse assiduity, yet the raines of the season, which from time to time increased the current of the River, which ordinarily was quiet and gentle, hindred the progresse by breaking down the banks, often carrying away the piles, and in one hour frustrating the labours of many dayes; and yet the King being himself present at the work, it was at last brought to perfection; but it was no sooner finished, when it appeared how deceitfull the fancies of Engineers prove oftentimes; for the Town being much higher then the Fen, (a thing foreseen from the beginning by many, and constantly oppugned by the authors of the design,) the water rose not above a foot or two in the Town, and was so long making that increase, that the inhabitants had conveniency to remove their things into higher places, without receiving any damage; though the water falling within two dayes, by having broke through the lowest part of the fen in many places, the Town remained full of dirt and mud, by the exhalation whereof the air being corrupted, caused dangerous diseases in the Town, so that the besieged being endamaged only by accident, and after the space of many dayes, the labours and endeavours of the Kings Army proved fruitlesse in their principall intent.

There yet remained the wonted hope of Famine, which after so many months Siege encreased exceedingly, and was already become irreparable, nor did any thing make the defendants hold out, but hope of relief. The Cardinal was intent with his utmost indeavours upon giving it to them; for having in great part quieted those that had mutinied, and conveniently paid his men, he had set the Army in a readinesse to attempt the effecting of it, but none of his Commanders (among which the principall were the Duke of *Arescot*, the Marquesse of *Ranty*, and *Francisco de Mendoza* the Admiral of Aragon) counsell'd him to adventure his Camp upon that enterprize, and the reason was in a readinesse; for

not

not only the King in the space of many months, had had full conveniency to fortifie his own quarters extraordinarily, but that which imported more, he had put strong Garisons, and many Horſe into *S. Quentin Monſtrœil Boulogne*, and all the other Towns that ſtand round *la Fere*, in ſuch manner, that if the Spaniſh Camp ſhould paſſe beyond them to raiſe the ſiege, they remaining at their backs, would cut off the wayes, and take away the concourſe of Proviſions; ſo that if the enterprize of making the King diſlodge, ſhould require many dayes, (as it was certainly to be doubted) the Army would be put in danger of ſome hard encounter; To this was added that the King having after the publication of the agreement, received the Duke of Mayene with great demonſtrations of honour, being come with his attendants to wait upon him in the Camp before *la Fere*, and the Conſtable *Montmorancy*, the Duke of *Montpenſier*, and the greater part of the Lords of all the Kingdom being come unto the Army, he had under his colours eighteen thouſand Foot, and little leſſe then five hundred Horſe, an Army ſo potent, eſpecially by reaſon of the valour of the Cavalry, that it was neceſſary to proceed with great circumſpection, in advancing ſo far into that Province, againſt ſo great Forces, and in the miſt of ſo many of the enemies Towns. The Cardinal likewise was not ignorant that the States of Holland deſirous that the war ſhould continue in France, had ſet forth a fleet of many ſhips to land men at Boulogne, in relief of the King of France, and that the Queen of England, though the King conſented not to all her demands, had yet to uphold the common intereſts, ſent out a Navie to his aſſiſtance, with eight thouſand Foot aboard it, which it was beleevd were to land in the ſame place; wherefore the Commanders doubted that theſe forces uniting together, it would not onely be vaine to attempt to relieve *la Fere*, but alſo very dangerous to make their retreat.

Theſe cauſes fully debated in the Councell, made the Cardinal take a reſolution to try to doe it by way of diverſion; for by encamping before ſome Place of importance belonging to the King, either he ſhould conſtrain him to riſe from *la Fere* with his whole Army, to ſuccour the place ſo ſtraightned; or if (perſiſting in the ſiege) he ſhould not care to relieve it, he might eaſily get another place as good as *la Fere*. But there aroſe



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no lesse difficulties in chosing the place, that should be pitched upon; for *Guise*, *Han*, *Guines*, and the other such like places that were nearest to Flanders, were not to be compared unto *la Fere*; and *S. Quentin*, *Monstreüil*, and *Boulogne* were so well fortified, and mann'd, that it was impossible to think of attaining them; so that between the ambiguitie of these considerations, the Cardinal would have been long unresolved, if *Monsieur du Rosne* had not secretly perswaded him to a new enterprize not foreseene by any other body.

*Monsieur du Rosne* was by long experience versed in all the King of France his fortresses, and the example of things past made him remember how easily *Calais* might be taken; for by how much more the strength of it by situation, and art made it in appearance be counted impregnable, so much lesse carefull were the defendants to guard it with that diligence wherewith places of such high importance ought to be kept; wherefore while that Town was under the Dominion of the Kings of England, the smallnesse of the garison they kept in it had invited *Francis Duke of Guise* to besiege it in the year 1557 which also had so happy an event, that contrary to the Common expectation, he made himself Master of it only by that defect, which coming often into *du Rosne's* mind, he as being curious and full of industry had got certain information that *Monsieur de Bidassan* Governour of the place at that present, had not above six hundred Foot in it; a Garison no way sufficient to make it good: either private interest, or the generall error of men, having perswaded him to trust more to the strength of his works, then to the number and valour of the defendants; some add that the King of France, having sent the *Sieur de la Noue* and *de la Valliere* to view the condition of all the places standing upon the Frontiers of Picardy, they not making their visitation with that secrecie, which ought to go along with such like businesses, had with the French lightnesse discoursed very freely of the weake estate of those Frontiers, and the strength of *Calais* so magnified by fame, being objected to them, they inconsiderately answered, that whosoever should assault that Fortresse in the place, and manner that was fitting, the taking of it would be but twelve dayes businesse; which words being told *du Rosne* by one that he had imployed as a Spie, excited him to search out the place and manner which these

*Francis Duke of Guise recovered Calais from the English Anno 1557 being thereunto invited by their negligence in guarding and maintaining it.*

these discoverers had intimated. Thus being fallen into a thought, that he might obtain the Town, famous for its fortification by reason of its standing upon the Sea, and the qualitie of the Haven opportune for the affairs of Flanders, and England, he with his reasons made the Cardinal Arch-Duke incline unto it, and so much the rather, because all other enterprizes were thwarted with exceeding great difficulties.

But having determined between themselves to apply their minds to this attempt, without making any outward shew of it, they made all the other Commanders beleieve they would assault *Montrevil* a place standing upon the straight way that leads to *la Fere*, and lesse considerable then either *S. Quentin* or *Boulogne*; and with this pretence, having caused great provision to be made of victuall and carriages to bring them to *Doway*, *Arras* and the other confining places, the Cardinal having appointed *Valentiennes* for the generall Rendezvous of his Forces, went thither personally upon the thirtieth of March, where having mustred his Army, in which were six thousand Spanish Foot, six thousand Walloons, two thousand Italians, and four thousand Germans, twelve thousand men at armes, and Cuirassiers, and little lesse then two thousand light Horse, he divided his forces into many parts, and made them march severall ways, to hold the enemies in the greater suspence. He sent *Ambrogio Landriano* towards *Montrevil* with part of the light Horse, and with the Marquesse of *Trevico's* Tertia; with the rest of the light Horse *Basti* marched into the Territory of *Cambray*; *Agostino Messia* with a Tertia of Spaniards, and two of Walloons went towards *S. Paul*, and the Count *de Bossu* with the Flemish Troops took towards *Arras* and *Bethune*; which outward shews while they held those of their own side in suspence no lesse then the French, Monsieur *du Rosne* with the Spanish Tertia's of *Ludovico Valasco*, and *Alonso Mendoza* and four hundred Horse went out of *Valentiennes* upon the fourth of April in the evening, and marched all the night to *S. Omer*, where having joyned with Colonel *la Berlotte* and the Count *de Bugnoy* who stayed there for them with two Tertia's of Walloones, he tooke along with him three pieces of Canon, and four of smaller Artillery, and advanced speedily towards *Calais*, where he arrived so much the more unexpectedly, because being a place

Monsieur du  
Rosne besieges  
Calais with  
the Spanish  
Army.



1596 place out of the way, standing in the utmost point of a tongue of land which advances it self a great way into the Sea, neither the Spaniards nor the French had ever thought of defending or besieging it.

\*The author is mistaken, for it is but seven Leagues.

The description of the situation of Calais.

*Calais* stands upon the shore of the Ocean Sea in the furthest parts of a Promontory not above \* thirty Leagues from England, and hath a very large Haven, which sheltred on each side with great high banks of sand, (which they commonly call *les Dunes*) is made secure and commodious for a very great number of ships. The Town is invironed almost quite round with low grounds where the Sea overflowes, and drownes the plaine for many miles, and being shut up within four banks by a very large moat, it is of a square forme, having at three of the angles (besides many great Towers, and Ravelines along the Courtine) as many Royall Bastions of modern structure, with their Cavaliers within them, and at the fourth angle which reaches from the West unto the North, stands the Castle, built likewise of a square forme, but with great Towers of the old fashion, that flank it round about. The moats are very large and deep, for they receive the water on both sides, and the Town which is little lesse then a League in circuit, is all fortified round with thick Ramparts, though (by reason of the carelesnesse of the Governours) in many places (by length of time) grown defective, and in some, decayed and fallen down. On the outside along the Haven, there is a great Suburb full of Inhabitants in regard of traffick, and the conveniency of marriners, and on that side a great Current of waters which coming from the fenny grounds, is straightned all into one Channel, and crossing through the Town, empties it self impetuously into the Sea. On the other side of the Haven, and in the point of the *Dunes* which cover it on the North side, there stands a great and exceeding strong Tower, called the *Risbane* which shutting up the mouth of the Haven, is well stored with pieces of Canon, and with great ease hinders any kind of ships from entring into it. But on the side of the firm land (which in respect of the moorish grounds that largely inviron it, is very narrow) about a League from the City there stands a bridge over a water that runs into the Sea, which being fortified with Towers, doth totally shut up the passage which leads to the Town along a very narrow bank; this is call'd the *Fauxbourg de Nieuwet*.

Monsieur

Monfieur *du Rosne* knew that all the hope of obtaining this Fortrefle, was placed in speedily poffeffing this bridge of *Nieulet* and the *Risbane*; for if he took not *Nieulet*, it would be very hard to paffe the water, and come under the Town, and if he poffeffed not himfelf of the *Risbane*, fo that he might be Master of the mouth of the Haven, there would come fuch fupplies into the Town by Sea, that there would no longer be any building upon the fmall number of the Defendants; wherefore marching to *S. Omer* with admirable celerity in regard of the Artillery he had along with him, he came upon the ninth of Aprill in the morning by break of day within fight of *Nieulet*, and without giving the Defendants (who were not above forty) time either to take courage, or to receive affiftance, he made it be affaulted on the one fide by the Spanifh, and on the other by the Walloon Foot, ftill playing with the four fmall peices, not becaufe they did any great harm, but to increafe the terrour of the Defendants, who being fo few, ill provided, taken at unawares, and (which imported moft) without any Commander who by his authority might keep them faithfull, they bafely quitted the defence, and retyred flying to the Town.

*Nieulet* being taken, *du Rosne* left four Companies of Walloons to guard that poft, & not loofing a minutes time, advanced at the fame instant to affault the *Risbane*, & having planted his Artillery in exceeding great hafte, began furiously to batter about noon; befides which, having drawn three of the fmall peices to the brink of the Haven, with them and with the Walloon Musketers, he hindred more defendants from entring into it, fo that they of the Suburb, that ftands on the far fide of the Haven, having often attempted to get in, were alwayes constrained to retyre. There were but fixty men in the *Risbane*, and thofe alfo without any confiderable head, infomuch that though the place was ftrong, and might have been defended many dayes, yet they as foon as they faw the affault was preparing againft them, utterly lofing courage, quitted it and being fallen upon and routed in the flight, fcarce thirty of them with the help of fome fmall boats, got fafe into the Suburb; *du Rosne* not fayling to profecute fo happy a beginning, entred into the *Risbane*; fet the Artillery again in order, and lodged many Foot in it, to the end that releif by Sea might more affuredly be hindred, and there was very great need of it;

for



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for the next morning, many ships of the Holland Fleet that was above *Boulogne* appeared, and laboured with all possible industry to get into the Haven; but being driven back and bored through by the Artillery of the *Risbane*, they were at last made to tack about; and one ship loaden with wine being sunk by many Canon shot in the mouth of the Port, the passage was so much the more stop't up, against whosoever should trye to enter; and yet two little barks of the Hollanders, with two Captains and eighty men, got in fortunately, and landing in the Suburb, stay'd there for the defence of it.

The Arch-Duke *Albert* comes with the rest of the Army to the Camp before *Calais*.

In the mean time the Cardinall of *Austria* having had notice of the prosperous progresse of his forces, turning all his Army that way, marched thither with the same celerity upon Maundy-Thursday (being the eleventh of Apr.) in the evening, and having designed the quarters of the Campe, between *Casal de Mer*, the bridge of *Nieulet*, and the way that leads to *Gravelin*, he encamped in the Church of *S. Pierre*; half a League from the walls. The Towne being besieged, and their quarters in respect of the situation (which was all moorish grounds, and full of ditches) easily fortified; *du Rosne* well inform'd of the defect of the wall on that side that stands towards the suburb, resolv'd to plant a battery in the utmost part of the Haven; for though the impediment of passing it seem'd in appearance exceeding great, yet he had observ'd that at the ebbing of the Sea, the water fell in such manner that the utmost part of the Haven remained dry, and the bottom was so firm and gravelly, that it afforded very convenient means of marching on to the assault; but that he might not leave the besieged without trouble on the other side, and to deride their weaknesse, he purposed to make another battery, over against the way to *Gravelin*; though the wall on that side was extremely well lin'd with earth, and defended by the flanks of the two Royall bastions. Both the Batteries were perfected upon the fourteenth day of the month being Easter-day, and upon munday in the morning, as soon as it was light, they began to thunder furiously on both sides; nor did the Defendants (disheartned by the smalnesse of the number) make any attempt to hinder the enemy, and only the first day, while the *Risbane* was battered, they fallyed to bring in the goods, and victualls; nor from that day forward durst they attempt any other businesse.

The Defendants of *Calais* without attempting any thing for their defence, suffer the Spaniards to prosecute the siege.

In this state of Affairs the King having had intelligence of the moving of the Spanish Camp, and not being able to discern, which way it would bend at last, left the Constable to command the Army before *la Fere*, & march'd with 600 horse and the Regiment of his Guard to *Abbeville*, and from thence sent forth the *Sieur de Monluc* with 2000 foot to *Montrueil*, doubting (as some reported) that the Spanish Army would fall upon that Town; but having upon the 13 day, had notice that the Camp was suddenly gone before *Calais*, he sent the same *Monluc*, the Count *de S. Paul* Governour of the Province, and the *Marquesse de Belin* with great diligence to imbarke at *S. Vallery*, and try to get into the Town; and though they boldly executed the orders they had received, yet being driven back by contrary winds which blew impetuously all those dayes, they were constrain'd to return to the same place without fruit; wherefore the K. become impatient at the neer danger of his subjects, would needs go personally into that Port, & the crosse weather stil continuing, he went to *Boulogne*, the next day hoping (as the seamen said) that it would not be so difficult to relieve the besieged from thence; but being come to *Boulogne*, & the same winds holding, the difficulties were the same, or perhaps greater; nor was there any thought of giving the besieged any succour by land, as well the bridge of *Nieulet* as *Casal de Mer* being strongly guarded, and the Enemies whole Army encamped on that side; wherefore the King for a last resolution, having put some chosen Foot aboard certain ships, sent them forth to ride therabout, and fight with the diversity of weather, that they might be ready upon the first gale of a favourable wind, to get by some means or other into the Haven; but neither was this course any way beneficiall; for the ships long tosse'd, and driven into severall places, could never get neer the Haven, and if they had, they would certainly have been beaten back by the *Risbane*.

At the same time the King dispatch'd many Shallops to the English Fleet to hasten the coming of it, hoping if those men could be landed time enough, to make some gallant attempt, and force the Cardinall to raise his Camp from before that Town; but it was all in vaine; for the English Fleet gathered together in the Haven at *Dover*, and ready to set sayle, was yet detained by the Queens different intention.

The French Ambassadors, & particularly *Monsieur de Sancy*

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newly



1596 (newly gone thither for that purpose) treating closely of the conditions upon which the men should land, about which the Parties being not able to agree, by reason of the variety of interests, the time ran on without coming to any conclusion.

But in the interim, the Spanish Artillery having plaid upon Easter-munday from break of day till evening, and the opportunity of low water happening at that time, the Spanish Foot advanced on both sides to give a resolute assault. Fortune was not altogether so favourable to *du Rosne's* intentions in this as she had been before: for though the wind had fate right all that day for his Artillery, a thing of no small advantage to free him from the smoke, that he might play the faster; yet in the evening, continuing, nay blowing more stiffly every hour, it would not suffer the tide to fall so low, as that the farther part of the Haven might be quite dry; wherefore his Foot were faine to go above the knees in water, and in some places to the girdle, which retarding the assault, proved no small impediment; and yet having overcome that obstacle, and fought till nine of the clock at night (the Moon shining brightly in the full) the French having lost above an hundred of their men, and among them one of the Holland Captains, resolved to retire, and having fired the Suburb in all places, got safely into the Town. Upon Tuesday *du Rosne* drew his Artillery into the Suburb which they had quitted, and there being no flanks on that side that could hinder the Battery, he without any difficulty planted two and twenty Pieces upon the edge of the moat, with no other defence but single Gabions, and those not very high, and the next day began to batter the wall with so great fury, that not being lined with earth, it in a few hours gave a large conveniency of assaulting it: but while the Infantry, being Spaniards, Walloons, and Italians mixt together, prepare themselves to fall on, the defendants (terrified at the wideness of the breach, and the smallness of the number they were reduced to) sent forth a Drum to parley, and the same evening capitulated to leave the Town, and retire into the Castle, which they promised to surrender into the Cardinals hands, if they were not relieved within six days.

The defendants being few, when they saw the Spaniards ready to give the assault sent forth a Drum, and agree to surrender, if not relieved within six days.

The King, who was at *Boulogne*, quickly had notice of the composition of *Calais*, and of the Earl of Essex his answer, who was General of the English land-forces, with whom Monsieur de Sancy

*Sancy* having conferred, had entertained great hopes of getting the English to land, and that being reinforced by them, the Castle might be relieved within the appointed time; but the Earl was not so forward as he desired: for the King having often promised to give some place upon the Coasts of his Kingdom, for the conveniency and security of the English, and afterward with divers excuses deferred to do it, and his Ambassadors to Queen *Elizabeth* having at last (to get the Fleet to move for his relief) condescended to promise that it should be performed; the Earl refused to put into any Haven, or land men, unless first the promise were effectually observed; and though *Sancy* urging the exigency of the need, and the shortness of the time, desired the Earl to consider of what importance the conservation of Calais was to their common interests, yet was it not possible to move him from his determination: wherefore he was necessitated to write to the King to know his pleasure; who highly incensed that his Confederates should make use of his adversity to constrain him to their own appetites, answered resolutely, that he would rather be robbed by his Enemies, then by his Friends; and being minded to try what he could do by himself, he saw the fury of the wind which had been so contrary, all those days past not at all abated, and therefore he sent the *Sieur de Matelet* Governour of *Foix* with three hundred Foot, backed with a good number of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Cavalry, to strive to passe thorow the Enemies guards, and get in to relieve the Castle.

These coming by night close by the quarter of the Italians, commanded by the Marquess of *Trevico*, found such slack and careless guards, that without being perceived, they got all into the Castle, where the *Sieur de Matelet* having encouraged the Governour no lesse then the inhabitants and soldiers that were in it, after the time of truce was expired, they not onely refused to surrender, but protested they would defend themselves to the last man; wherefore the Cardinall being assured that some relief was got in unknown to him, gave order to Monsieur *du Rosne* valiantly to prosecute the assault, who having planted his Canon against the great Towers, or (as we may call them) Bulwarks of the Castle, battered them with so much diligence, that upon the six and twentieth day it was in a fit condition to be stormed. All the Italian

Monsieur de Matelet with 300 Foot gets into the Castle of Calais: whereupon the six days being expired, the defendants refuse to surrender.



1596 Foot fell on the next morning, who being desirous to cancell the reproach of having so carelesly suffered relief to passe in, fought desperately, and being seconded first by the Walloons, and then by the Spaniards, after a most bloody fight of six hours, the Governour *Bidossan* being slain, and above 400 souldiers cut in pieces, they at last entred the Castle, where the Italians put all the rest to the sword, except Monsieur de *Campagniole* and some few others, who having taken refuge in a Church, were received upon discretion. Above 200 of the Spanish Army were killed, among which Count *Guidubaldo Pacciotto* an Engineer of high esteem, and about 100 wounded, a losse very inconsiderable for the taking of a place accounted impregnable, and one of the principall ones of all France in so few dayes: but it had always been alike ill defended by the carelesnesse of those within, the effects being no way correspondent to the fame of the place.

The Spaniards  
storm the Ca-  
stle of Calais,  
kill the Gover-  
nour, and put  
all to the  
sword.

But the so easie and so sudden losse of Calais did not onely much perplex the King, but also put him in a necessity of agreeing with the Queen of England and the States of Holland; for *la Fere* being not yet given up, he thought it very hard to rise from that siege, and lose the expences and labours of so many months, to the no small decrease of his reputation; and on the other side, if he did not speedily receive Supplies from both places, he was not able to draw another body of an Army together, wherewith he might resist the victorious force of the Enemy; so that all other places in the Province would be given over, with little hope that they should defend themselves more constantly then Calais had done, a place excellently fortified by art and nature. Being moved with this consideration, and judging that the authority of the Duke of *Bouillon* would be very prevalent to work upon the Queen, whose determination he was certain would be followed by the Hollanders, he dispatched him into England with resolute orders, to the end that concluding a reciprocall Confederacy, the Fleet might set sail with all speed, to land men in the Port of Boulogne.

But the difficulties were great, and the Queen had no inclination to it; partly, because she intended to make use of the Kings necessity, to get a Port in his Kingdom; for which end, before Calais was lost, she had been backward to relieve it, that she might constrain the French to put it into her hand; partly,

partly, because seeing the King reconciled to the Catholick Religion, she thought it was in the King of Spain's power to conclude a Peace whensoever he would resolve no longer to molest the Kingdom of France: and therefore she difficultly inclined to put her self to new expences, which it was in the will of her enemies to frustrate and make ineffectuall; wherefore having stily denied for many dayes to hearken to any treaty of new obligations, she onely proffered to give those assistances for the time to come, which she could without such great inconvenience to her self as she had done in times past: and because the French pressed very earnestly to have the Earl of Essex come to Picardy with the Fleet; the English answered, that it was for the most part composed of ships and men that were Voluntiers, who had put themselves together under the conduct of the Earl, to make prize upon the Coasts of Spain, from which designe the Queen had not power to take them off, having granted them licence for that purpose; and that neverthelesse they would be of great advantage to the King of France his affairs; for the damage the Kingdome of Spain would receive thereby, would divert the Catholick Kings Forces from the War of Picardie. But these hopes and remedies were very far off, and the Duke of *Bouillon* offering to consider the interests of their common Religion, if the prosperity of the Spaniards should still increase, excited both the principall Ministers, and the Queen her self to imploy her utmost Forces in so urgent and so neer an occurrence: and he moved much with his authority, eloquence, and reasons, but most of all by being of the same Religion; for he seemed to be principally zealous for the common interests, and for the conservation of the Hugonot party in France, to the end the King might not be constrained to come to such an Agreement with the Spaniards as might be prejudiciall to the States of Holland, to the quiet of England, and to the liberty of Conscience in his own Kingdom: and yet the businesse went on so slowly, and with such weighty difficulties, that though the Confederacy with England was at last concluded, differing little from the other contracted with King *Charles* the Ninth, and without obligation to consign any Place (for shame made the English to desist from that demand): and though the Duke of *Bouillon* went with an Ambassadour from the Queen into Holland, where the same Confederacy was established;

A League concluded between Henry IV and the Queen of England, little different from that which had been made by the English with *Charles* the IX.

yet



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yet the time was so far spent, that the affairs of Picardie were no way relieved by it, and the Earl of *Essex* his Fleet having scowred the Coasts of Spain, was dissolved without having done any thing considerable.

While this League was treated of in England, the Cardinal Arch-Duke not depending upon any body but himself, after he had spent ten dayes in making up the breaches at *Calais*; *Guines* and *Han* having surrendred at the bare summons of a Trumpet, he determined to set upon *Ardres*, a place of a good circuit, excellently fortified, and standing but three Leagues from *Calais*, by the taking whereof he thought he should absolutely secure what he had gotten: and though the situation of it seemed very difficult, because standing on the top of an hill, it (as a *Cavalier*) commands all the Plain below it, which extends it self a little more then Canon-shot, and from the Plain there are Mountains and Woods as unfit to encamp in, as opportune for the Ambushes of an Enemy; yet the Cardinal encouraged by his prosperous successes, sided with the opinion of *Monsieur du Rosne*, who hoped to carry it before the King could be disintangled from *la Fere*, and able to relieve it.

There were in *Ardres* the *Marquesse de Belin* Lieutenant of the Province, *Monsieur d'Annebourg* Governour of the Town, and the *Sieur de Monluc*, who was come in to reinforce it, and they had with them little lesse then two thousand Foot, a hundred and fifty Horse, and convenient provisions of Artillery, Ammunition, and other things necessary for defence. And because the Siege had been foreseen by the Commanders, they had laboured with all possible diligence not onely to better the Fortifications of the Town, but also to repair those of the Suburb that stands towards *Boulogne*; for that being the side on which Batteries might most easily be raised, they determined by defending the Suburb to keep the Enemy as far as was possible from the Wall. The Authour of this counsell was the Governour of the Town, a Souldier not onely of much valour, but also of great experience, whose designe was to defend the ground span by span, to give the King so much time, that *la Fere* falling, he might come to succour that place before the last extremities: but the *Marquesse de Belin* was of another minde, and thought it a pernicious counsell to lose men in defending uselesse places, and  
such

such as were not tenable; wherefore he would have had them only engage themselves in maintaining those posts, which for their quality might belong made good; and yet all the other Commanders being of opinion that the holding of the Suburb would be a benefit of great importance, the Governours advice carried it; and there was a convenient guard put in there to keep it; Another difference of opinion there was among the Commanders; for the *Marquesse* would have had the enemy molested, and their works hindred by smart Counterbatteries, without sparing ammunition; and on the other side the Governour judging their store but small, in respect of so great waste, desired it might be husbanded to prolong the defence, that they might not want a thing so necessary in their greatest exigencie; and because the *Marquesse's* authority was above his, he kept part of the Ammunition hid, to the end they might make use of it opportunely when the other was spent.

With these discords (which to the great prejudice of mens own affairs, do commonly reign where more then one commands) they in the Town prepared themselves for the defence; but the Cardinal Arch-Duke having left *Juan de Rivas* in the Government of *Calais*, upon the sixth of May moved with the whole Army, and made his first quarters at *Guines*, the next day he marched to the walls of *Ardres*, so early, that in that day and the next their quarters were perfected and fortified, which being made (as far as they could possibly) out of reach of the Canon of the Town, were not yet very neer to the hills and woods; but between the hills and their Works there remained so much space, that the Squadrons as well of Foot as Horse might commodiously spread themselves in battalia; and upon all the ways that through the woods come down the hills, strong *Corps de Gardes* were placed with double trenches, and double works before them, or to say better, behind them, in those places that stood toward *Boulogne*, *Montrueil*, and the other of the King of France his Towns: the Army being encamped and secured with wondrous diligence, upon Thursday the ninth of May *Agostino Messia's* Spanish Foot, and Colonel *la Berlotte's* Walloons advanced to make their approaches, that they might get under the works of the Suburb; but the *Sieur de Morluc*, whose fierceness passed by no occasion of troubling the Enemy, sallied out so briskly to skirmish, that their works were  
forflowed

The Arch-Duke marches with his Army to besiege *Ardres*.



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forflowed for a long time and after that another Tertia of Infantry under *Jago Tessedá*, & Colonel *Coquel's* Walloons came to reinforce the besiegers, and that *Monluc* was constrained to retire, the Marqueſſe began ſuch a furious Counterbattery that they were neceſſitated to intermit their work and ſtay till night; but it being very clear and light, the Artillery ceaſed not to play with great damage to the beſiegers, who nevertheleſſe conſtantly overcoming all obſtacl'es, got to the Counterſcarpe of the Suburb, and the next morning planted ſome pieces of Canon to facilitate their entry; but becauſe *Monluc* ceaſed not to ſally every hour, & to keep thoſe that wrought in great perplexity, they made no great progreſſe til' he being taken with a Canon ſhot, was miſerably torn in pieces; for after his death, there being no Commanders ſo valiant or ſo diligent, the beſiegers began to batter the Works of the Suburb, which by reaſon of their weakneſſe being eaſily beaten down, they made an aſſault with ſo much violence, that the defendants were constrained to quit it with the loſſe of above 40 men; but while the Spaniards and Walloons enter pel-mel, *Monſieur de Montant*, a Colonel of French Infantry ſel upon them ſo ſharply, that after a bloody conflict of two hours he recovered the Suburb, having impetuoſly driven out the Enemy with the loſſe of 300 of the ſtouteſt ſouldiers of the Army; and yet the next day the Canon having plaid from morning till noon, the Foot ſtorm'd it in 4 ſeveral places, in each of which fighting gallantly, Colonel *la Berlotte* was ſore wounded, *Agostino Meſſia* ſtruck upon the head with a ſtone, and the Suburb was defended till the evening; but the aſſault being renewed on all ſides, the next morning the Marqueſſe conſidering the weakneſſe of the Place, gave the defendants order to retire, that he might not loſe ſo great a number of valiant ſouldiers: and yet the Enemies purſuing cloſely, and they that were at the Town-gate fearing leſt they ſhould get in pel-mel with their own men, let the Portcullis fall ſo ſoon, that above 200 of them were ſhut out and cut in pieces.

Monſieur de  
*Monluc* killed  
with a Canon-  
ſhot.

The Foot covered themſelves diligently in the Suburb, and *Monſieur du Roſne* having determined to play upon that ſide, cauſed two batteries to be raiſed, one of which was plyed by the Spaniards with nineteen pieces of Canon, and the other by the Walloons with ſeventeen pieces of ſeveral ſizes, the works of which being not yet finiſhed; the Counter-battery of

of the Town did a great deal of mischief on all sides ; but after the batteries were sufficiently covered, and that the artillery began to thunder against the Flanks of the Bastions, the Marquesse either out of meanesse of courage, (as the generall opinion of men would have it) or because he thought it impossible to defend that place, and had a desire to save himself and so many other valiant defendants for a better occasion ; called the principall Officers to Councell, and strove to persuade them to surrender : but the Governour opposing, and likewise *Charles Sieur de Rambours* a man of great note in that Province, the Officers answered, that they would defend themselves to the utmost ; and the Marquesse replying that all the ammunition was already spent, and that he had no longer wherewithall to defend themselves ; the Governour made known that he had hid and preserved so much, as being discreetly disposed of, would be sufficient for many days, and that in the mean time they might be relieved by the King, to whom he beleev'd *la Fere* would yeeld at last ; to which words the Marquesse replied angerly that he deserved to be punished for having concealed the true quantie of ammunition from his superior Officer, and that two dayes more or two dayes lesse imported little, for he knew that the King would not take *la Fere* so easily ; and going incensed from the Councell, though many protested against it, he presently sent out a Captain and articulated to march forth with their armes and baggage, their Colours flying and Drums beating, and that the Townsmen might be free to stay or go as they pleased ; but those that stayd were to acknowledge the King of Spain to be their supreme Lord. Thus to the wonder of all men, and the great murmuring of his souldiers, the Marquesse marched forth with all his men in armes upon the twenty third of May towards *la Fere* ; but Captain *Mainferme* one of the Captains of the Garison, having the guard of a Bastion towards the Spanish quarters, would by no means consent to the agreement, and though the enemies were Masters of all the rest of the Town, he intrenched himself within the circuit of his Bastion, and defended himself undauntedly, till the Artillery being planted, and all his defences beaten down, he thought he might honourably march away.

The Marquesse de Belin having called a counsell of war proposes to give up the place ; the Governour with the other Officers opposes it ; but he sending forth a Captain capitulates with the enemy.

The day before this, the besieged in *la Fere* being reduced to extreme necessitie, and knowing by the effects the Cardinals intention, that being intent to divert and take new Pla-

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1596 ces, he had no hope to relieve them any other way, at last yeelded to the Kings power, having by their constancy afforded time and conveniency to make so great and so important successes; the King desirous to disengage himself, that he might think of relieving *Ardres*, granted them the conditions they demanded; for it was agreed without contradiction, that the *Seneschall de Montelimar* avouched Count of *la Fere*, and *Alvaro Oforio* Governour of the garison, should march forth with all their souldiers Foot and Horse, which their Armes offensive and defensive, all their baggage, Cornets and Colours flying, Trumpets sounding, Drums beating, lighted match, and bullet in mouth, and should be convoy'd safely as far as *Castelet*: that they might take along with them one piece of Canon which had not the Armes of France upon it, and ammunition for ten shots: that the *Seneschall* should be acquitted of all the payments; rents & contributions received, and that there might be no inquest made for any past action, or crime either against him, or any others of the Garison, nor any of them molested for the debts they had contracted; That the Inhabitants taking an oath of Allegiance, should be used as good Subjects, and pardoned all past offences, and whosoever would go forth with the Garison, might have liberty to depart.

*La Fere* yeeld-  
ed to the King,  
who desirous  
to relieve *Ar-  
dres*, grants the  
besieged very  
large Condi-  
tions.

With those Articles *la Fere* yeelded it self unto the King upon the two and twentieth day, and the next morning he impatient of delay, moved with all his Cavalry, towards *Ardres*, leaving the Constable to follow him with all the rest of the Army, intending to draw neer by the way of the woods, and by all means to try his fortune; but he had not marched above two miles when the news came of the Marquesses composition, which seemed so much the more bitter to him, by how much the more lively the hopes were he had entertained of relieving that place. Being struk with a most piercing grief, and no lesse kindled with a most just disdain, seeing the course of all his designes cut off, by the pusillanimity of one man, he would not suffer the Marquesse to come into his presence, either judging him unworthy of his sight, or doubting he should not be able to containe his indignation: but having caused his processe to be made by the Mareschal *la Chastre*, he was often times minded to take away his life ignominiously; yet Madame *Gabriele* interposing effectually, and begging for him, the sentence published after many dayes delay, contained nothing but that he should be deprived of

all his Offices , and confined perpetually to his owne lands. 1596

*Ardres* being taken on the one side, and *la Fere* on the other, the Common opinion was, that the Armies would meet, and that the King desirous to make up his losses, and being grown strong by the concourse of all the Nobility of his Kingdom , was resolved not to passe by any occasion which might opportunely invite him to a Battell: But the Cardinall Arch-Duke more intent to keep what he had gotten, then forward to adventure his Army to new dangers, and being recalled by the urgency of the affairs of *Flanders*, left *Villeverde* a Spanish Commander with a good Garison in *Ardres*, and in three dayes march retired into the Territory of *S.Omer*, and from thence having had notice that the Cavalry left behind to guard the Provinces of *Flanders*, had been routed by the Garisons of *Bergen* and *Breda*, which freely overran all that Country, he marched further to oppose their incursions, and to turn the violence of his arms against the States, who during the Warre in France, got daily greater footing.

The Cardinall Arch-Duke leaving the Fortresses he had taken well provided, retires into *Flanders*.

The King stood long doubtful whether he should apply himself that yeer to the recovery of some of those places that were lost : but finding his Infantry (the principal instrument for the taking in of strong Towns ) much out of case, by their long lying before *la Fere* : for besides the continual watchings and toils of so many months, the ilnesse of the air in lowe moorish places, had bred many diseases among his men ; who having spent the winter in much hardship, began now to feel the effects of their sufferings. Besides this, he wanted the most important sinew of War : for many Provinces being newly returned to his obedience, and the rest that had been for him before, being undone by the War, the whole revenue of the Kingdom was, by long troubles and infinite disorders, quite out of frame ; insomuch that being utterly without money, he was not able to maintain his Army in *Picardy*, which Province by the last two yeers Wars, was in great part destroyed and desolate. To these two weighty difficulties, was added the ill successe the King had had in managing the War by his Commanders : wherefore being constrained to return to *Paris*, to receive the Pope's Legat, who was come to confirm, and make those things be performed, which

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had



1596 had been promised by his intercessours, in the act of the Benediction ; he thought he should reap but small fruit by his Army, in which he could not be present in person.

The King seeing his Army tired out with sufferings, divides it into Garisons, and goes to Paris to receive the Pope's Legat.

For all these reasons , after long doubtfulness in the Council, he determined to dismisse the Nobility, that he might have them again more fresh for future occurrences, and to distribute the rest of his Forces into the Garisons of the most important places , so that he might not fear the enemies unexpected return , and to go himself ( assoon as he had received and satisfied the Legat ) into some convenient City in the centre of his Kingdom , where having made an Assembly of the principal Magistrates from all the severall Provinces , he might apply himself with diligence to set his revenues in order , and regulate the domestick affairs of his Court , and to make fitting provisions, that upon a solid foundation he might set himself the next yeer to recover the places he had lost in Picardy. In the mean time he hoped the League with the Queen of England and the States , would be concluded ; so that uniting all his Forces , he intended to march so strong into the field, that the enemy should not able to forbid him the recovery of his own.

Having taken this resolution, he left the Mareschal *de Biron* with three thousand Foot and six hundred Horse upon the banks of the *Somme* , to the end that coasting along the River side, he might be ready upon any occasion that should happen in the Country. He left *Peronne*, *Bologne*, *Montrueil*, *Abbeville*, and *S. Quentin*, well guarded ; and the Count *de S. Paul* in *Amiens*, though that Citie , great and populous , alledging its ancient priviledges , refused to receive a Garison , being confident it should defend it self, as it had formerly done in the revolutions of so many Wars.

Cardinal *Alessandro de Medici*, who afterward was Pope *Leo II*, now Legat from the Pope, is received with great demonstrations of honour, by Monsieur *de les Diguieres*, though a Hugonot.

In this interim, *Alessandro de Medici*, Cardinal of Florence, and Legat from the Pope, was come into France, with mutual satisfaction as well of the King , who desired wholly to gain the Pope , as of the Pope himself , who could not perfectly quiet his minde , unlesse he established the ancient obedience and respect which was wont to be held by the Crown of France unto the Apostolike See. Wherefore being arrived upon the confines of *Dauphiné* , he was received with great pomp, and with the Army drawn up in Battalia , by Monsieur *de Les Diguieres* ; who though averse from the Catholike Religion,



ligion, omitted not any terms of duty and honour, as well in receiving him, as in waiting upon him to *Lyon*, where having stayed a few days, he hastened his journey, and went to *Montlins*; from whence though, in regard of the Plague, which was very hot in many places, he took a much longer way, yet he came upon the nineteenth of July to *Montlbery*, ten leagues from the Citie of Paris. Thither the King (not with publick pomp, but as in a familiar visit) coming from *Picardy*, posted with an hundred in his train to meet him; shewing, by his impatiencie to be with him, and his familiarity in meeting him, his affection toward the Pope, and his particular confidence in his person, which, besides noblenesse of birth, and maturity of yeers, had an exceeding great fame for wisdom, and ancient inclination to the affairs of the Crown. The principal Lords of the Court attended the King in this visit, but particularly the Duke of *Mayene*, to let the Legat see the sincere reconciliation that was between them, and how much the Heads of the Catholick party were esteemed and honoured. As the King in this first Interview omitted not any exquisite demonstration of reverence toward the majestie of the Pope, and toward the person of the Legat; so did not the Cardinal fail to shew himself so moderate, and so well disposed toward the interests of the King and of the Crown, that the good expectation formerly conceived of him, was turned into a very great affection.

The King goes  
post to *Montl-*  
*bery* to meet  
the Pope's Le-  
gat.

The King returned the next morning to Paris, and the Cardinal going on his journey, was met first a league from the *Fauxbourgs* by the young Prince of *Condé*, to the end that he might know how diligently he had endeavoured the Popes's satisfaction, in getting him out of the Hugonots hands: and at the gate of the *Fauxbourgs* he was received by Cardinal *Gondi*, all the Princes, and all the Court, with such a throng of people, that if the Dukes of *Mayene* and *Espernon*, alighting from their horses, had not with swords drawn made room among the people, there was some danger that the vehemence of those who crowded inconsiderately to honour him, might have stifled him in the heat and tumult. Thus being brought into the Citie with great joy and contentment of every one, he performed the wonted Ceremonies in the Cathedral of *Noistre-Dame*; and being conducted to his lodging furnished with the King's stuff, he with infinite courtesie received the visits of  
the

The Cardinal  
de *Medici*'s so-  
lemn entry into  
to Paris.



## *The History of the Civill Warres*

the Parliament, the first President *Harlay* speaking for all ; and then successively the other Magistrates of the Citie, and of many particular persons ; every one rejoycing to see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, the reconciliation as well of the King as Crown unto the Apostolick See.

In the Parliament they accepted and published the Commissions, or (as they call it) the power of the Legat : and though some of the Counsellours were of opinion that certain clauses should be added to the publication, which had been wont to be used in former times, to limit and circumscribe the authority of Legats within the priviledges of the *Gallique Church* ; yet the King would have them freely published as they were, without making mention of any such thing, to take away all scruple that might be had of the sincerity of his minde : a thing which redounding to the full satisfaction of the Pope, and the glory of his Papacie, not to finde that opposition which the other Popes before were wont to meet, was exceedingly well recompensed by the moderation of the Legat, whose dexterity well instructed by prudent Orders from Rome, still declined those occasions which might bring his authority, the priviledges of the Clergie, or the jurisdictions of the Crown into controversie ; the true and onely way to avoid the so hateful contentions of Jurisdiction, and a temper very proper as well to establish the received obedience, as to serve the difficult condition of the times. This, besides the Pope's prudence, and the Legat's moderation, was the counsel of *Giovanni Delfino* the Venetian Ambassadour at Rome, and who afterward was also Cardinal ; who well versed in the affairs of France, advertised both the Pope and the Legat, that they should not take particular notice of the excesses formerly committed in the Ecclesiastical affairs of France, while it was in a manner separate from the Church, before the Absolution ; but that feigning not to see many things that were past, they should content themselves with great patience and dexterity to regulate the future : which counsel greedily received, as from a person that was well versed, and very prudent, gave a rule to govern themselves by, in many difficult businesses that happened afterward.

The Ki. gives the first publick audience to the Legat at S. Maur, and ratifies all the Conditions accepted by his Procurators at Rome.

The Legat had his first publike audience at *S. Maur*, without the City, upon the first of August, in which the King ratified all the Conditions accepted by his *Procurators* in the Absolution

solution at Rome : by which ready demonstration having satisfied the Pope in all points exactly, he afterward received those Dispensations which the present conjuncture perswaded. From these things, appertaining to the majestie of Religion and of the Pope, the Cardinal-Legat passed to treat of those which concerned the quiet of the Kingdom, and the peace of Christians : for the Pope knowing how afflicted and how bloodlesse the Kingdom of France was, having been tormented with the so long Civil Wars, and how much need it had of ease and tranquillity to recover its ancient vigour ; and on the other side, considering how exhausted the King of Spain's coffers were, and how much oppressed and ruined his people, he saw the Crown of France, by continuing the War, was in great danger to be diminished, and the most Christian King necessitated still to keep neer correspondencies and interested friendships with Princes that were averse from the Catholick Church : and he believed on the other side, that King *Philip* being ill able to supply two so potent Wars, though neer, by keeping up the reputation of his Arms in Picardy, came to lose much of his own in Flanders, to the increase of the States of Holland, and the diminution of the Faith; wherefore he was resolved to mediate Peace between those two Crowns, well perceiving that neither of them would ever incline to demand it, if he, as a common Father, and independent Mediatour, should not interpose. To this was added the consideration of the War with the Turk, which was extreme fierce and hot in *Hungary*; which the Pope desiring the Christian Princes should vigorously concur in, that the Forces of the common enemy might not increase any more, he thought it chiefly necessary to make an Agreement between those Crowns, to the end that both together, or at least the King of Spain, for the common interest of the House of *Austria*, might be able to lend his assistance. He therefore had given strict Commission to the Legat, that assoon as the King's Absolution was ratified, he should presently begin to introduce this businesse, which he accounted not onely necessary for the security and repose of Christendom, but also highly glorious to the memory of his Papacie.

The point of Religion being settled, the Cardinal-Legat begins to promote a Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns.

Neither was the Cardinal (being a man of a milde peaceable nature, and full of experience in the affaires of the world) lesse ready to procure the generall good, and his

own



Emergents  
that perswade  
the King to  
desire peace  
with Spain.

own particular honour, then the Pope was carefull to incite him to it, so that in the first meetings after the publike audience at *S. Maur* he deferred not to found the Kings inclination, who no lesse quick-sighted then others in discovering the wounds of his Kingdom, and agreeing with the generall opinion of all men that peace was the only remedy to cure them, was enclined to embrace any kind of peace wherein his reputation might not suffer. The difficulties which his Ambassadors found in treating the League with England, perswaded him the same; for he perceived very well that the Queen aimed without regard to get some place in his Kingdom, that she might have means to keep him bound, and to procure greater matters as occasion should serve; and it was not unknown to him, that she by reason of the Irish commotions which were then in their height, was so much taken up, that though she had a desire to it, she was not able to spare many forces to his assistance. To this was added the condition of the Hollanders, who though they endeavoured to have the war continue in France, that the Spanish forces might be diverted and divided, yet had they not any ability to lend supplies unto their neighbours, whilst the war was so hot in all places at their own home. Neither were the Protestant Princes of Germany (whose minds were now bent upon the urgent necessity of the Turkish war) either able or willing to trouble themselves about the Kingdom of France; which they thought powerfull enough of it self to make head against the Armes of Spaine: insomuch that the King being able to promise himself little of the forreigne aids of his Confederates, was faine to make his whole foundation upon the forces of his own Kingdom.

But these were hindred and debilitated by many weighty accidents: For the Royall revenues by the ruines of Civill wars, and the multiplicity of abuses introduced, were subverted, and little lesse then brought to nothing, and the profit that was wont to rise from imposts and *Gabelles* in the Merchant Towns of the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas, was extremely diminished by interruption of the commerce with Spain, the West Indies and the Catholick Kings other territories; Nor did the trading in English and Dutch-bottomes help much; for navigation being interrupted, the businesse was reduced rather to a kind of piracy then traffick. To this  
want

want of money (the vitall substance of the war) were added other perturbations. The Duke of *Mercœur* yet in armes, and potent in *Bretagne* who with his forces overrunning and disquieting the Country, sometimes toward *Normandy*, sometimes towards *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, kept those Provinces in continuall commotion; *Provence* and *Dauphiné* not yet well reduced to obedience, and fiercely molested by the Duke of *Savoy*, so that it was necessary to keep two Armies there continually employed; and, which imported most of all, the Hugonots, either incensed, or grown jealous at the so neer conjunction between the King and the Pope, were in a manner up in Arms, and (asking liberty to meet together to take some course about their own affairs) shewed designs of new Insurrections: whereupon there was great danger, that before the Peace was totally established with the Catholicks, it would be necessary to begin a War with the Hugonots.

The Hugonots  
jealous of the  
Kings conjunc-  
tion with the  
Pope, begin to  
plot new trou-  
bles.

These causes moved the King to wish for Peace; but the spur of reputation, which had ever been very sharp in his minde, did make him in appearance desire War: wherefore in the first treaties with the Legat, he told him resolutely, that he would not accept of any kinde of Peace, unlesse first all the places taken were restored, and all the losses of the Crown repaired; adding such lively ardent speeches, as shewed he would not lend an ear to a negotiation of Peace, till first by his Arms he had set his reputation up again in War: and yet the Legat gathering the King's secret intention from the state of affairs, which were very well known to him, being upon the place; and judging it by all means necessary to break the ice first, though there appeared no glimpse of hope, he dispatched Father *Bonaventura Calatagirone* Generall of the Order of *S. Francis*, to the Court of Spain, to sound how mens minds corresponded on that side.

But the diligence the Legate shewed for peace, hindred not the King of France from being intent upon provisions of arms, and preparations for the yeer following; wherefore having called a Congregation of all the Officers of the Crown, principall Magistrates, and Treasurers of his Kingdome in the City of Rouen, where besides regulating many disorders and abuses, hee intended to establish and settle his Revenues, and to perswade the Heads of the Provinces, and the chief of the Clergy and common people to

The King calls  
a congregation  
of all the Offi-  
cers of his  
Crown at Rou-  
en to settle the  
disorders of his  
Kingdom, and  
to demand sup-  
plies for the  
Warre.

Uuuuuuu

assist



1596 assist him in such manner, that he might be able to uphold the weight of the War by himself, which he accounted not difficult, as well by reason of the urgent necessity well known to them all, as of the good condition many rich and fertill Provinces were getting into, since civill Warres had ceased in them, if necessary rule and order were added to the benefit of quiet; and he thought every one would run willingly to contribute to that expence, which was not made as in former times, either to satisfie the Kings appetites, or to move domestic Arms against those of the same blood, but to maintain a War against strangers, and to defend the Crown assaulted and invaded by its ancient emulators and inveterate Enemies.

And because from the year before there had been a Truce (though an uncertain one, and from time to time violated and interrupted) with the Duke of *Mercoeur* to treat in the interim, and finde some temper of Agreement with him, the King at this time deputed the Count of *Schombergh*, and President *de Thou*, who were to go to the Queen Dowager of France to treat in her presence with the Duke's Deputies: but this Treaty was not onely doubtfull, but also various and unsetled; for the Duke, a subtil man, of a deep reach, and one not easie to be withdrawn from his designs, held severall practices both in Spain and France, promising himself yet that hee should dismember the Dutchy of Bretagne from the Crown (which had been united no longer then since the times of *Lewis* the Twelfth and *Francis* the First) to establish it to his Posterity; or if he could not doe so much in favour of himself, at least to keep up that State in Name of the *Infanta Isabella*, who pretended to succeed unto it as next Heir of the House of *Valois*, since women were not excluded from the inheritance of Bretagne. For this purpose he had sent *Lorenzo Tornabuony* to the Court of Spain, and still held practices within the Province, to draw many of the principall men to be of his mind, hoping he should obtain much larger conditions from the *Infanta*, then he could doe from the King of France. But because the adversitiy of the affairs of the League crossed his designs, and the agreement of the other Princes of his House, and particularly of the Duke of Mayene, held his minde in suspense, he still kept the treaty of Accommodation alive, and still

The *Infanta Isabella's* pretensions upon the Dutchy of Bretagne.

still prorogued the Truce with short additions, making use sometimes of force, sometimes of art, to obtain some convenient place, and to keep the Provinces confining upon *Bretagne* in commotion.

Following this his designe, he about this time set on *Charles Gondi* Marquesse of *Belisle*, Son to the Mareschall de *Retz*, to seize upon *Fongeres*, a Town of much importance upon the Confines of *Normandy*; and from that place he had held a Treaty, that the same Marquesse might be let in to *Mont S. Michel*, a wonderfull strong place upon the shore of the Ocean, to which one cannot goe by land, except for the space of two short hours by day and by night when the tyde is low, which Treaty having gone on so far, that the Marquesse was already certain to be let in, he departed secretly by night from *Fongeres* with an hundred Horse and four hundred Foot, and came to *S. Michel* just at low water; there having given and received the appointed signes, hee was invited by the Governour of the Castle to come in with half a dozen in his company to possess the first Gate, and bring in his men; at which invitation the Marquesse, a young man, more fierce then circumspect, refused not to enter, but seeing the Gate that led into the first Raveline was presently shut at his back, he turned about with an angry countenance to the Captain that shut it, and commanded him to keep it open; which command being no lesse haughtily answered, they of the Castle took occasion to fall to their arms, and having killed the Marquesse with his six companions, they began to fire their Artillery against his party, which being already certain of their Commanders misfortune, retired unpursued to *Fongeres*.

This accident slackened not the designs of the Duke of *Mercœur*, who having had the successe to get the Fortresse of *Tifange* in *Poitou*, and to make other progresses in divers parts, continued to treat of peace ambiguously, being minded to govern himself according to the variety of affairs, sometimes moderating his demands in the King's prosperity, sometimes enlarging them in his adversitie, being himself no lesse uncertain of the event then others. Nor did the King, to whom the cause of these alterations were known, withdraw himselfe from



1596 his purpose of treating, being disposed to grant him advantageous conditions, to exclude the Spaniards from Bretagne, and reunite unto himself so important a part of the Crown; wherefore to that effect he had newly destined the \* Count and the President, whose wisdom he thought sufficient to deal with the Duke's arts and inconstancy.

\* Schombergh  
and de Thou.

The Hugonots  
absenting  
themselves  
from Court, re-  
tire to places  
neer Rochel,  
and drawing  
souldiers toge-  
ther, the King  
sends to treat  
with them, and  
appease them.

He likewise sent the *Sieur d'Emery*, and *Godefroy Caignon* Chancellour of *Navarre* to the Hugonots, who absenting themselves from the Court, and being retired to the Towns neer *Rochell*, had drawn some number of armed men together, continuing to make their Conventicles and Assemblies to the great jealousy of the King, and great indignation of his Councell: But the Duke of *Mayene*, though formerly an Enemy to that party, yet having moved the rest of the Councell to consider how pernicious it was to provoke a new Civill Warre at a time when the whole State was afflicted, and that the Arms of the Spaniards insulted with many successfull proceedings, they determined to send those two persons of very great esteem to treat, to shew them that nothing prejudiciall to conscience was intended nor thought of: for though the conditions imposed by the Pope were such as every one knew, yet that clause was added, that they should be executed without danger of Warre or perturbation; with which condition at the same time the Pope's obedience and the security of the Hugonots was preserved; since the conjuncture of the times was manifestly such, that the King could not constrain their Liberty, not onely without commotion of War, but also not without great danger of the Crown. These two Deputies being come to the places of the Hugonots, treated many times with the Heads of that party, and the rest that were come to *Chastelraunt*, and assuring them, that the Edicts made in favour of their Religion should be observed, stay'd the breaking out of new troubles which were already contriving; but they could not obtain that the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Duke de *la Tremouille* should (as the King desired) march with the Forces of that party into *Picardie*; for the coming of the Legate, and the neer correspondence that past, had made them so suspicious, that they would not stir from the places of their own security.

While

While they were negotiating on this side, Arms were not altogether quiet upon the Confines of *Picardie* : for the number of Garisons on both sides did with frequent encounters keep matters in commotion , and the Mareschall *de Biron* not failing to molest the Enemy in all places, made incursions into the Catholick King's Provinces in such sort , that in the month of September being entered with his Horse into the County of *Artois*, he put the whole Country in a very great tumult : wherefore the Marquesse of *Varambone* Governour thereof, having sent for Count *Giovan Giacompo Belgiojoso*, and the Count *de Montecucoli*, resolved to meet him with eight hundred Horse to put a stop to those mischiefs which hee did on all sides ; but the Mareschall informed of his coming, having stay'd the whole day to rest himself at *S. André*, within the Jurisdiction of *S. Omer* , set forward in the dusk of the evening, with his men fresh, and purposed to fall unexpectedly upon the Marquesse, who thought him a great many miles from thence : nor did he fail of his designe ; for having marched easily all the night, in the morning at Sun-rise he light upon the Enemies Vanguard led by *Montecucoli*, and without much considering they charg'd couragiously on both sides. In the beginning the French had the worst ; for their first Troops were beaten back half in disorder to the main Body ; but a while after the Mareschall advancing in person, charged *Montecucoli* so furiously, that he was forced to turn his back full speed, it not being possible to stay his men, who fell foul upon the Marquesse his Battell and disordered it, so that he being forsaken, was taken prisoner with *Montecucoli*, still fighting valiantly. *Belgiojoso* advanced with the Rere, and for some time gallantly withstood the fury of the Conquerours ; but the other Bodies being routed, and he himself wounded with two Pistol-shots in the arm, was at last constrained to save himself by flight, leaving the field free to the Mareschall *de Biron*, and free power to go where he would : so that he would have done more harm to the Country, and perchance have made greater progresse, if the rains of Autumn, which that yeer fell much before the usuall time, had not put a hindrance to his incursions.

The Mareschal de Biron making great incursions into the County of Artois, the Spaniards attempt to oppose him; they fight, the Spaniards are routed, and the Marquesse of Varambone, their Commander in chief, and the Count de Montecucoli taken prisoners.

About this time there happened an accident at Court,  
which



1596

There grows  
a quarrell in  
the Kings Ante-  
chamber  
between the  
Sieur de Co-  
queinvillier and  
Monsieur de  
Bonivet, so that  
the first gives  
the other a box  
on the ear.

Bonivet chal-  
lenges Coquein-  
villier to a du-  
ell; they fight,  
and he is slain.

which as it gave private men an example of that moderation wherewith they ought to curb their passions, so did it advertise Princes how far they ought to bear those terms of necessity in their Subjects to which honour constrains them; for a controversie in words arising in the Kings Ante-chamber, between the Sieur de *Coqueinvillier* one of his Gentlemen-waiters, but a man of approved valour, and Monsieur de *Bonivet*, a Cavalier of ancient Nobility and great note; *Coqueinvillier* forgetting the place where he was, struck *Bonivet* a box on the ear, who restraining his own fury, in respect of the place, they went both out of the Court, and being separated by their friends into severall places, *Bonivet* sent to challenge his Enemy, that hee might be revenged of the affront hee had received: but he (acknowledging his errour, in having wronged him in a place where it was not lawfull for him to draw his sword to right himself) refused to meet him in the field, and offered to ask him pardon, which all men knew was not for want of courage; whereof he had given proofs in other duels, but out of remorse of conscience; yet *Bonivet*, notwithstanding the common opinion, reiterated his challenge oftentimes, which not onely was answered with the same moderation, but *Coqueinvillier* kept within doors for some time to avoid the occasion of fighting, and yet the other urging him with injurious Letters and Messages, and not accepting the offer he made, to refer himself to his discretion, hee was at last constrained to meet him in a private place hand to hand, where having made his former proffers, and protested that he acknowledged himself much to blame; he was constrained by *Bonivets* fiercenesse to draw his sword, wherewith having wounded him with a thrust in the first bout, retiring back, he would have ended the businesse at the first blood; but *Bonivet* furiously insulting, and making many thrusts at him, hee being so hard pressed, ran him thorow the body, and laid him dead upon the ground. The news being come to the Kings ear, who knew all that had passed very well, and bearing not onely with the necessity that had forced *Coqueinvillier* to fight, but for his valours sake forgiving also the offence hee had committed in striking in the Court, said publickly, that since one of them was lost, it was not good to lose the other too, and granting him his pardon, he

hee commanded the Magistrates not to proceed against him.

In the mean time the Deputies were met together at *Rouen*, whither the King came upon the eighteenth of October (accompanied with the Cardinal-Legate, the Duke of *Montpensier* Governour of that Province, the High-Constable *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of *Nemours* and *Espernon*, the Prince of *Fainville*, the Mareschals of *Retz* and *Matignon*, the Admirall *d'Anville*, the Cardinals of *Guiry* and *Gondy*, and a select number of the principall Lords of the Kingdom;) and being received with a very solemn pomp, he spoke to the Assembly the fourth day of November, showing them how much need the affairs of the Kingdome had of reformation, and the urgency of supplies to maintain the War upon the Confines: which things after they were more at large unfolded by the High-Chancellour, every one set himself with great desire to think upon those remedies which they judged might prove convenient. But the infirmities of that Body afflicted with so long distempers, were such as could not be so easily cured, and every one perceived how necessary a generall Peace was to introduce and establish a wholsome permanent reformation, since that amidst the necessities of War new disorders still spring up; nor can the strictnesse of reformation be observed, where military exigencies continually extort licentious dispensations. Nor was there any body who thought not, that the proper means to obtain peace was to have a great strength for the Warre, to the end that recovering their reputation, and the places that were lost, the two Crowns might agree in peace with equall honour. But as the remedy was known, so was the means of attaining it very difficult; for the whole Kingdom was so exhausted and weakened, that the people could confer but little to the Kings assistance; who to maintain the Armies in *Dauphiné* and *Bretagne*, and to raise a greater one in *Picardie*, was forced to think of great preparations of men, money, and ammunition, which was gotten out of *England* and *Holland* at a very great charge; and though it was hoped that some Provinces which had not been so much divided, might (with good order taken) afford some considerable supply, yet that required length of time, which the exigency and the War would not allow. But neverthelesse not being to forbear doing all that



1596 that was possible, every one applied himself heartily, as well to reform, as to make preparations.

1597 1596 ; and though the Assembly continued in the beginning of the year following, yet the reformation was but very weak ; for the matter was not disposed to receive it, and the times were unseasonable for the rigours of a resolute course ; onely the expence of the Kings household was lessened, some supernumerary Offices were taken away, and the pensions of particular men were restrained, but not in such manner that the Treasury was much eased by it. The provisions made for the King were something more considerable ; for the payment of the debts of the Crown were suspended for the two next yeers, but without prejudice to the Creditors ; an increase was granted in the peoples name upon the *Gabelle* of Salt, one of the chief revenues of the Crown ; all usurpers of Confiscations were by a severe Edict constrained not only to restore the Land, but the profits so usurped, from which businesse there resulted no small benefit : and finally, many of the Treasurers, and of the Clergy voluntarily obliged themselves to contribute a certain sum of money, though no very great one.

A weak reformation is made, provisions are ordained for the Kings wants, and the Congregation is dismissed.

But the King having ended the Assembly at *Rouen*, and being come into the quarters about *Paris*, to take Physick for some private indisposition, to the end that being freed from it, he might more freely apply himself with the first season to the toyl of Arms, a new important accident gave beginning to actions of Warre before the time. *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, a man who in a very small stature of body contained a lively sprightly courage, was Governour of *Dourlans* ; this man having in the whole course of the Warre given great proof of no lesse sagacity then valour, stood watchfull upon all occasions that offered themselves to atchieve something. He having begun to court a very rich Widow, who, according to the use of the French, dwelt in the Country, was fallen into a desire of getting her for his Wife ; but having often discovered his intent, she still answered him, that she being subject to the King of France, and he to the King of Spain, who made war against one another, it was not fit to satisfie him, but that she would dispose her self to do it, when either he had put *Dourlans* under the Kings

Kings obedience, or drawn Amiens (in which City she was born) under the subjection of the King of Spain. These words moved the spirit of *Portocarrero*, who (besides his naturall desire to serve his Prince, spurr'd on by love, and the hope of obtaining so rich a Dowry,) began to think how he might make himself Master of the City of *Amiens*, and having had some discourse about it with one *\*Dameline*, a man that was banished out of the Town, he heard that the City had refused to receive a Garrison of Souldiers, and that the Towns-men kept their guards diligently by night, but carelessly by day, whereupon he entred into good hopes of getting unexpectedly within the walls, and by his suddain arrivall, easily to make himself Master of it; But having heard afterwards that there were fifteen thousand men in the City, well provided with arms, and ready to run together upon the stir of any accident, he stood long in suspence, and doubtfull in himself whether he should attempt the enterprize, notwithstanding that so great difficulty. He was much more out of hope, when he understood that three thousand Swissers sent to the King to convoy great store of Artillery and Ammunition into the City for the provisions of the future warre, stay'd to take up quarters in the neighbouring villages. But he took up his design again, when he heard that the Count *de S. Paul*, to satisfy the obstinate importunities of the Citizens, had made them draw away; nay he was excited so much the more out of a desire to get all the preparations that were brought into that City; wherefore he gave order to a Serjeant named *Francisco del Arco* (a man whom he had tryed in many occurrences) to go into the City in disguise, & diligently to observe the quality of the Citizens, and the manner of their guards. The relation was very favourable to his designe; for the Citizens employed themselves by day in following their busineses, and those few that remained to guard the Ports, (being invited to it by the season,) shut themselves up in a room to enjoy the benefit of the fire, and the gate was for the most part left alone, except one sentinell that stood at the turn-pike; whereupon being confirmed in his design, he dispatched the same Serjeant to the Cardinall Arch-Duke to obtain leave and supplies of men, that he might set himself upon the enterprize. The Arch-Duke consented that he should venture upon a businesse of so great hopes; and gave order to the Garrisons of *Cambray*, *Calais*, *Ba-*

*Hernando Telles Portocarrero, being by the Cardinall Arch-Duke left Governour of Dour-lans contrives how to surprize Amiens.*

*\*The French sayes Du Moulin.*

Xxxxxxxx

*paulme*



1597 *paulme* and *Castelet*, that upon the day appointed, they should send aid of men into the quarters of *Dourlans* to obey and be commanded by *Portocarrero*.

He having well fitted all things, called the help that was prepared, and gave order that upon the tenth day of March, they should be toward the evening, at a village called *Orville* a League from *Dourlans*, whereupon there met from severall parts six hundred horse led by *Girolamo Caraffa* Marquesse of *Montenegro*, and two thousand Foot of divers nations, Commanded by old Spanish, Italian, and Wallon Officers; to whom *Portocarrero* communicating nothing else but that they were to go upon *Amiens*, marched all night; the \* *Cadet Panu-*  
*re* a Walloon, and *Inigo d'Ollava* a Spaniard who were privy to the whole designe, leading the first troopes, who arriving in the morning before day, laid themselves in ambush behinde certain bushes not far from the City, and after them the same did Captain *Fernando Dezza* with an hundred Spanish Foot, and Captain *Boſtoc*, with as many Irish. *Portocarrero*, who had made a halt with the main body, neer the Abby of Mary Magdalen above half a mile from the Town; after that the *Cadet* climbing to the top of a tree, had given him a sign that the gate was open, and that the stir of those that went in and came out was over, he sent forth *Giovan Battista Dugnano* a *Milanese* and the same Serjeant *del Arco*, to execute what had been agreed off between them.

\* Or younger brother.

They with twelve in their company, disguis'd like country fellowes, after the fashion of that Country wore certain long Cassocks, some of cloth, some of Canvas, under which each had a case of short pistols and a dagger. Four of them drove a Cart with three horses fastened to the draught-tree in such manner, that by pulling out an iron they might be loosen'd from the cart, which being laden with thick pieces of wood covered with straw, was sent before to stop under the portcullis, & hinder it from shutting down. Behinde the Cart followed other four, who upon their sholders had sacks ful of apples and nuts, and after them came the other six stragling, and last of all Serjeant *Dugnano* the Captaines Brother with a great pole. It was already sermon-time, (for by reason it was Lent, there was preaching in many Churches) and the people being gone severall wayes had left few to guard the Portes, when the first entred with the Cart at the Turn-pike, and went on under the

the gate to do the effect already design'd, and one of the second company making shew to let his apples and nuts fall by chance scattered upon the ground, many of those that were upon the Guard ran to catch them up, and the rest laughing and mocking, took no heed to the cart, which being got under the Portcullis, the horses were presently loosen'd, least being frightened with that stirre they should have drag'd it too far, and so that impediment remain'd in the midst of the passage, that it could not be shut down. The last came unto the Turn-pike, and at the very first killed the sentinell, then presently the rest discovering their weapons, fell upon them that were catching up the apples, and fighting fiercely killed some of them, and drove the rest into a roome where the fire was, shutting them up in such manner, that the first companies of Foot had time to come unto the gate. In this interim the sentinell that was above in the gate-house, having heard the noyse, speedily cut the ropes by which the Portcullis hung, which being made of severall barres and not all of a piece, two of the barres broke through the bottom of the Cart, but the other three were kept up, leaving space enough open for two Souldiers to enter a brest. Through that passage the Commanders and Officers advanced compleatly armed, and after them above an hundred Souldiers, before any aid came from the City; and yet the people coming up on all sides, they would at last have defeated the assaylants, (among whom *Dugnano* was killed with a great wound on the head) if the barres of the Portcullis being broken, & all impediments taken away, the *Cadet* had not come in seasonably with the Walloons, and *Capt. Bostock* with the Irish; by which the people who ran stragling thither without order or without Commander, being beaten back and put to flight, and above eighty of the Citizens killed, there was no body that made resistance any longer; for the Count *de S. Paul*, who was in the Town without any garrison, at the first notice of the businessse, got out of the *porte de Beauvais* and sav'd himself by flight. *Fernando Dezza* entred presently after the first, and last of all *Portocarrero* with the maine body, keeping the Souldiers from running about to plunder, as well for fear of the people, (a very great number in respect of them) as because he doubted the Kings forces that were not farre off, might strive to recover the town in the first heat. But the people too bold before the urgency of the

One of the gates of *Amiens* is posselt by 12 Spanish souldiers disguised like country fellows who bringing a Cart under the Portcullis, and scattering fruit upon the ground, deceive the guards who were very negligent.

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danger



1597

danger, and two fearfull in the act, dejected in so suddain an accident laid down their arms, and the Kings Cavalry advancing to the very wall, having met the Marquesse *de Montenegro*, and seen that they could not effect any thing, returned without further attempt into their owne quarters.

The King for the losse of *Amiens* breaks off the course of physick he had begun, and goes into *Picardy* to assist the affairs of war in person.

The news of this losse struck the King so deeply, that despising his own health, and breaking off the course of physick he had begun, he posted speedily into *Picardy*, accompanied with none but those that were then about him, being confirmed more then ever in his old conceit, that where he was not himself in person, busineses went on either carelessly or unfortunately; and passing with great hazard in those places where the enemy roved about victoriously, he came to *Corbie*, where the Marechal *de Biron* was, being resolved, or rather excited by despaire, to begin the war againe, happen what would, and to encounter any danger whatsoever, to attempt some enterprize, though without hope to effect it. For he thought nothing more contrary to his successe then ease, and nothing more beneficiall then action.

They are much troubled in *Paris* for the losse of *Amiens*, and murmur against the King.

But this accident struck the adjacent Provinces no lesse then him, and particulary the City of *Paris*, between which and *Amiens* there not being above eight and twenty Leagues of open way, not hindred by any strong place, there entred a great terror into the People fearing lest the Spaniards now victorious should advance to spoile the Country, and interrupt the concourse of victuall, while the King had no Army wherewith he could withstand their progresse; and the fresh sufferings which were lately passed, did by the yet bitter memory of them, make dangers seeme more grievous, and more neer then was fitting; the whole people therefore was in an uprore; the Country frightened, the Nobility stirred up, and many murmured against the King, as one who accustomed only to conquer in Civill warrs, yeelded in all places to the discipline, policy, valour, and diligence of forreigners; and others going yet farther, spoke against his manner of life, as if having given himself a prey to the love of Madame *Gabriele*, he had retired to passe his time idly with her, while the enemy solicitous and vigilant, insulted furiously against the principall Cities of the Kingdom: and that which these men said, was not without probable appearance; for the

King

King having made great show of the love he bore this Lady, even to the having caused the Baptisme of a Daughter borne of her, to be celebrated with Royall pompe, in the face of the Assembly at *Rouen*, was afterwards retired in her company, to the solitarinesse of *S. Germans*, *S. Maure* and the other places of pleasure neer the City, in so much that those who knew not the necessity he had to take physick, attributed all to the desire of ease, and to the appetite of womanish delights.

Nor was the King himself ignorant of the popular rumours; whereupon exceedingly vexed, he ceased not with words and letters to clear himself, attributing the losse of *Amiens* to the obstinacy of the Citizens, who never would receive a Garison, to which he would not constraine them, because that City being newly come unto his devotion, he was unwilling the people should beleieve that he sought to violate the priviledges of their Corporation, and fail of his promises. He shewed likewise that not the pleasure of the Court, but his need of physick which would admit no delay, had constrained him to enter into a course, though the season were yet extremely cold, to the end that after the space of a few dayes he might be able with perfect strength to undergoe the burthen of the war himself in person. And to that which was said of his being only skilled in Civill Warrs: He objected the two severall times he had met the Duke of *Parma*, and what he had done the year before against the Constable of *Castiles* army, in which enterprizes (contrary to what his detractors said of him) He had shewn as much circumspection and discipline as the custome of the French Nobility, and the quality of times and occasions would allow.

The Kings excuses against the accusations and murmurings of the French.

To these words joyning actions futable, though he had not above four thousand Foot and two thousand Horse, he determined to draw neer *Amiens* to begin the siege; for he was resolved to set his utmost endeavours to recover that City; considering that it was best to begin betimes to straighten it by what means soever he could; to the end that those within, might not have conveniency to provide themselves of things necessary to feed that abundance of people that dwelt continually in the Town. Wherefore being departed from *Corbie*, and past over to the far side of the River *Somme*, he caused his men to encamp in the midst between *Amiens* and

The King being besieged *Amiens*, being desirous to recover it.

*Dourlans*,



1597 *Dourlans*, to the end he might interrupt the commerce and mutuall assistance of those two places, and having left charge with *Mareschal de Biron* to advance the siege according as new supplies of men came up daily to the Camp; He giving no rest unto himself, went up and down to convenient places, drawing Horse and Foot out of the Garisons to increase his Army the most he could, and at last returned to *Paris*, to hasten such provisions as were necessary, and to raise a sum of money, sufficient to goe through with the siege, which at that time was the utmost scope of all his thoughts.

The City of *Amiens* stands upon the River *Somme* which being divided into many streams, runs through the midst of the Town, and encompasses, and washes the wall in many places. On the one side it hath the great Castle of *Pequigny*, and *Corbie* on the other; the Castle four Leagues, and the Town seven Leagues distant from it. The City is invironed with thick and well contrived walls, flank'd with their Bulwarks and Ravelines, in some places more, in some lesse, according as it is washed more or lesse by the River; and though in all parts it be excellently fortified, yet it is much stronger, and built with greater industry on the side beyond the River towards *Flanders*. On this side the King had given order, that siege should be laid, not only to hinder the commerce of *Dourlans*, but also because he intended to fortifie the quarters of his Army in such manner, and to environ the Town so closely with Trenches and Forts, that the Cardinall Arch-Duke, though he came strong into the field, should not have power to relieve it, finding it wholly shut up on the right way. But the *Mareschal de Biron* not having strength enough to begin the trenches, had quartered himself with the Vanguard in the Abbey of *Mary Magdalen*, and spread himself with the rest of his Forces upon the road to *Dourlans*, breaking the wayes with the Cavalry, and hindring victuall or relief from getting into the City.

On the other side, *Portocarrero*, though besieged much sooner then he had at first imagined, having sent Sergeant *dell' Arco* to *Brussells*, as well to give notice of it, as to require new supplies, applied himself with his usuall diligence to repair the fortifications, and to provide against all other wants, and after he saw the French encamp so neer, he resolved while they were weake, to trouble them so with sallies, that they should

should be faine to get further off; wherefore upon the thirtieth of March in the morning, he gave order that the Marquesse de Montenegro, should march forth to fall upon the quarter of the vanguard, which was at the Abbey of Mary Magdalen, who having sent 50 Walloon horse before to assault the first corps de Garde, kept by twenty souldiers, he himself followed so furiously with two hundred other horse, that having beaten the Corps de Garde and taken some prisoners, he advanced unexpectedly to the quarter of the French, and yet 400 horse coming forth to receive the charge, they skirmished long without advantage, till the Marquesse fained to give back, that he might draw the Enemy into an Ambuscado, where Captain Inigo d'Ollavalay among certain bushes with two hundred Spanish Foot. But the Sieur de Montigny who commanded the French, having pursued them gallantly at the heels as fire as the Bushes, made a stop, out of a doubt that some ambush might be layd in so fit a place; whereupon the skirmish ending, both parts retyred without doing any thing of moment.

The Marquesse sallied again the next day with three hundred light-horse, followed by an hundred Lanciers; but the skirmish growing hot on all sides by their mutuall fire-arms, neither would the French advance into the hollow places, which are neer the walls, nor durst the Spaniards draw neer the Post of Mary Magdalenes Abbey, both the Commanders doubting they might be catch'd in some trap. Portocarrero then took another course to free himself from being so neerly molested by the vanguard of the French, and began to batter the Abby with many Culverines, whereof he had found store in the City, and continued to play upon it so obstinately, that there was no staying in that post, and the vanguard was faine to retyre to a village further back, from whence though they obstructed the wayes with no lesse facility, yet they within had more means to provide themselves of Earth, Bavins, and other things necessary to raise new defences.

In this interim the Cardinall Arch-Duke had given careful order, that before the French Army grew stronger, new supplies might be put into the Town; wherefore Juan de Gusman going from the territory of Cambray with four companyes of firelocks but all mounted, and three hundred light-horse, took his

Juan de Gusman goes to put relief into Amiens, but being discovered by the French he hath much to doe to save himself.



his way by night, that he might come betimes in the morning to the Gates of the city, which having prosperously done, as well because the air was cloudy & dark, as because the French advertised of his coming expected him not till night; yet he destroying the benefit of fortune by an unseasonable vanity, as soon as he saw himself neer the City, caus'd his trumpets to sound, and a great volley of shot to be given in token of joy, at which noise the French who were prepared, ranne so courageously to charge them, that the Troopes being instantly mingled pell-mell, the Attillery of the Town had no longer any means to defend their own men, who being constrained to yeeld to the greater number, had retreated still fighting to the cover'd way, and there would have been routed & defeated, if *Fernando Dezza* who defended it with two hundred Spanish Foot giving fire without distinction at them all, had not made the French retyre. In the mean time the firelocks that came with the releif, leaping from their horses, saved themselves almost all in the moat, and the Marqueesse of Montenegro sallying with his Horse, after the French were separated, valiantly beat them back as farre as the Abbey. The relief got in with the losse of under forty men, yet was it great, because *Ruggiero Taccone* was wounded in the left legge, and *Fernando Dezza* slain with a musket shot in the head. There entred together with the relief, *Federico Pacciotto* (brother to *Guidobaldo* who was killed at the assault of *Calais*) an Engineer of very great fame, of whom the Commanders had exceeding great need for the making of works, and together with divers sorts of necessary matters, there got in also a good summe of money.

The Maref-  
chall *de Biron*  
gives a sca-  
lado to *Dour-*  
*lans*, but the  
Ladders being  
very much too  
short, the en-  
terprize suc-  
ceeds not.

Whilst with frequent bloody skirmishes, and with minds wholly intent upon the businesse, they fight thus under the walls of *Amiens*, the Marefchall *de Biron* watching all occasions of advantage, resolves to give a suddain scalado to *Dourlans*, and having caused many ladders to be prepared, he gave order that the *Sieur de Montigny* who commanded the light Horse, should lead the Foot of the Reer-guard upon that enterprize, and he himself after having been forth in the evening & made divers skirmishes under the walls of the City, to the end the Enemy might not perceive the lessening of his Camp, march'd with sixty Cuirassiers, and his own life-guard of Horse the same way to give courage to his men. It was two houres before

before day when the *Sieur de Flessan* on the side, and the *Sieur de Fonquerolles* on the other, both Captains of the Regiment of *Piccardie*, seconded by two hundred Switzers, clapt the scaling ladders to the walls of *Dourlans*, which being found extreemly much to short, the attempt prov'd vain without any other danger, and the assaylants return'd the next day to lye before *Amiens* in their old quarters.

But the *Mareschall de Biron* exceedingly vexed at this unprosperous successe, having received four thousand English, at last, after many delayes, sent by Queen *Elizabeth* to the Kings assistance in performance of the League lately made, and many other troopes of Horse, and companies of Foot, who made great haste from severall parts, being come up, he resolved to encamp just under the City, and fortifying his quarters, to shut up all the *avenues* of the Town on the farre side of the River at the same time. His Army amounted to the number of twelve thousand fighting men; but he with his diligence, courage and vigilancy, made it appear much greater, gallant in fight, careful in action, unwearied in labour, rigorous in exacting that from others which he himself did in his own person; which qualities being naturally his, were now redoubled by a spurre which he received from the Kings words, who could not contain himself from saying openly, that where he was not himself in person, things went on either with little fortune or much negligence; wherefore the *Mareschall* who attributed a great part of the past victories to his own fortune and personall courage seeing now that glory called in question, which he accounted to be certainly his, as a man of infinite pride and insupportable haughtinesse was wholly kindled with an incredible indignation, and strove with his utmost spirits to do something that might plainly shew the effects of his valour without the Kings assistance or command; wherefore though the fiercenes and number of the defendants were such that a great body of an Army was necessary to streighten and besiege them, yet was he resolved to attempt it with those forces he had.

The Mareschall *de Biron* stirr'd up by some words of the Kings, labours unweariedly in the siege of *Amiens*, that his actions might answer the Kings stinging words.

The first thing that was begun, was a bridge over the *Somme* in a village called *Longpré*, about a League above the Town, and it was fortified with a half Moon on each side the river, aswell that they might have free passage both above and below the City, as to hinder the Enemies from passing the ri-



1597 ver in that place, where the streames divide themselves, and relieving the City on that side that was not besieged. Besides this Fortification, a trench was drawn which beginning within a quarter of a League of the Town neer the bank of the river came in the form of a half Moon encompassing all the plain, and ended at the other bank of the river about the same distance below the City, and this trench was divided into seaven parts by seaven Royall Forts, which furnished with small Artillery, scoured and flanked the trench, utterly shutting up all the passage of the field. Such another trench, though of much greater circuit, and as many Forts, closed up the outward part toward *Dourlans*, and the other wayes that led into the territory of *Cambray* and into *Flanders*, and on that side the trenches were much deeper, and the works much higher to defend them on the back from the attempts of the Spanish Armyes. The whole Army was imployd about this worke, and a very great number of pioneers, who being drawne together from the Country round about, by *Birons* imperious severity wrought day and night at an exceeding cheap rate.

The Courage of the defendants was no lesse fierce and resolute, who being carefull not to passe by any opportunitie of interrupting the works, sallied every hower, sometimes on horse back, sometimes on foot, and making the whole Camp stand to their Armes, did by very long skirmishes keep the works at a stay, and doe mischief sometimes in one place, sometimes in another. The skirmish was very sharp and bloody, which happened upon the twenty fourth of May, which day the Marquesse and *Portocarrero* sallied out severall ways, each with three hundred Horse and as many Foot, and while *Portocarrero* gave a hot alarm on the lower side, the Marquesse taking towards *Longpré*, and passing by the side of the trench not yet finished, put them that guarded it in a very great confusion, and would have destroyed the half moon, and nailed three pieces of canon that were in it, if the *Sieur de Montigny* had not hasted thither with the light Horse, with which while he skirmished couragiously, the Mareschall *de Biron* thought to possesse the passe between his trench and the River, and so cut off the Enemies retreat; but being advanced at a good round pace that way with many Troopes of horse he found that *Diego Durando*, *Francesco del Arco* and Captaine *Falme* an Irish man had taken that passe to keep the retreat free

The Defendants of *Amiens* sally to skirmish, and *Portocarrero* himself being present, the fight is very hot and bloody.

free and open for their own men ; so that the fight began there again more furiously then before; for the Infantry making use of the hollow places and bushes which in that place were very many , did much harme to the French Cavalry, and the Marquesse having faced about, charged the Mareschalls troop in the flanke and in the reer, in such manner, that being catcht as it were in the midst, it was in very great danger of being defeated , if the rest of the Cavalry led by the *Commendatory de Chattes* had not runne speedily to disingage it, at whose arrivall the Spanish Foot giving back on the one side , and the Mareschall retyring on the other, each marched off free, it being already almost Sun-set, and there remained many as well French as Spaniards dead upon the place.

The King came to the Army upon the seventh of June to the Mareschall *de Birons* great displeasure, who desired to finish his line of circumvallation before his arrivall ; so that seeing *Madam Gabriele* was come with him to the Camp, he cryed out publickly, that she was the prosperity and good fortune the King brought along with him, nor would he so easily have been quieted , if the King visiting the trenches had not highly commended his diligence and industry, and given order that he should command the forces, and all military matters as he did before his coming. The King invironed with many Princes, took up his post in the ruines of the Abby , among which there were yet some arches standing entire , nor would he stirr from thence, though the Spaniards ceased not to make many Canon shot that way. The Constable, the Duke of *Maysne*, the Duke of *Espernon*, and the Prince of *Jainville* quartered in the Forts , and the Mareschall *de Biron* got into an Hermitage within musket-shot of the Counterscarpe , intending to begin his approaches on that side, as soon as soon as the works of his Campe were brought to perfection, in which they made hutts of boards to shelter themselves from the raine, and other ill weathers, since the King in the Councell of warre had determined to approach by sapping, though it were the longest way , that he might not endanger the lives of his Souldiers in assaults, the warre having swallowed up so great a number of them that it was necessary to proceed very sparingly, the whole Kingdom being extreamly exhausted of men , and the Nobility more then moderately diminished.

The King comes to the Camp before Amiens and leaves the command to the Mareschall de Biron.

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## *The History of the Civill Warres*

The pay of the Army (many of the old Officers being removed) passed through the hands of Monsieur d'*Inquer-ville* Superintendent of the *Finances*, with the assiduous unwearied assistance of Secretary *Villeroy*, who having in great part layd other businesses aside applyed himself particularly to that, as well to the end the fraud of the Commanders might not by deceits increase the scarcity of money which was exceeding great, as that the decrease or increase of the Army might be known from day to day, and that the number might not differ in effect from what appeared in their muster-Books; nor ever was there so exact diligence used in times past; for formerly the souldiers maintained themselves more upon free quarter and plunder then upon their pay; but now the Country being everywhere destroyed and empty, and the Foot particularly being faine to work daily at the fortifications, and keep continually in the trenches, it was necessary they should be paid, in which and the other occasions of the siege, it is manifest there were spent above three millions of Ducates.

The Artillery was commanded by Monsieur *de S. Luc*, who excited by his own genius, and the emulation of Monsieur *de la Guiche* his predecessor, busied himself with infinite industry in all occasions, in which the Swissers and the English were alwayes more ready and more diligent then all the rest; for the French Infantry, except the Regiment of *Picardy* and that of *Navar*, was all made up of new men, and such as were not accustomed to toyles and labours, and to lie in the field, and yet the healthfullnesse of that year was so great, assisted by the excellent government of the Commanders, and by the conveniencies that were in the Camp, that almost none died, and but very few were sick. The light Horse commanded by the *Sieur de Montigny* were quartered at the back of the Army, and making large excursions convoyd in provisions, and infested all the Country to the very gates of *Dourlans*, into which Town *Cavalliere Lodovico Melzi* being entred with ten troops of Horse, there happened frequent skirmishes and bloody encounters between both parties.

Nor were the besieged lesse ready to interrupt the Fortifications and molest the Camp continually, though the French Army was increased to the number of eighteen thousand fighting men, and though in the Town, whatsoever the oc-

casions

A Cannon-shot lights in the Kings lodgings whereby the King himself is all covered with dust.

casions were, many diseases rained, which as the weather grew hotter, became also contagious and pestilentiall; but the courage of the souldiers and the valour of the Commanders overcame all, in somuch that their sallies slackened not, and with their Artillery they did much harme, one shot having hit into the arch under which the King himself lay, and filled the place with so much dust and rubbish, that if the building of the wall had not been very strong, he had been in great danger of being buried in the ruines with his attendants.

To the valour of Armies were added also treaties with some of the besieged; so that a Bourguignon Captain being got into the Town in the habit of an Augustine Frier, not only induced those Fathers to receive some others with offensive arms into their Monastery, but also got certain Walloon souldiers to consent to open a gate that was furthest from the work, as soon as it should come to their turn to guard it: but while they still treated to draw many others into their company, notice of it came unto the Governour, who having caused nine of the accomplices to be hanged, made most part of the Friars be put in prison, and set strict guards upon the Monastery. From this accident there arose another trouble to the besieged; for not confiding in the people among which they thought there were many partakers of the Intelligence discovered; they were faine when they made any sallies, to go round the streetes of the City at the same time with strong guards, to the end that none might rise within, and when an alarm was given, they were necessitated to man the heart of the Town no lesse then the bulwarks. But notwithstanding all these difficulties, they omitted not any occasion of sallying, judging that the most powerfull remedy to foreflow the Kings works, and give the Cardinal Arch-Duke time to draw an Army together and bring them relief.

A treaty of giving one of the gates of Amiens to theemie is discovered, many of the accomplices are hanged, and many Augustine Fryers imprisoned.

On the other side the Marechall de Biron, whilest all were intent either to make, or hinder the works, thought to attempt some unexpected surprize; wherefore upon the one & twentieth day of June at night which proved dark and cloudy, he caused two Captaines to advance silently with some Foot, and to get down secretly into the moate, where having cast many *Saucissons* into the skyt gates, and the hollow places of the *Casamatter*, they gave fire to them without delay, and with



with some affright to those within, but not having been able to aym them right, and they not taking fire equally, made more noise then they did harme, having only beaten down some of the facing of the wall, and some loop-holes for small shot, and kill'd only three sentinells, so that the Captaines not seeing any breach at which they could make an attempt, and great store of fire-works rayning on all sides into the moat, they retired, leaving many *Saucissons*, which in regard of the powder, were of great help to the besieged. *Saucissons* are long sackes of leather, which filled with powder, and fired at a certain time, do a like effect (though much weaker) to a pettard or mine.

This danger excited the defendants to man the Counterscarp more carefully, so that they lodged two Companies of Spaniards there, and two others of Walloons, who after that stayd there day and night, and all the *Cassamattes* of the moat were with equall diligence plentifully guarded, inso-much that the Colonel of the Regiment of *Navar* going to make another triall of the attempt of the *Saucissons* neer the *Raveline* of the gate that looks toward *Long-pré*, was at the entry of the Counterscarpe forced to return back with some losse.

In the mean time the Mareschal *de Biron* fortified the Hermitage, to begin two trenches of approach from thence; but the Marquesse of *Montenegro* being resolved to hinder that as much as he could, fallyed upon the nine and twentieth day of the Moneth with four hundred Horse, back'd by two hundred Irish and Italian Foot, and advancing straight as far as the Hermitage, began so fierce a fight with those that were at worke, that the Mareschall himself was faine to fall in with his troop; nor would that have been sufficient to repulse him, if the Count of *Anvergne* had not come up with a strong troop of Horse, at whose arrivall the Marquesse retyring still fighting, the Foot came in couragiously to the encounter, and being placed in the hollow of the field, did so much mischief to the French Cavalry, that they were faine to retyre without much resistance. Above two hundred of the Camp were slaine, and of the besieged not above ten.

The night following the Mareschall layd an Ambush of two hundred French Foot in the ruines of *S. Johns Church*, which together with the Suburbs had been pull'd down by the  
defendants

Defendants from the beginning, and in the morning stood with his Horse in order expecting their wonted sally, to which the Marquesse coming forth, with a number equall to that of the day before, and having fallen at unawares into the ambush, lost not courage for that, but rallying his troop close, and wheeling would have turned back. But the Marefchall coming out of his quarter, overtook him in the rere, and made him face about again; whereupon there was so close an encounter, that the Marquesse overpowred by the greater number, and charged in the Flank and Front, would have been cut off with all his men, if the Governour with the rest of the Horse had not sallyed forth to disingage him; who having for that purpose sent on two Troops of Cuirassiers, and one of Lances to the skirmish, the service was so hot, that for a long space they fought desperately; but in the end the English *Tertia* coming up, the Spaniards were repulsed, and driven full speed to the Counterscarp. There were slain that day seventy of the besieged, and among the rest *Juan de Gusman* a Cavalier of great birth, who had lately brought the relief.

Yet did they not forbear for this to sally the next day, and charging the Foot that wrought at the Hermitage, killed many Souldiers and Pioneers; but seeing four Troops of Horse, and the Battalion of the English come toward them, they turned back without doing any thing else. The sallies continued so frequent the following dayes, that the works proceeded very slowly; but upon the fifth day of July the Marefchal having laid two ambushes in the field, catch'd those that sallyed between in such manner, that *Diego Benavides* his Company was quite defeated, and he himself having lost his *Alferes* and his Serjeant, had much ado to save himself; and *Ruggiero Taccone* who followed him with the Cavalry being furiously repulsed and pursued at the heels, could hardly retire safe under the shelter of the *covered-way*.

By this misfortune and the diseases which increased, the ardour of the defendants was something cooled, insomuch that *Biron* had conveniency to plant eleven great Pieces of battery in the Hermitage, which scowring the field, hindred them from sallying out of the Counterscarp, and sheltered thole that began to work at the trenches, which going on apace, the defendants thought to disturb them by making so  
strong



1597 strong a Sally, that part of what was done might be thrown down, *Biron's* Artillery nailed, and that they might not be able to annoy them for some dayes. Wherefore the Governour gave order that Captain *Diego Durando* and *Francesco del Arco* (who had also got a Company) should stand ready in the Covered-way, the first with two hundred Spanish Foot, the other with as many Italians and Walloons, and that after them two Irish Captains should be ready to sally with three hundred Foot of that Nation, and for the Rereguard *Carlo de Sangro* with eighty men at Arms, who marching on Foot should carry Halbards. He gave direction that Captain *Ruggiero Taccone*, and Captain *Francesco Fonte* should sally out at the Gate that was approached to, each with an hundred Horse to back the Infantry, and that Captain *Simone Latro* with other two hundred Horse sallying at the *Porte de Beauvais*, should give an alarm on the contrary side, and then crossing through the field, should come to reinforce his own party. It was the seventeenth day of July upon the point of noon, when the Governour by a Canon-shot gave signe to fall on; at which, all sallying couragiously, *Diego Durando* ran into the right hand trench, and *Francesco del Arco* into that on the left, and fell in with so much violence, that having routed and beaten off the first guards, they assailed the Regiment of Picardy that kept them, before it had time to get into order to receive the charge; so that having killed the first that advanced to fight, and having laid *Flessan, la Viette*, and *Fouqueroles*, all Captains dead upon the place, they routed and dissipated the whole *Tertia*, which they chased flying to the very Redouts of the Hermitage; in which place both the fugitives and the enemies fell so impetuously into the Regiment of *Champagne* that was upon the guard, that it being disordered, plainly took flight, running to get themselves in order in the Alarm-place that was at their back. In so great a tumult and flight the Spanish Commanders valiantly followed by their men, having filled the Trenches with slaughter, came up to the mouth of the Redouts of the Hermitage, which would have been quitted, and by consequence lost, if the Mareschal *de Biron*, with four Gentlemen of his own, and with Captain *Francesco Benzi* a Florentine, with some few other souldiers that followed him, taking up Pikes, had not exposed himself to the violence of the Enemy; but still

still fighting desperately though the passage of the redoubts was narrow; those few could not hold out long and withstand the fury of so many, neither did any relief come up, for Captain *Simone* scouring the field, and behind him the Marquess of *Montenegro* and *Ruggiero Taccone*, and *Francesco Fonte* on the other side, put every one in a necessity of defending his own post; wherefore the battery of the Hermitage, and the Marshalls life were in desperate danger, if the Prince of *Jainville* who was in the neereſt Fort, knowing in how great trouble they were, had not resolved to run with one hundred men into those redoubts; at whose arrivall *Sangro's* men at arms came valiantly into the fight, who better enduring the blowes that were given them because they were armed, gave the French such a shooke, that they already were retired (though fighting) as far as the Artillery. The Marshal *de Biron* all in sweat and blood, with the right side of his hair all burnt, still caused many signes to be given of his danger. Wherefore the King himself not having a more ready remedy, alighted from his horse, and taking a pike in his hand, with those Gentlemen that were about him, ran desperately to defend his Canon; after whom the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the Count *de S. Paul* hastening up one after another, with a great number of the Nobility who were come out of *Mary Magdalens* Abby, there grew so hot a conflict as had the appearance of a very great battaile. They fought obstinately above two hours, the King himself being at the head of his men; but at last the number of the French encreasing, and the Spanish men at armes finding their strength fail them, by reason of the weight of their armes in the greatest heat of the day, began (though softly) to retire being still driven and charged home by the Prince of *Jainville*, who with a courage equall to his birth, fought very gallantly. At the coming out of the trenches the battaile was reinforced, the Spanish Cavalry being come up to succour their party, which charging in upon the Flank separated the Prince of *Jainville* and his company, from those of the King and of the Marshal *de Biron*, in such manner that the conflict being divided into two parts, one not being able to know any thing of the other, they fought desperately with extreme danger and wondrous great contention; but the Duke of *Mayene* came up seasonably with five or six hundred Horse, who notwithstanding

The Marshal *de Biron* being in very great danger by a fall, by which the Spaniards made out of Amiens, the King alighted from his horse and taking a Pike ran to help him.

The Duke of *Mayene* coming in the heat of the fight with five hundred Horse to help his own side, causes the Spaniards who were already weary, to retire into Amiens.

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that the Canon of the Town fired without intermission, had passed through the field between the quarters and the moat, whither the Spaniards being tired and wearied out, took a resolution to retire, being pursued and followed at the heels to the very Counterscarp. It was a great while before the Prince of Jainville was seen, and the King staying at the mouth of the trench, called out aloud, enquiring earnestly after him, and every one already suspected he was slain, when with some few in his company, he appeared all smeared with blood, and bruised with blowes, which put joy into the sadnesse of the Army, of which there were killed that day above nine hundred men, and of the Spaniards there remained above ninety dead upon the place. The wounded were many, and those of the most remarkable of the French Army, besides many private Gentlemen, among which also *Henrico Davila* who wrote this History, was hurt with a Partesan in the right knee.

From that day, both by reason of the number that had been slain in so many other sallies, and by diseases which still increased more and more, malignant feavers being apparently turned into the plague, their sallies slackned, and instead of them, Captain *Falme* an Irish man, and *Francisco dell' Arco* set up pallisadoes round about the *Covered-way*, to keep the enemies so much longer imployd, and at a distance, that they might not come to offend the Counterscarpe, which was defended till the last day of July. But upon the first of August, the trenches being already in a condition to be opened, the defendants fastened two Pettards unto them, and breaking through them before the time, assaulted them, and did some harme; and yet the same day towards the evening, the French opened them, and got upon the Counterscarp, and the Spaniards at the same time springing a *Fougade* which they had made there, sent above forty of them into the aire. The mouthes of the trenches were fortified that night, & the second day they began to raise a great *Cavalier*, close by the right hand trench, which should batter the defences and Flanks of the Bulwarks, and the following dayes they strove with *Fougades*, *Saucissons*, fireworks and other instruments to take or destroy the *Cassamats*, in which action they fought no lesse by night then day with a continued assault; but so great was the industry, and constancy of the defendants, that in many

ny days they could scarce get a few spans of ground. But having gone as far as was possible by sapping, the Galleries were already brought just under the Walls; wherefore Monsieur de S. Luc raised a Battery of eight pieces of Canon, to gain the Raveline that stood to defend the Bridge and the Gate. The Artillery battered till the four and twentieth day, upon which the English and the French severally gave the assault, and took the Raveline; but not having covered themselves sufficiently by reason of their weariness, and of the shortness of the night, the next day at the beating of the *Reveille* Captain *Durando* assaulted them so fiercely, that a great number of Fire-works being thrown from the Wall, and Captain *Ollava's* Musketers playing upon their Flank, they were constrained to forsake that Post, which nevertheless being all beaten in pieces by the Artillery, and the *Cavalier* (brought to a just height) already battering, it was recovered again the same night, and the Regiment of *Cambray* entrencht it self in it.

But the Governour knowing the Wall was lost, caused a little half-Moon to be made upon the edge of the Rampart, for the raising whereof they carried the earth in scuttles and baskets; and at the same time, to anticipate the cutting of the retrenchments, the Marquess of *Montenegro* caused a great Trench to be made along the bank of an arm of the River, which runs on that side neer the Walls, that the first works being lost, the Enemy might find opposition at the second.

In the mean time, they without endeavoured to make themselves Masters of the great Tower of the Gate, which being soundly battered, was stormed upon the eight and twentieth day, and at the same time a Mine was sprung that had been made between the Tower and the Wall, which having made a very great breach, filled the entrance of that Tower in such manner, that it was separated from the City, and deprived of relief; and yet Captain *Olava* with an *Alferes* who had that Guard, made it good couragiously; nor did the Marquess and the Governour labour lesse carefully to cause the rubbish to be taken away, that some relief might be given them, so that working on all sides, the business was drawn on till night, when the passage being already opened, fourscore Irish, and as many Italians entered to defend the great Tower,



1597 those that had made it good before retiring weary, and in an ill condition; and yet the sap overcame what men could not, and four days after not only the Tower, but the adjoining wall was taken by the French; nor was it long before they got also upon the Rampart; where beside the first half-moon made by *Gagliego*, *Federico Pacciotto* had also in the meantime made two others, by which the assailants were hindered from getting farther in, and in the front of them new *Casamats*, and a new Trench were made.

In this interim the King having had intelligence that *Commissary Contrera*, with many other Commanders being departed from *Doway*, came to discover the ways and quarters of his Army, left the care of the Camp to the Duke of Mayene, and upon the nine and twentieth of August in the evening went in person with the *Mareschall de Biron* and six hundred Horse to meet them, leaving the Count of *Auvergne* to follow the day after with eight hundred Horse more. He himself marched before with a hundred Gentlemen, and the *Sieur de Montigny* followed him with all the rest of the Horse; in which manner marching, upon the last day of the month in the morning about eight of the clock, and being come to the top of an hill, he found himself suddenly in the front of the Enemy, who came out of a wood. The space between them was but short, and there was no thought of retiring; wherefore it was necessary to shew a good heart in the inequality of Forces, and having suddenly shut down their beavers, the King trotted on to charge the Enemy.

Nor was this boldnesse without its due effect; for the Spaniards astonished at that unexpected assault, and judging that the courage of the French grew from having strong Squadrons behinde them, faced about without making resistance, and were pursued by the King fighting a great way, till being come to a little River, which running from *Mirau-mont*, falls into the *Somme* neer *Corbie*, they passed over it precipitately, and being dissipated severall wayes, saved themselves with much adoe at *Bapaulme*. Yet there were but eleven souldiers killed with one Captain of Horse, and some few others remained prisoners: But the King obtained not all his intent; for on the other side Count *Giovan Giacopo Belgioioso* and *Emanuello de Vega* not being met nor heeded, because they carried but few with them, got so neer unto the  
Camp



Camp, that they had conveniency to discover all things, and returned well informed to the Cardinal Arch-Duke.

The King being returned to the Army, and believing that relief would presently come, caused the works to be so hastened, that upon the fourth of September his men attempted to gain the half-Moons, which though it succeeded not, the besieged received a greater losse; for the Governor *Portocarrero*, while he advanced to succour the Raveline, being taken with a Musket-shot in the left side under his Arms, fell presently dead upon the ground; which accident, as most sad to the defendants, so was it by reason of his courage, no lesse deplored by the enemies.

*Bernardo Tellés Portocarrero* killed with a Musket-shot, to the extreme losse of the besieged, his valour making his very enemies sorry for his death.

The Marquesse of *Montenegro* succeeded him in the command, who with equall valour and constancy assumed the charge of the defence; for the continuance whereof *Alonso Ribera* and Captain *Durando* entered into the half-Moons; and on the other side, Monsieur *de S. Luc* with the Regiment of *Navar*, and the Mareschal *de Biron* with the English *Tertia* drew two Trenches in the midst of the Rampart to take away the defences on both sides, and to come to the Work that was before them at which the Marquesse and *Federico Pacciotto* were continually present: and because the Infantry was in a manner consumed by toyl and hardship, and many of them lay sick, the Men-at-arms, Cuirassiers, and light-Horse refused not to do the same duties, working with spades and shovels, and fighting with Pikes and Muskets. While these Trenches were making, Monsieur *de S. Luc* upon the eighth of September being entered to hasten the works, was hit with a Musket-bullet in the head, and was carried dead into the Camp, to the exceeding great grief of the King, who was very affectionate to his valour and dexterity; for being beside military experience adorned with learning, and endowed by nature with a most noble aspect, he did in action, consultation, conversation and discourse accomplish all the degrees of perfection. The works that were before the Trenches were storm'd upon the twelfth day; but though the assault lasted from Sun-rising till two of the clock in the afternoon, yet did not the assailants get any advantage at all; and while in the following days they thought to redouble the assaults, and break the constancy of the defendants, the arrivall of the Spanish Camp diverted their minds from the siege to more dangerous thoughts.

Monsieur *de S. Luc* a man of very great note, hastning the works, is killed with a Musket shot, to the Kings great grief.

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The Cardinal Arch-Duke had found many difficulties in drawing an Army together ; for the Spanish Ministers having overlooked the accounts of those who had lent money to the King, and having used much rigour unseasonably, the Merchants withheld their hands, and afterward money could not be provided time enough for the payment of his Forces ; whereupon those that came out of Italy under the command of *Alfonso d'Avalos* moved late ; and those that were raised in Germany had been slowly gathered together ; and yet the Cardinall overcoming all impediments with industry and diligence, had made a generall Rendezvous of his Army in the end of August at *Doway*, being twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse ; and though the States of *Holland* insulted in many places, and made great progresse in *Friesland* and the County of *Brabant*, yet he either having such Commission from Spain, or being more inclined to defend and keep what had been gotten in the time of his command, resolved to lay aside all other interests, and advance to relieve *Amiens* ; being desirous to preserve so many good soldiers as were besieged in it, and judging that he should obtain exceeding great glory, if he could make the King of France retire, who was at that siege with all the Forces of his Kingdom united.

With this determination departing from *Doway* in the beginning of September with a great train of Artillery, and great preparations of bridges, carriages and ammunition, he came to *Arras*, where having the informations of *Belgioioso* and *Vega*, he propounded in the Councel of War, what course was to be taken to put relief into *Amiens*, or to make the French Army rise. Some counselled to passe the River below *Corbie*, and bring his Army on that side, which standing toward France was not besieged by the King ; for putting strong relief into the City without resistance, there would be no necessity of hazarding the danger of a battell, and the Kings attempts receiving a new and powerfull opposition from new supplies, would with the help of winter which was coming on, prove vain of themselves. But the greater part of the Commanders considered, that to passe the River, and march into a Country quite destroy'd, desolate, & encompassed with so many of the enemies Towns, was a besieging of themselves, for if the King who had all the passes upon the River, should hinder them from going back, they

they would be constrained either to dye for hunger, or to take many strange and dangerous resolutions; which difficulty was the principall cause, that it was determined to go the streight way by *Dourlans* to the French Camp, beleeving that if the King moved to meet them, he should afford them some opportunity to put relief into the Town; wherefore the Arch-Duke went to *Dourlans* upon the twelfth of September, and there having made provision of victuall as well to feed his Army, as to put into the City if he could make passage to it; upon the fourteenth day he marched betimes in the morning towards the enemy.

The Cardinal Arch-Duke marches with a great Army towards Amiens.

The first troops of Horse were led by *Lodovico Melzi*, *Ambrogio Landriano*, between whom marched the flying Squadron of four thousand Foot Spaniards and Italians, under the command of *Diego Pimentello*: and in the Front of it were above two hundred Captaines armed with Pikes and Corslets. Next followed three Squadrons of Infantry, two of Spaniards led by *Carlo Colombo* and *Lodovico Velasco*; and the third which marched in the midst was of Walloons led by the Count *de Boucquoy*. After these was the Battle in which were the Duke of *Annale*, the Count *de Sore*, and the Prince of *Orange*; and the Squadron of *Alonso Mendoza*, in which were two Spanish *Tertias*, brought up the Rere. The Artillery were guarded by the three first Squadrons, and on both sides of the Army were the carriages of baggage chain'd together, as the Duke of *Parma's* custome had taught them. The charge of Camp Master General was executed by Count *Peter Ernest* of *Mansfelt*, an old man of venerable gray haire, who not being able to ride on horse back was carried in an open litter, and had taken that weight upon him because Monsieur *du Rosne*, besieging *Hulst* a few monthes before, had been kill'd with a Canon shot. The Arch-Duke likewise was carried in a litter, and had neer him the Duke of *Arescot*, and the *Almirante* of *Aragon* for Counsellors.

Monsieur du Rosne killed with a Canon shot at the siege of Hulst.

But the King whose Army by the coming of the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* was so increased, that he had eighteen or twenty thousand Foot, and more then eight thousand Horse, having strongly garisoned *Corbie* and *Pequigny*, to make difficult the passage of the River, had an intention (being so advised by the Mareschall *de Biron*) to go and meet the enemy in the field with all his Cavalry; for judging himself



1597

The King being counselled by the Mareſchal de Biron to go meet the Enemy with all his Horſe, the Duke of Mayene Counſells him to ſtay and expect them; the King imbraces this counſell, and gives the charge of the Camp to the Duke.

ſelf much ſuperior in number and quality of Horſe, he thought it good to keep the enemy far from his Infantry, in which he had little confidence; but while he was getting ready to take horſe, the Duke of Mayene came in, who having asked and underſtood the Kings deſigne, ſaid ſo loud that he was heard by many, *That thoſe that gave his Maſtie ſuch counſel, did not well know the quality of the enemy, and that ventring himſelf with only his Horſe, againſt a potent old Army, he put himſelf in certain danger of encountering ſome ſiniſter accident; whereby afterwarde his Infantry remaining alone, the men would be loſt, the quarters loſt, and ſo many toils and labours undergone to fortifie them, all loſt; and his Kingdome ſet upon one ſingle point of a dye.* To which the King replying, *What then was to be done?* The Duke answered, *That they were come to take Amiens, and that they ought to mind that end; wherefore keeping the Army in the ſecurity of their Forts, they ought to leave the thought of aſſaulting them and driving from thence unto the Arch-Duke; and the King adding That the Enemy would paſſe the River and relieve the beſieged:* the Duke answered again, *Let your Maſtie ſet your heart at reſt, for the Enemy neither will paſſe the River nor can force theſe trenches.* So the Mareſchal de Biron fretting, who was alwayes inclined to precipitate reſolutions, the King concluded to ſtay, and let the Duke of Mayene manage the buſineſſe of the Camp, who having cauſed fifteen hundred Foot to paſſe on the far ſide of the River, under the command of Monsieur de Vic, preſently made a Church to be taken and entrenched, which ſtood upon the further bank, little more then a mile from the Town: and having ſet many Corps de Garde along the ſide of the River, went perſonally to Long-pré to fortifie it better. The Foot were placed in the Forts and Trenches, and the Cavalry ſpread it ſelf in battalia under the defence of the works.

The Arch-Duke lay with his whole Army that night at the Abby of *Betricourt*, and cauſed all his Canon to be ſhot off, to give the Citie notice that relief was neer; Monsieur de Montigny who with the French light Horſe had ſtill ſcoured the wayes within ſight of the Enemy, came into the camp about midnight, and having given the King notice where the Spaniards were, and that they would appear the next day, was ſent to quarters, to reſreſh his Horſe tired with the two laſt days duty. The next day which was the fifteenth of September the firſt troops

troops of the Arch-Dukes Army appeared about one of the clock in the afternoon, which having passed a water that was fordable two Leagues above *Amiens*, and left *Pequigny* upon the right hand, bending their course toward the left, made shew as if they would march straight to *Long-pré*, whereupon the rabble of Sutlers and Freebooters, with many other persons who lay there for greater conveniency, taking flight precipitately ran to save themselves in the Camp, by which hurry the Foot being affrighted (who beleev'd it had been *Monsieur de Montigny*, that fled routed from the Enemy (for his return by night was known but to a few) forsooke the trenches so hastily that neither the Constable, nor the Duke of *Espernon* could stop their flight, but with a full carriere, they ranne with their Ensignes (who fled more then the rest) toward the River, on that side that leads to *Abbeville*.

In the mean time the Spaniards flying Squadron was come within sight of the trenches, and the experienced Captains that were in the Front, knowing the disorder and flight of the Colours, cried out aloud *Victory, Victory, and Battaile, Battaile*. But the Arch-Duke hearing the tumult, and their voyces, though he inclined to give way that the trenches should be stormed, yet being perswaded by the *Almirante* and the Duke of *Arescot*, not to credit the precipitancy of the souldiers, who were still desirous to fight without consideration, but rather to proceed warily, and first to discover the condition of the French, resolved at last to make a halt.

A disorder among the French, gives the Spaniards an evident assurance of victory: but the Arch-D. being uncertain of the accident, making an halt, loses so remarkable an occasion.

In this interim, The Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier* spreading the Cavalry of the Vanguard in Battalia, hindred the Enemy from seeing the trenches, and the Canoneers gave fire without intermission, to the end the smoak might hide the disorder that was there, giving them time to recover themselves; for the *Mareschal de Biron* running full speed, made the Infantry know their error, and pointing with his finger to shew that the enemy had made a halt in the midst of the field, perswaded them all within a while to return unto their posts. In this manner the Arch-Duke by the too much warynesse of his Counsellours, lost so certaine an occasion of so glorious and so great a victory which at the first arrivall had been very well observed by the experience of private Captains.

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The Marquesse of *Montenegro* knew the advantage no lesse then they, and would have sallied upon the trenches of the French which were in the Moate, and upon the Rampart over against his retrenchments; but he found that the Regiment of *Navar* that guarded them was not moved, and that the Switzers who were encamped something lower, stood likewise firme in their Batalia.

The rest of the day was spent in diverse skirmishes in the field, which the King caused purposely to be made hot and furious, to keep the enemy in play, the Arch Duke still having a thought to assault the Kings fortifications; but the Commanders shewed that it was necessary first to fight with so great a strength of Horse drawn up without the works, and defended by so many pieces of Artillery, that the conquering of them was not to be thought on: and shewed the trenches and forts so high, that a stronger quarter had not been seen of many years; wherefore it being resolved at night to attempt some other way, upon the sixteenth day in the morning the Count *de Buquoy* with his Squadron, and many boats carried upon carts, drew neer the River to attempt to passe it; but the guards the Duke of Mayene had placed there, resisted stoutly, and though they fought with such wondrous fury in many places, and that sometimes it was likely the Walloons would obtaine their intent, yet after having laboured all day they retired without fruit.

In the mean time they had skirmished fiercely on the other side both with horse and Canon; for the King having caused seven Culverins to be drawn to a higher ground that was behind the vanguard, made them play from thence, and so prosperously, that twice they light upon the Mules that carryed the Cardinals litter, whereupon he was constrained to get on horse-back, and the enemies Cavalry received much harme by them on all sides. The Spanish Canon fired no lesse hotly; but because they were in a higher place, they shot so under mettle that they did but little execution. But in the variety of the skirmishes that were continually made in the field, many observed, that while the businesse passed between Cuirassiers & Cuirassiers, or between Carabines and Carabines, the French for the most part had the better: but where the Flemish and Bourguignon men at armes came in, the French Cavalry were faine to yeeld to the violence of the Lances to hinder

der which encounter, which happened to the losse and trouble of the Nobility, the King himself advancing to the head of his squadrons gave order that as the Curassiers skirmished they should not joyne so close together, but leave a good space between one another, which having been often done, they found that the shooke of the Lances not meeting a firme opposition proved for the most part vain, which was of very great advantage, aswell because they skirmished with small troopes in the wide field, where it was easie for them to open, as because the Spanish Lanciers were very few in respect of the great number of French Cavalry.

Toward the evening a trench was finished with which the D. of Mayene labouring all that day, had shut up the way to Longpré; wherefore the Count de Boucquoi's attempt being frustrated, and there being no more hope of getting the passe over the river, since that neither Longpré had been *attacqued* nor the Kings quarters assaulted the first day, the Commanders of the Spanish Army (according to whose opinion the Cardinall Arch-Duke governed himself) determined to retyre the same way they came, and make their retreat, before the victuall which they had brought with them being spent, the Army should begin to suffer; for as for the Country, it was so wasted, that for fifteen leagues round about, there was nothing to be found, that could be usefull either to horse or man.

The Cardinall Arch-Duke retyres with his Army for want of victuall, the King follow him but seeing their excellent order forbears.

The signe of their departure appeared the next morning by their baggage and the free booters that covered all the way toward *Dourlans*; whereupon the King desirous not to let the Enemy draw off without some trouble, commanded two squadrons of Horse flanked with two others of Carabines to fall upon them in the reer, but the Sun being many houres high when the Army departed, they saw them retreat in such a marvellous order, that their maine proposition being chiefly to prosecute the siege of *Amiens*; the King himself thought best, and all the rest of the Commanders concurred with him, not to attempt any thing. The Spanish Army had faced about, so that *Alonso de Mendoza* led the vanguard (if the first divisions that retyre can be called a Vanguard) and the flying squadron now was last in the reer-guard to make the retreat. This, being pikes in the midst, with two great wings of musketiers on each side, made a crooked forme, and an appearance some-

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thing like an half Moon, so that whosoever advanced to charge it, fell first into a thick storme of muskett bullets, after which they found a firme Battalion before them which fiercely shaking their pikes made a terrible shew of a valiant opposition; and if any body of Horse made as if they would assaile the Wings of the Squadron, presently *Melzi's* and *Landriano's* Squadrons advanced, which with two Bodies of Lances flanked with Carabines withstood the shock, till the Musketers charging and setting themselves in order, came furiously up to give fire again. In this order the Pike-men with their Pikes upon the left shoulder, retired step by step, and facing instantly about at every little touch of the Drum, retreated so quietly, and with so slow a pace, that in two long hours they were drawn off little more then half a mile; in which space the King's light-Horse ceased not to make many attempts, and to give many charges, but still with great losse; for they were too fiercely answered by the last ranks of the flying Squadron; and at last *Monsieur de Montigny* having obtained leave to skirmish in many severall places, the Spanish Squadron made a halt, pouring out such an abundance of small-shot, that the light-Horse were forced to wheel about, and being at the same time furiously charg'd by the Carabines who came out of each Flank, they were driven back even to the Kings Squadrons, which advancing gently more for reputation then any thing else, followed on the way the Enemy retired. Above forty of the light-Horse were slain, and many more wounded, among which the *Sieur de Coqueinvillier* received a Musket-shot in the right arm. But after this last charge of the light-Horse, the Kings Squadrons made a stand a while, and the Spaniards continued retiring a great deal faster; and after they were gotten off as far as Cannon-shot, shouldering their Pikes and Muskets, they marched on their way without troubling themselves any further. But being come to the water which of necessity they were to passe, the King advanced with all his Cavalry to see if that impediment would give him any opportunity to disorder the Enemy; but the flying Squadron instantly facing about, made a stand in the midst of the way, till the rest of the Army was past over; and then observing the same Order, past thorow the water up to their knees without disordering their ranks at all, or making the least discernable stop; which

marvel-

The Kings light-Horse attempt by skirmishes to do some harm to the Spanish army; but they still come off with the worst.

marvellous form of retreating, while so great and so numerous Squadrons of the Enemies Horse covered the field on all sides, drew from the Kings own mouth, *That no other Souldiers in the world could do so much; and that if he had that Infantry joyned with his Cavalry, he would dare to undertake a War against all the world.* When they were past the water, the French forbore to follow any further; for the King would needs send back part of the Horse to defend the Camp, and towards the evening he with the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Montpensier*, and with the Mareſchall *de Biron*, followed the retreat of the Spaniards. The Arch-Duke lay that night in the Abby of *Betricourt* again, and the next day passing neer *Dourlans*, marched streight to *Arras*, with a designe, since he had not been able to relieve the besieged, to apply himself to the affairs of *Flanders*.

The Kings  
praise of the  
Spanish Infan-  
try.

The King being returned to the Camp, sent an Herald to tell the Marquesse of *Montenegro*, that having seen the issue of the relief he expected, it was time now to think of yeelding; and that because he desired not the destruction of so many gallant souldiers, he would grant him honourable conditions. The Marquesse (who in a note brought him by a boy, had already had leave from the Arch-Duke to capitulate, would yet hear the opinions of the Commanders, who having unanimously concluded, that by reason of the contagious mortality, of their want of match, of the small number of men to which they were reduced, and because the Enemies were now Masters of the Rampart, there was no thought of holding out) answered the King; That he desired safe conduct to send a Captain to the Arch-Duke, that he might know the certainty of his command, which being courteously granted, he sent *Federico Pacciotto*, who brought expresse leave to make composition: Whereupon having treated a while, they agreed to surrender upon these Conditions.

After the Car-  
dinals depar-  
ture, the King  
sends an He-  
rald to *Caraffa*  
Marquesse of  
*Montenegro*, to  
perswade him  
to surrender.

The Marquesse  
sends Captain  
*Pacciotto* with  
the Kings pass-  
port to the Car-  
dinal for leave  
to surrender.

That the monuments of *Hernando Telles Portocarrero* and of all other Commanders slain in the siege should not be stirred, nor their inscriptions cancelled, it being neverthelesse lawful for the Spaniards to take away their bodies when they pleased. That all the souldiers that were in the Citie should march out in Battalia with their Arms and Baggage; Colours flying, Drums beating, and Trumpets sounding, and should

The Articles  
of Compofition.



1597 should be furnished by the King with carts to carry away their goods and their sick as far as *Dourlans*: That if any sick or wounded person should remain in the City, he should receive good usage, and have liberty to go away at his pleasure: That the souldiers should be exempt from paying for any Physick or Surgery they had had in the City, and likewise for two thousand pound weight of Musket-bullet which they had taken up from particular men and made use of. That prisoners on both sides should be set free without Ransome: That the Townsmen might stay without being oppressed, and be used as good Subjects, renewing their oath of Allegiance to the King of France; but those that would march out with the souldiers might have free liberty to do so: That there should be a Truce for the six next ensuing dayes, within the term of which, if they were not relieved with at least two thousand men, they would deliver up the City; and that in the mean time they should give Hostages for security, a Spanish Commander, an Italian, and a Walloon.

Upon the 25 of September 1597 the Marquisse of Montenegro marches with his forces out of *Amiens*.

A saying of the Marquisse to the King of France.

The Kings Answer.

The Sergeant Major carried the Capitulation to the Arch-Duke, who having ratified it, the defendants of *Amiens* marched forth upon the five and twentieth of September, being eighteen hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse, the Marquisse of *Montenegro* being at the head of them in a souldierlike gallantry, upon a brave horse, with a truncheon in his hand, and being come to the place where the King and the whole Army in battalia expected him, laying aside his truncheon, alighted, and kissing the Kings knee, said (so loud that he was heard by the by-standers) *That he delivered up that place into the hand of a Souldier King, since it had not pleased the King his Master to cause it to be releived by Souldier Commanders*: Which words moved every one to consider, that if the Spanish Army had either taken the way beyond the River, or layd hold of the occasion which fortune had presented them at the disorder in the trenches, the siege had certainly been rayfed. The King answered, *That it ought to satisfie him, that he defended the place like a Souldier, and now restored it into the hand of the lawfull King with the honor of a Souldier*. To these words he added many other favourable demonstrations, as well toward him as the other Commanders, whom he desired to know by name one by one, and being dismiss'd with the praise of the whole Army, they were convoyed safe to *Dourlans*. There

There entered into *Amiens* the Constable who received the place, the Marechal *de Biron*, and the the Duke of *Montbason*, and after them the King himself, who having visited the Cathedrall Church, gave the government of the Town to Monsieur *de Vic*, and went forth without making any stay, as well out of a suspicion of the plague, as out of a desire to march after the Arch-Duke; who having stayd only two dayes upon the passe of the River *Auts*, was in this interim gotten within the walls of *Arras*.

Upon the six and twentieth day, there happened an accident, which if it had fallen out before, would have discomposed all things, but at this time it proved rather a matter of sport then trouble; for there brake out suddenly so great a fire in the Kings quarters (the cause thereof not being at all known) that in a short space all the huts were burned, which was no way harmfull either to men or baggage, because the camp was already raised and marching away. The whole Army rejoiced, calling it a Bonfire, and many from thence took a good Omen of future quiet, which was confirmed by the event; for the Generall of the *Cordeliers* being returned from the Court of Spain, and come with letters to the Arch-Duke about the same time, caused an interview upon the Confines which divide *Picardy* from the County of *Artois*, between Secretary *Villeroy* on the Kings part, and President *Riccardotto* for the Arch-Duke, who determined that at *Vervins* a place upon the same Confines, famous for the Peaces that had formerly been treated there, the Cardinal Legate, Father *Francisco Gonzaga* Bishop of *Mantua* the Popes Nuncio, and the Deputies on both parts should meet together to apply themselves to a treaty of Peace.

The Generall of the *Franciscans* returns from Spain, & it is agreed that the Deputies of both parties shall meet at *Vervins* to treat of Peace.

That which moved King *Philip* to an inclination to peace, was the urgency of the affaires of *Flanders*, which by reason they had been abandoned for two yeers together, were extremely much gone down the winde; so that the necessity of his own affaires constrained him not to thinke of getting that which was anothers. To this was added the exceeding great scarcity of mony, for which he had been fain this very yeer to suspend all payments, to the disreputation of his greatnesse, and the undoing of those Merchants that were wont to have dealings with the Crown. Nor was the respect of establishing the succession upon his Son last in his consideration, for  
being



1597

The King of Spain being now grown old, sets his thoughts to establish the succession of his young Son.

The Cardinall Arch-Duke being to marry the *Infanta Isabella*, and to have the Dominion of the Low-Countries with her, desires also to settle himself in the peaceful possession of them.

being now far in yeers, and knowing that his death drew neer, he desired that his Successor, who was very young, might not be ingaged in a great and troublesome War, against a King of manly age and strength, full of experience, and upheld by the manifest favour of Fortune. His dependants add, that being in the latter end of his life carefull to satisfie his conscience, he desired to end his dayes with the peace of Christendome, and the restitution of that which was not his own; yet it is most cleer, that the losse of *Amiens* gave great force to his first disposition, and perswaded even the Cardinall Arch-Duke, who being to marry the *Infanta Isabella*, and with her to have the Dominion of the Low-Countries, endeavoured not to have so powerfull and so troublesome a War as that with the King of France.

Secretary *Villeroy* returned with the resolved appointment, and found that the King with his Army following the prosperity of Fortune, was incamped before *Dourlans*; for having made an incursion even to the very walls of *Arras*, filling the whole Country with terrour, he perceived afterward that the places of *Picardie* were left behinde with very great danger, and therefore was come to besiege *Dourlans* as the neereest place, the taking whereof would be of wondrous advantage to his Country. But already the Rains of Autumn did very much incommode and annoy him; and his Army which had been healthfull till then, began now to be troubled with the bloody Flux and the Plague in such manner, that the treasurers putting him in minde that all means of paying his Foot was utterly gone; the King resolved to disband his Army, and to apply himself heartily to the Treaty of peace, which now, being high in reputation and honour, and having satisfied himself and the expectation of his people, he desired more boldly and openly then before.

This reciprocall desire of both Kings, facilitated the Treaty of peace; but the Duke of *Savoy's* interests kept all things in difficulty: for though the War these two last yeers had been various, and with hot encounters, and bloody assaults, rather disadvantageous to his party then otherwise; and though Monsieur *de Lesdignieres* having taken *S. Jehan de Morienne*, and all that valley in the *Alpes*, was gone down into *Piedmont*, to the ruine and spoiling of the Country; yet hee being resolved to retain the Marquesate of *Saluz-*

The Duke of Savoy desirous to keep the Marquesate of *Saluzzo* to himself, crosses the treaty of peace.

20, either crossed the Peace, or cared not to have it concluded. 1597

But yet the meeting at *Vervins* held, whither Monsieur *de Bellieure* and President *Sillery* came for the King of France; and President *Riccardotto*, *Juan Battista Tassis*, and *Ludovico Verichen* Auditor of *Brabant* for the King of Spain. The French Deputies were brought by the Pope's *Nuncio*, and the Spanish by the Generall of the *Cordeliers*; and the Cardinal-Legate came to the same place, by whose authority all difficulties of precedency being removed; they entered upon the Treaty of the businesse; but not before the beginning of the month of February in the year 1598, a year destined by Divine Providence to close up the grievous wounds of forty years past. 1598

Great was the desire of Peace on both sides, and great likewise the authority of the Legate with each party, nor were the demands very different; For the Spaniards proffered without difficulty to restore *Ardres*, *Douurlans*, *la Cappelle*, *Castelet* and *Montaulin* in *Picardie*, and the Port of *Blauet* in *Bretagne*, and desired onely to retain *Calais* as long as the Warre with the *Hollanders* lasted, and to give the King of France an equivalent exchange in the mean time: and the French stood to have *Calais* restored freely; they likewise demanded *Cambray*, and renewed some old pretensions upon the Confines of *Flanders*. The Spaniards shewed, that all old pretensions were terminated in the Peace concluded between the two Crowns at *Chasteau Cambresis* in the year 1559, and that *Cambray* was not of the King of France his Jurisdiction, but a Citie of the Arch-Bishops, usurped a few yeers before by the Duke of *Alançons* Forces, and that therefore being a free Town, the King could not pretend any right unto it, but that the Master of the Low-Countries had the ancient protection of it; and yet not a direct Dominion, but one established by reason. Upon these Answers the French easily gave off their old pretensions, and the demand of *Cambray*; and with as much facility did the Spaniards lay aside the demand of retaining *Calais*: whereupon all the difficulty was reduced to this point, That the King of France would have had *Blauet* in the condition it then was, with all the Artillery, Shot, and Ammunition of War; and the Spaniards stood totally to demolish the Fort they had built,

The pretensions of the French, and of the Spaniard stood upon in the Treaty of Peace.



1598

and to carry away the Artillery, and other things which they had brought thither of their own ; but this difficulty also was easily taken away ; for the Treaty being managed with great sincerity, the French satisfied themselves, knowing that the Spaniard had reason on their side.

All other matters were of small importance, so that nothing remained, save to treat about the interests of their adherents : for the King of France desired there might be an Agreement made with the Queen of England and the States of Holland ; and the King of Spain would have had the Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Mercœur comprehended in the Peace. About this there arose a sharp contention ; for the French having said that they would not include the Duke of Mercœur, as being the Kings Subject ; the Spaniards answered, that also the States of Holland were the King of Spains Subjects : and here mutually upbraiding one another that they fomented Rebels, they grew extremely angry, and broke forth into words of indignation ; and yet the Cardinal Legate interposing, they agreed to make their Princes acquainted with the businesse, and expect their resolute orders : But within a few days these difficulties were removed ; for the King having left the Constable with reasonable Forces in *Picardie*, was gone personally to *Angiers* to draw his Army

The Duke of Mercœur Brother-in-law to Hen. the Third being reduced almost to extremity, agrees with the King, giving his only daughter to *Cæsar* of Bourbon, Bastard Son to *Henry* the Fourth, and gave up what hee held in *Bretagne* unto the Kings obedience.

together, and march with all his Forces into *Bretagne*. Wherefore the Duke of Mercœur seeing his designs ruined, and not being willing to hold out till the last necessities, which he was not able to resist, condescended to the Agreement ; by which, marrying his onely Daughter to *Cæsar* the Kings Bastard Son, and receiving other recompences of Pensions and moneys, he delivered up that part of *Bretagne* that was in his possession unto the Kings obedience ; whereupon the occasion ceased for which the Catholick King endeavoured to include him in the Peace.

Nor was there any need to contend long for the Queen of England and the States of Holland ; for those Princes, after they had done all that was possible to hinder the Treaty of Peace, shewing themselves ill satisfied with the King, because in the League of the year before he had promised not to agree without them, declared that they would not be comprehended as Adherents, and that they would have no peace with the King of Spain.

There



There remained only the point concerning the D. of Savoy, 1598

which was like to have interrupted the whole agreement when it was brought to perfection: for the Marquess *de Lul-*  
*lin* the Dukes Ambassadour, being introduced into the Con-  
ference, said, that President *Sillery*, one of the Deputies there  
present, had from the year before treated an accommodation  
with the Duke, and that the King was then contented he  
should hold the Marquessate of *Saluzzo* in fee from the Crown.

The Duke of  
Savoy's Am-  
bassadour be-  
ing present in  
the meeting at  
*Vervins* said,  
that he had a  
promise the  
Duke should  
retain the  
Marquessate of  
*Saluzzo* in fee:

The President answered, that it was true, the King was so  
contented, but at a time when the State of his affaires per-  
swaded him by all means to divide the Duke from the King  
of Spain, and that to that condition the Marquess knew  
well there were others joyned, which he would not men-  
tion, least he should set discord among friends; by which  
words he meant to infer that the Duke to retain the Marque-  
sate had profered to make war against the State of Milan.  
Many contentions there were about it, and the whole treaty  
seemed to be discomposed; but the Generall of the Corde-  
liers going to the King, and *Juan Battista Tassis* to the Arch-  
Duke, they returned within a few dayes, and concluded,  
that the Duke and the King should retain what they possessed  
at that present, and that the difference about the Marquessate  
should be referred to the Pope, who was to give judgement  
within the space of one year, and then what each held of the  
others should mutually be restored. But the Marquess re-  
fused that the King should retain the valley of *Morienne*, and  
would not ratifie it without advertising the Duke, and this  
by reason of his nature, would have been a difficult imped-  
iment, if good fortune had not removed the obstacle; for the  
Duke about this time recovered *Morienne* with a great slaugh-  
ter of *Les Dignieres* his forces; and on the other side, *Les*  
*Dignieres* took a Fort which the Duke had built neer *Greno-*  
*ble*, and having put the Garison to the sword demolished it to  
the very ground: wherefore there remaining nothing but  
*Berre* in *Provence* in the Dukes possession, they agreed  
that he should restore that Town in present, and that the  
businesse of the Marquessate should be decided by the  
Pope.

The differen-  
ces about the  
Marquessate are  
referred to the  
Pope who is to  
give judge-  
ment within  
a year.

The Peace was concluded and subscribed by the Deputies  
upon the second day of May, with expresse condition that it  
should not be published till a moneth after; for the King of  
France



1478

*The History of the Civill Warres*

1598

The Peace is  
concluded and  
published.

France desired that the English and Holland Ambassadors should first be gone from Court, that the Peace might not be published in their presence; and the Cardinal Arch-Duke desired space to receive the countersigne of *Blauet* from Spain. The Peace was published upon the seventh day of June in *Paris*, and the same day at *Amiens*, in the presence of the Legate, and the Kings Deputies, as by agreement it was likewise done at *Bruxelles*; all men generally rejoycing, that after so long and so calamitous Wars, the Kingdom of France distracted into so many factions, was at last reunited in the entire obedience of a Catholick French King, to enjoy the fruits and blessings of Peace for the future, in recompence of so many past miseries and afflictions.

FINIS.



# ERRATA.

**P**Age 13. line 37. read raised some. p. 24 l. 2 r. to come. p. 72 l. 29 r. seized. p. 47 l. 29 r. demands. p. 162 l. 1 dele not. lb. l. 2 r. them. p. 164 l. 23 dele and. p. 183 l. 12 r. within. p. 263 l. 30 r. Roane. p. 327 l. 40 r. Grimaudiere. p. 330 l. 31 r. Autricourt. p. 340 l. 25 r. Montgomery's. p. 357 l. 29 r. were. p. 377 l. 31 r. Berne. p. 410 l. 9 dele and. p. 419 l. 8 r. spending. p. 427 l. 9 r. bend. p. 436 l. 16 r. Stinc. p. 437 l. 7 r. Champigny. lb. l. 10 r. come. p. 439 l. 25 r. three and twentieth. p. 445 l. 1 r. she had. p. 445 l. 38 r. for favours. p. 485 l. 26 r. gave them. p. 487 l. 22 r. ravelines. p. 488 l. 10 no parenthesis at ( wherein. p. 499 l. 33 r. distastes. p. 502 l. 32 r. were neerly. p. 507 l. 11 r. Provence. p. 509 l. 15 r. Jehan le Clerc. p. 525 l. 3 r. depositing. p. 531 l. 40 dele way. p. 532 l. 31 r. people may be. p. 553 l. 37 r. imployed. p. 554 l. 32 r. now having. p. 565 l. 20 r. which could. p. 576 l. 10 r. was drowned. p. 579 l. 13 r. of his. p. 611 l. 12 dele men. p. 616 l. 19 r. that he. p. 623 l. 3 r. exercise in arms. p. 654 l. 10 r. soable. p. 670 l. 6 r. profuse. lbid. l. 32 r. he had p. 674 l. 5 r. upon every. p. 687 l. 11 r. he thought he had. p. 703 l. 4 r. yet she seeing. p. 711 l. 30 r. alledging. p. 713 l. 11 r. daigne. p. 718 l. 32 r. up the: p. 732 margin. lult. Saluzzo. p. 747 l. 11 r. d'Esté. p. 749 l. 41 r. God, Justice. p. 754 l. 11 r. Bishop, p. 755 l. 15 r. my pen. p. 759 l. 39 r. marches. p. 760 l. 33 r. the Citie. p. 764 l. 29 r. Seguiet, p. 786 l. 17 r. he desired, p. 788 l. 16 r. the chief Citie of Touraine, p. 794 l. 16 r. Seguiet, one of the Presidents

of Paris, p. 822 l. 23 r. so great need, p. 824 l. 22 r. was very, p. 842 l. 22 r. the City from a great, p. 846 l. 41 r. river, p. 861 l. 10 r. finding, p. 881 l. 9 dele not, lb. l. 40 r. of, p. 882 m. r. by the Duke, p. 958 lin. 6 dele about, p. 972 l. 9 r. his thoughts, p. 1024 l. 32 dele one, 1088 l. 17 r. bavins, p. 1089 l. 36 r. Blanquetaque, p. 1098 l. 11 r. grand, p. 1138 l. 3 r. elected, p. 1153 l. 23 r. if we, p. 1164 l. 11 & 12 r. in us, p. 1173 l. 24 r. tancy, p. 1181 l. 27 r. intervene, p. 1197 l. 31 r. the end they, p. 1218 l. 10 r. which were. p. 1224 l. 39 r. in battalia. p. 1248 l. 10 r. confirmation. p. 1251 l. 22 r. ever. p. 1252 l. 13 dele the. p. 1255 l. 8 r. most. p. 1260 l. 11 r. 10 shew. p. 1263 l. 27 dele his. p. 1269 l. 36 dele not. p. 1281 l. 38 r. Masters. p. 1298 l. 39 r. that at the. p. 1301 l. 23 r. Sommerive. p. 1305 l. 18 r. S. Ange. p. 1308 l. 15 r. charged. p. 1312 l. 2 r. favour of p. 1320 l. 34 r. Vezuand. p. 1326 l. 20 dele the. lb. l. 41 r. but he. p. 1333 l. 27 r. Guignard. p. 1340 l. 26 r. Gradenigo, and Giovanni. p. 1350 l. 31 r. revolutions. p. 1371 l. 13 r. Baldassare. p. 1374 l. 34 r. they began. p. 1375 l. 41 r. for with. p. 1382 l. 8 r. Auchy. p. 1383 l. 10 r. Barlemont. p. 1395 l. 9 r. he secretly gave. p. 1405 l. 17 r. Casaut. p. 1410 l. 4 r. fright. p. 1413 l. 19 r. thousand. p. 1415 l. 21 r. twelve hundred. lbid. l. 37 r. Buquoy. p. 1416 l. 14 r. Towers. p. 1418 l. 29 r. divide. p. 1423 l. 23 r. consideration. p. 1428 l. 9 r. with their. p. 1443 l. 19 r. sent to. p. 1449 l. 16 r. as far. p. 1451 l. 1 r. on the one side. lbid. l. 21 r. naturally. p. 1455 l. 11 r. of arms. p. 1465 l. 12 r. Melzi and.











